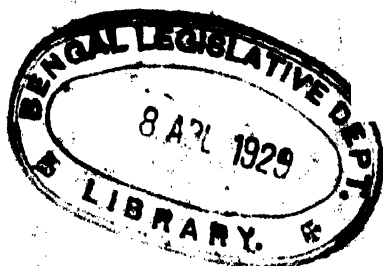
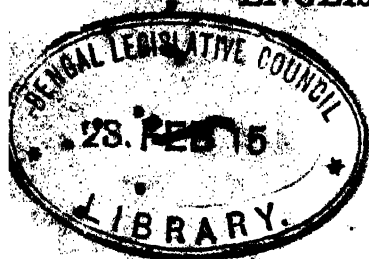


THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY

OF

ENGLISH LITERATURE



VOLUME IV

PROSE AND POETRY

SIR THOMAS NORTH TO MICHAEL DRAYTON



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THE
CAMBRIDGE HISTORY
OF
ENGLISH LITERATURE

EDITED BY

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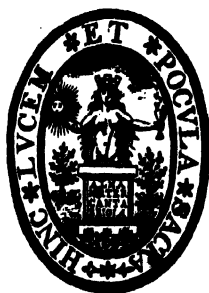
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A. R. WALLER, M.A., Peterhouse

VOLUME IV¹

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NOTE

VOLUMES v and vi of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* will deal with the history of dramatic writing in England to the closing of the theatres under the puritan rule, that is to say, to about the middle of the seventeenth century. We hope to have these two volumes ready by Easter 1910.

Volume vii, *Cavalier and Puritan*, will be concerned with non-dramatic literature, mainly of the period between 1625 and 1660. Its contents are in an advanced stage of preparation, and we hope to be able to publish this volume before the end of 1910.

It was originally intended to continue, in the present volume, the account of scholars and scholarship in England from the point reached in volume iii; it has been decided, however, to postpone this continuation until volume vii.

A. W. W.

A. R. W.

CAMBRIDGE,

29 September 1909

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CHAPTER I

TRANSLATORS

THE translators of Elizabeth's age pursued their craft in the spirit of bold adventure which animated Drake and Hawkins. It was their ambition to discover new worlds of thought and beauty. They sailed the wide ocean of knowledge to plant their colonies of the intellect where they might, or to bring back to our English shores some eloquent stranger, whom their industry had taught to speak with our English tongue. Holland justly describes his enterprise as a conquest. He 'would wish rather and endeavour,' says he in the preface to his translation of Pliny, 'by all means to triumph now over the Romans in subduing their literature under the dent of the English pen, in requitall of the conquest some time over this Island, atchieved by the edge of their sword.' And, harbouring this sentiment of conquest, the translators were strongly impelled also by the desire to benefit their native land and its rulers. They had learned from the classics deep lessons of policy and statecraft, which they would impart to their queen and her magistrates. Their achievement was, indeed, the real renaissance of England, the authentic recovery of the ancient spirit. That they were keenly conscious of what they were doing, is clear from their dedications and their prefaces. The choice of the great personages to whom they presented their works was made with a deliberate purpose. When North and Holland asked the queen's protection for their masterpieces, it was in the full-hope and knowledge that Plutarch and Livy would prove wise guides unto her footsteps. Nor was it with the mere intent of flattery or applause that other translators offered the fruits of their toil to Cecil, Leicester and Christopher Hatton. They wished to give counsel where they deemed it useful. Thomas Wilson, for instance, the translator of Demosthenes, thought that every good subject should compare the present and the past; that, when he heard of Athens and the Athenians, he should remember England and Englishmen; that, in brief, he should learn from the doings of his

elders how to deal with his own affairs. John Brende, Englished Quintus Curtius, in presenting his book to the count of Northumberland, thus explained his purpose:

'There is required in all Magistrates,' says he, 'both a faith and fear of God, and also an outward policie in worldly thinges¹: whereof, as the one is to be learned by the Scriptures, so the other must chiefly be by the reading of histories.'

Wherever you turn, you find the same admirable excuse; and as the translators gave to England well nigh the whole wisdom of the ancients, they provided not merely grave instruction for kings and statesmen, but plots for the dramatists, and entertainment for lettered ease.

As their interest lay chiefly in the matter of their originals, they professed little desire to illustrate a theory of translation. They had neither the knowledge nor the sense of criticism, which should measure accurately the niceties of their craft. They set about their work in a spirit of sublime unconsciousness. In their many prefaces, and they delighted in prefaces, there is scarce a hint that they are pursuing a delicate art. The most of them were indifferent to, or ignorant of, Horace's maxim:

*Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres,*

though, for the best of reasons, they followed the poet's liberal counsel. They would not have understood the scientific care with which Dryden presently distinguished metaphrase and paraphrase. Chapman, it is true, knew the end at which he aimed, and, in the preface to his *Homer*, lucidly describes what should be the ambition of the translator:

'The work of a skilfull and worthy translator,' says he, 'is to observe the sentences, figures and formes of speech proposed in his author, his true sense and height, and to adorn them with figures and formes of oration fitted to the originall in the same tongue to which they are translated.'

And one W. R., in an eloquent epistle, addressed to the translator, wittily defends Lodge against the charge that he had not parrot-like spoken Seneca's own words and lost himself in a Latin echo. But both Chapman and Lodge's defender wrote when the art of translation had been pursued for two generations and was falling, not unnaturally, into a habit of self-criticism. In general, the translators of the heyday were accurate neither in word nor in sense.

¹ Geoffrey Fenton showed his approval of this sentiment by borrowing it word for word in his preface to the *Tragicall Discourses*.

They followed the text as remotely as they imitated the style of the originals.

They have said that North and his colleagues were inspired by a love of adventure. They resembled the pioneers of our empire also in their splendid lack of scruple. As the early travellers cheerfully seized upon the treasure of others, painfully acquired, and turned to their own profit the discoveries of Spaniard and Portuguese, so the translators cared not by what intermediary they approached the Greek and Latin texts. Very few were scholars in the sense that Philemon Holland was a scholar. Like Shakespeare, the most had little Latin and less Greek. When Thomas Nicolls, citizen and goldsmith of London, set out to translate Thucydides, he went no further than the French of Claude de Seyssel, and Claude de Seyssel made his version not from the Greek but from the Latin of Laurentius Valla. Between Thomas North and Plutarch stands the gracious figure of Jacques Amyot. Thomas Underdowne derived his *Aethiopian Historie* from the Latin of Stanislaus Warszewiczki, a Polish country gentleman, who translated the Greek of Heliodorus, *rure paterno*, in 1551. Thus Adlington, in interpreting *The Golden Ass*, was misled by *Lasne Dore* of Guillaume Michel. Thus Aristotle came into our speech through the French of Leroy, and even Bandello crossed from Italy to England by the courtly bridge of Belleforest.

The result of this careless method is that the translations of Elizabeth's age (in prose, at any rate) are unsoiled by pedantry. They do not smell of the lamp; they suggest nowhere the laborious use of the pedestrian dictionary. They call up a vision of space and courage and the open air. That they are inappropriate seems no fault in them. If they replace the restraint of the classics with the colour and sentiment of romance, it is because the translators have done their work thoroughly. They have turned the authors of Greece and Rome not merely into a new language but into the feeling of another age and clime. In other words, their books carry with them the lively air of brave originals. And this natural impress is the deeper, because translation was not an exclusive craft, pursued in the narrow spirit of mere scholarship. Many of the most ingenious craftsmen were men of the world, who made their versions to beguile a leisure snatched from the conduct of affairs. Sir Thomas Hoby, who gave us *The Courtier*, was an ambassador; Danett, who put Commynes in an English dress, practised the art of diplomacy loftily exemplified in his original; with a fine sense of propriety, Peter Whitehorne

translated Machiavelli's *Arte of Warre* when he was in Rome with the emperor, 'at the siege and winning of Calibbia'; Thomas North himself played his part as a magistrate in the policies of the larger world. Even those who, like Holland and Golding, adopted translating as a profession practised a style all untrammelled by the schools. The reproach of Dryden, that 'there are many who understand Greek and Latin, and yet are ignorant of their mother tongue,' might not be brought with justice against them. Few men of the century knew Greek and Latin. Many were masters of English, which they wrote with an eloquence and elaboration rarely surpassed.

The translators' range of discovery was wide. They brought into the ken of Englishmen the vast continent of classical literature. Only a few provinces escaped their search, and, of the few, one was the province which should have had the quickest attraction for them. It is not a little strange that the golden age of our drama should have seen the translation of but one Greek play. Of Aeschylus and Sophocles there is nothing. A free paraphrase of the *Phœnix*, presented at Gray's Inn under the name of *Jocasta* in 1582 by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmersh, and made not from the Greek but from the Italian of Ludovico Dolce, is the Elizabethans' only and fragile link with Euripides. Plautus fares not much better: we have no more than the *Menæchmi* of William Warner (1595), which may have given Shakespeare a hint for *The Comedy of Errors*. More popular were Seneca and Terence. Seneca, no doubt, for his ingenious maxims, and Terence because he was appointed to be read in schools. Of the historians, both Greek and Latin, there is a long list. An unknown translator, who hides his name under the initials B.R., and who may be Barnabe Rich, published two books of Herodotus in 1584, and Thomas Nicolls, already mentioned, gave to England a complete Thucydides in 1550. Of Livy, we have a fragment by Antony Cope (1544), and a version of all that remains by the incomparable Phileas Holland. (1600), to whose industry also are due Suetonius (1606), Ammianus Marcellinus (1609) and Xenophon's *Œcypædia* (1632). Sallust, as might be expected, was a favourite of Tudor England. His *Catiline* was translated by Thomas Parnell (1541), his *Jugurtha*, by Alexander Barclay (1557), and both histories by Thomas Heywood, the dramatist (1608). Golding's *Caesar* (1565), Brende's *Quintus Curtius* (1553), and Stocker's *Diodorus Siculus* (1569), by no means complete the tale. What Sir Henry Savile did for the *Histories* and the *Agricola* of Tacitus

(1581), Richard Greenway did for the *Annals* and the *Description of Germany* (1598), and there is no author Englished for us in fuller and worthier shape than the wisest of Roman historians. Xenophon found other translators besides Holland, and Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* fell happily into the hands of Sir Thomas North, whose skill gave them a second and a larger immortality.

The philosophers and moralists of the ancient world chimed with the humour of Tudor England. Their simple disputations possess the charm of freshness and curiosity. The problems of conduct posed by Cicero and Plutarch are of a kind that found an eager solution in the minds of men, still simple enough to love casuistry for its own sake. Such questions as how a man may praise himself without incurring envy or blame, or whether philosophers ought to converse with princes and rulers, were met, it is certain, with many arguments and various answers. And the translators supplied those ignorant of the dead languages with a mighty armoury of intellectual weapons. Of Plato, to be sure, there is little enough. Besides Sir Thomas Elyot's *Of the Knowledge which maketh a wise man* (1533), distantly inspired by the philosopher, immediately suggested by Diogenes Laertius, there is but a version of the *Axiochus*, a doubtful dialogue. Aristotle received more generous treatment. His *Ethics* were translated from the Italian by John Wytkinson (1547), and, as has been said, one J. D. made a version of the *Politics* from the French of Loys Leroy, dit Regius (1598). Far more popular were Cicero and Seneca, the chief instructors of the age. Tully's *Offices*, translated by Robert Whittington, laureate in grammar (1533), and by Nicholas Grimald (1555), were confidently commended to rulers, schoolmen, orators and rhetoricians:

'At few words,' says the ingenious Grimalde, 'al men, that of wisdom be studious, may gette somewhat hereyn to sharpe the yrt, to store the intelligence, to fede the minde, to quicke the sprite, to augment the reason, to direct the appetite, to frame the tounge, to fashion the maners.'

Nor were the two treatises on *Friendship* and *Old Age* overlooked. The one was translated by John Harington (1550), the other by Thomas Newton (1569), and both have as handsome an appearance in their English dress as any books of the time; and, in 1561, John Dolman 'englysshed these fyve Questions, which Marke Tullye Cicero disputed in his Manor of Tusculanum.' Upon Seneca, also, Whittington tried his hand, to whom we owe *The Fame and Rule of Honest lyvinge* (1546) and *The Remedyes against all casuall Chances*. For the rest, Arthur Golding translated *The*

Woorke concerning Benefyting (1558), and, in 1614, Thomas Lodge, published his monumental version of Seneca's prose, a work undimmed by comparison even with Holland's translation of Plutarch's *Morals* (1603).

The modern world yielded as rich a spoil as the ancient. The Italianate Englishman, bitterly reproached by his contemporaries, brought back from Italy, with his fantastic costume, and new-fangled manners, a love of Italian literature and of Italian romance. From across the Alps came our knowledge of the court, of arms and of the arts. In a famous passage, Ascham deplored the encroaching influence. Evil as he thought the *Morte Arthure*, 'the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, and bold bawdrye,' he declared that 'ten *Morte Arthures* do not the tenth part so much harme as one of these bookes, made in Italie, and translated in England.' Yet their growing popularity could not be gainsaid:

'That which is most to be lamented'—again Ascham speaks—'and therefore more nedefull to be looked to, there be mo of these ungratious bookes set out in Printe within these fewe monethes, than have been sene in England many score yeare before.'

Ascham wrote in 1567, and there is no doubt that he had in his mind William Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, of which the first volume was published in 1566, the second in 1567, and Geffraie Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses* (1567). Few books of the time had a more immediate and profound influence than these. They entertained the court and were an inspiration to the poets. Had it not been for Painter, the English drama would have taken another path. The stories of blood and desire, appropriate to the ferocity of the Italian republics, were eagerly retold by our dramatists, avid of the fierce emotions which Elizabeth's peaceful England did not encourage in act. The tale of borrowings from Painter's *Palace* is a long one. Shakespeare and Webster, Marston and Massinger, all owe a debt to the ingenious writer whom Ascham savagely condemned. And they could not have gone for their plots to a better source. For Painter was a true child of his age. His ambition, like the ambition of the chroniclers, was encyclopaedic. He aimed, not at telling one story, but at telling all stories. He began at the beginning and carried his work to the very end. It would be difficult to find a plot that has not its origin, or its counterpart, in Painter's treasure-house. His earliest stories are taken from Livy, Herodotus and Aulus Gellius; and, presently, he seeks his originals in the works of queen Margaret and Boccaccio, of Bandello and Straparola. Whatever were the origin and substance

of his tales, he reduced them all to a certain plainness. He had a ready talent for story-telling; he cultivated a straightforward style; and, unlike the most of his fellows, he avoided embroidery. His popularity; therefore, is easily explained: his work was quickly intelligible to simple folk, and the dramatists had no difficulty in clothing his dry bones with their romantic imagery. But they acknowledged their debt with a difference. Shakespeare did not scruple to borrow the very words of North and Holinshed. He took no more than the plot from Painter's version of *Rhomeo and Julietta*.

Ascham's judgment of Painter and Fenton, foolish and unjust as it is, seems to have been anticipated by the translator of the *Tragicall Discourses* of Bandello. Fenton, indeed, securely defends himself against the detraction of the puritan. In an epistle dedicatory, addressed to the lady Mary Sidney, he professes that his choice of stories was made with the best motive. He had no other desire than to improve the occasion.

'Albeit, at the first sighte,' says he, 'these discourses maye importe certaine vanyties or fonde practises in love, yet I doubt not to bee absolved . . ., seinge I have rather noted diversitie of examples in sodaye younge men and women, approyvynge sufficientlie the inconvenience happenynge by the pursute of lycenceous desyer, then affected in anye sorte suche uncerteyne follyes.'

If Bandello incurred censure, what sentence would have been passed upon Boccaccio? Though his *Decameron* was involved in the harsh judgment passed upon Painter's *Palace*, though some stories found a place in Turberville's *Tragicall Tales*, it was not known to England, save in fragments, until 1620. His *Philocopo* was translated in 1567 by H. G., and, twenty years later, Bartholomew Young did into English the *Amorous Fiammetta, wherein is sette doun a catalogue of all and singular passions of love and jealousie incident to an enamoured yong gentleman*. Of the other Italian books, thus early done into English, the most famous was Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, of which Hoby's version won the difficult approval of Ascham himself. This book, he said, 'advisedlie read, and diligentlie folowed, but one yeaere at home in England, would do a yong gentleman more good, I wisse, then thre yeares travell abrode spent in Italie.' And then came Machiavelli, whose *Arte of Warre*, as has been said, was Englished by Peter Whitehorne (1560), and of whose *Florentine Historie* we owe an excellent version to Thomas Bedingfield (1598). But there is no *Prince* in English until 1640, and thus we are confronted by a literary puzzle.

No work had a profounder influence upon the thought and

policy of Tudor England than Machiavelli's *Prince*. It was a text-book to Thomas Cromwell; its precepts were obediently followed by Cecil and Leicester. The mingled fear and respect in which its author was held converted him into a monstrous legend. No writer is more frequently cited, generally with disapproval, than Machiavelli, and it is always the *Prince*, which was not translated, and not the *Arte of Warre* and the *Florentine Historie*, which were, that arouses the ire of Englishmen. A German scholar has counted more than three hundred references to the *Prince* in the works of the dramatists alone, and has traced them to the celebrated treatise of Gentillet: *Discours sur les moyens de bien gouverner et maintenir en bonne paix un royaume...contre N. Machiavel le Florentin* (1576), a work translated into English by Simon Patericke (1602). Thus the hostility of the Elizabethans against the Florentine was inspired not by the study of the original but by the violent partisanship of a Huguenot. However, if the accident which took the *Arte of Warre* and left the *Prince* remains unexplained, the preference of French to Italian is natural enough. The truth is, French was the language best understood by the English of the sixteenth century. Not merely was it the avenue through which many of the classics passed into our language and our literature; its familiar use tempted the translators to make known in England the learning and philosophy of France. The French books which we find in English are many and of many kinds. First in importance is Florio's *Montaigne* (1603), after which may be placed Danett's *Commines* (1596), a finished portrait of the politician, which partly atones for the absence of the *Prince*¹. The indefatigable Arthur Golding translated the *Politicke, Morall and Martiall Discourses*, written in French by Jacques Hurault (1595), while Henri Estienne, La Noue and La Primaudaye all found their way into our English speech. And France, also, like Italy, has her paradox. As we have no *Prince* before Dacres, so we have no Rabelais before Sir Thomas Urquhart. The influence of Gargantua, now the legendary giant, now Rabelais's own creation, and of Pantagruel, is plain for all to see. They are among the commonplaces of our dramatists, and, but for the example of Rabelais, at least two masters of prose, Nashe and Harvey, would have written far other than they did. But, though a version of

¹ That masterpiece of satiric observation, de la Sale's *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage*, should surely have found a translator in the sixteenth century. And, though the earliest version noted bears the date 1694, it is a fourth edition, and earlier in style than the year of its publication. See volume xii of the present work, pp. 89, 90.

Gargantua his Prophecies is entered in the Stationers' registers (1592), either it was never published or it has disappeared, and those who studied the style and gospel of Messer Alcofribas must have studied them in the original.

There remains Spain, united to England in the bonds of enmity, and then, as now, the land of curiosity and romance. Her influence, widely felt, was deepest in the realms of discovery and mysticism, of manners and chivalry. The great masterpieces, Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, and *Exemplary Novels* and the *Celestina* of Fernando de Rojas, came to England, when the Stewarts sat upon the throne. But the sixteenth century knew no more popular book, no more potent influence than *The Diall of Princes*, translated from Guevara by Thomas North (1557), in which may be detected the first seeds of euphuism. Vives taught philosophy, rhetoric and civil law orally at Oxford, and, by his translated works, to England. The 'spiritual and heavenly exercises' of Granada brought comfort and inspiration to the devout; it was through Spain that Amadis and Palmerin came to England; and many of the bravest adventures chronicled in Hakluyt's treasury of voyages were sought and found in the peninsula. The earliest example of the picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, was 'drawn out of Spanish' by David Rowland (1576), and, among many others, Bartholomew Young, already mentioned as a scholar in Italian, translated from its native Spanish the *Diana* of George Montemayor.

Thus it will be seen that the translators into prose of Elizabeth's reign were impartial, as they were courageous, in their choice. They were appalled neither by the difficulty of strange tongues nor by the freedom of foreign tales. And, various as was their excuse, their style is uniform. As I have said, they made no attempt to represent the niceties of the original in their own tongue. They cut and clipped French and Roman, Spanish and Greek, to the same form and shape. Some were simpler than others; some were less cunning in the search after strange words. William Adlington, for instance, who might have found in Apuleius an opportunity for all the resources of Elizabethan vigour and Elizabethan slang, treated his author with a certain reserve. But, for the most part, the colour of the translations is the colour of the translator's time and country, and if we study the method of one or two chosen examples, we shall get an insight into the method of them all.

The most famous, and, perhaps, the best, of Elizabethan translations is Sir Thomas North's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and*

Romans (1579). That Shakespeare used it in patient obedience, borrowing words as well as plots, is its unique distinction. But if Shakespeare had never laid upon it that hand of Midas, which transmuted whatever it touched into pure gold, the version had yet been memorable. It is not Plutarch. In many respects it is Plutarch's antithesis. North composed a new masterpiece upon Plutarch's theme. As I have said, he saw Plutarch through Amyot's eye. And the result is neither Amyot nor Plutarch. No book, in truth, ever had a stranger history. There came out of Chaeronea in the first century after Christ a scholar and a writer who was destined to exert a powerful, if indirect, influence upon the greatest of our poets. Thus was Boeotia avenged of her slanderers; thus did a star of intelligence shine over despised Thebes. The Boeotian wrote a book, which, in due time, fell into the hands of Jacques Amyot. What Amyot did with the book, Montaigne, himself a humble debtor, shall proclaim:

'Je donne avec raison,' he writes, *'ce me semble, la palme à Jacques Amyot, sur tous nos escrivains françois. . . . Nous, autres ignorants estions perdus, si ce livre ne nous eust relevé du boubier; sa mercy, nous osons à cett'heure et parler et escrire: les dames en regentent les maistres d'eschole: c'est nostre breviaire.'*

And Plutarch's good fortune did not rest here. Amyot's book, which was Montaigne's breviary, came to Thomas North, who embellished Amyot, as Amyot had embellished Plutarch. North's Plutarch is as far from Amyot's as Amyot's is from its original. Not merely the words, but the very spirit is transformed. Change the names, and you might be reading in North's page of Philip Sidney and Richard Grenville, of Leicester and of the great lord Burghley. For North, though he knew little of the classics, was a master of noble English. He was neither schoolman nor euphuist. As he freed his language from the fetters which immature scholars had cast upon it, so he did not lay upon its bones the awkward *châfais* of a purposed ingenuity. He held a central place in the history of our speech. He played upon English prose as upon an organ whose every stop he controlled with an easy confidence. He had a perfect sense of the weight and colour of words; pathos and gaiety, familiarity and grandeur resound in his magnificently cadenced periods. It was his good fortune to handle a language still fired with the various energy of youth, and he could contrive the effects of sound and sense which had neither been condemned nor worn out by the thoughtful pedant. Above all, his style had a dramatic quality which suggests to the reader a constant move-

ment, and the value of which, no doubt, was candidly recognised by Shakespeare. An example will best illustrate this peculiar skill of the translator. Here is the prelude to the immortal discourse of Coriolanus:

• It was even twy light when he entred the citie of Antium, and many people met him in the streetes, but no man knewe him. So he went directly to Tullus Aufidius house, and when he came thither, he got him up straight to the chimney harthe, and sat him downe, and spake not a worde to any man, his face all muffled over. They of the house spying him, wondered what he should be, and yett they durst not byd him rise. For, ill-favoredly muffled up and disguised as he was, yett there appeared a certaine majestie in his countenance, and in his silence: whereupon they went to Tullus who was at supper, to tell him of the straunge disguising of this man.

The beauty of this passage is incontestable, and yet it is hard to explain. There is no striving after effect. There are no strange words. If it has a modern air, it is because the words used are of universal significance, and belong neither to this age, nor to that. And, simple as they are, they breathe the very spirit of romance. They move and throb with life, as if they were not mere symbols, but were the very essence of drama and of action. Now turn to the French of Amyot, and you will discern the same quality sternly subdued to the finer classicism of the language: •

Ainsy s'en alla droict à la maison de Tullus, là où de prinsault il entra jusqu'au foyer, et illec s'assit sans dire mot à personne, ayant le visage couvert et la teste affublée: de quoy ceulx de la maison feurent bien esbahis, et neantmoins ne l'oserent faire lever: car encores qu'il se cachast, si recognoissoit on ne sçay quoy de dignité en sa contenance et en son silence, et s'en allerent dire à Tullus, qui soupçoit, ceste estrange façon de faire.

At first sight the economy of the French is apparent. The words are fewer and are held together by a firmer thread than in the English version. But North has contrived by a touch here and there to give a picturesqueness to the scene which neither the French nor the Greek warrants. For instance, 'they of the house spying him' introduces a new image. • *Ceulx de la maison* is in Amyot's version, and corresponds to *οἱ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν*. But the spying is North's own legitimate invention. And again, the words 'ill-favoredly muffled up and disguised as he was,' which give an accent to the whole passage, represent no more than a particle in the Greek (*τὴν γὰρ τι καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.*), and are far more finely dramatic than the French: *encores qu'il se cachast*. Moreover, the last words of the English passage, 'the straunge disguising of this man,' find their excuse neither in French nor in Greek. There is a commonness of phrase in *τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ πράγματος* as

in *cette estrange façon de faire*, which finds no echo in North's splendidly inaccurate rendering. He instantly calls your attention from the thing to the man, and asks you to look once again at the strange muffled figure sitting by the hearth. And this, perhaps, is one of his secrets: an intent always to flatter the eye as well as the ear, and to reveal in pictures the meaning of his author. At any rate, there are few who, were the choice given them, would not rather read Plutarch in the noble English of North than in the restrained and sometimes inexpressive Greek of Plutarch. North, it is true, turned Plutarch's men into heroes of English blood and bone, but, in separating them thus ruthlessly from their origin, he endowed them with a warm, pulsing humanity, of which their author dreamed not.

Philemon Holland was a translator of another kind. His legendary pen was apt for any enterprise. He was a finished master *utriusque lingue*, and so great was his industry that he is not the hero of one but of half a dozen books. It was not for him to ask the aid of French or Italian. He went straight to the ancient texts—Greek or Latin—and brought back with him to his native English spoils which were legitimately his own. His whole career was a proper training for the work of his mature years. Born in 1552, he was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and, having studied medicine, settled at Coventry in the practice of his profession. But humane letters had laid a stern hand upon him, and, while he cured the poor in charity, he became usher in the Coventry Grammar School, and gave his life to scholarship and the muses. Fuller, who had a genius for devising names, called him 'the Translator Generall in his age,' and it is thus that he will be remembered unto the end of time. As I have said, his knowledge of Greek and Latin was accurate and profound. Still rarer was his knowledge of English. True, he did not possess the tact and simplicity of North. He could not produce wonderful effects by the use of a few plain words. His was the romance not of feeling, but of decoration. He loved ornament with the ardour of an ornamental age, and he tricked out his authors with all the resources of Elizabethan English. The concision and reticence of the classics were as nothing to him. He was ambitious always to clothe them in the garb which they might have worn had they been not mere Englishmen, but fantastics of his own age. Like all his contemporaries, he was eager to excuse his own shortcomings.

'According to this purpose and intent of mine,' he wrote, 'I frame my pen, not to any affected phrase, but to a meane and popular stile.'

therein, if I have called againe into use some old words, let it be attributed to the love of my country language: if the sentence be not so nicely couched and knit together as the original, loth I was to be obscure and dark: have I not Englished every word aptly? education hath taught me, yea, and tearmes appropriate by themselves.

His phrase is never affected; his style is neither mean or popular; and thus far he speaks the language of convention. The rest of the passage is the soundest criticism. Holland had a natural love of the old words and proverbs which distinguished his country language. His sentences are seldom concise or knit together, and his translations, though not apt to their originals, are apt enough to the language of their adoption. If he seldom echoed the sound of Greek and Latin, he never missed the sense, nor did he fear a comparison of his own work with the classical texts. When it was said that his versions were not in accord with the French or Italian, he knew that he was in the right of it. 'Like as Alcibiades said to one'—thus he wrote—*παραφορὸν οὖν καὶ ἀκούσον, i.e. strike hardly (Euribiades) so you spare me speake*: even so I say; Find fault and spare not; but withal, read the original better before you give sentence.' Let his own test be applied to him, and he will not fail. Take, for instance, a famous passage in the fifth book of Livy, which describes the salvation of the Capitol from the Gauls. Here is the Latin, simple and straightforward:

Anseres non fefellere, quibus sacris Junonis in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur. Quae res saluti fuit; namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius, qui triennio ante consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis arreptis simul ad arma ceteros ciens vadit.

Holland's English, close as it keeps to the text of Livy, has its own colour and quality:

'But they could not so escape the geese'—thus it runs—'which were consecrated unto *Juno*, and for all the scarcitie of victuals were spared and not killed up. And this it was that saved them all. For with their gagling and guttering of their wings, *M. Manlius*, who three yeares before had been Consul, a right hardie and noble warriour, was awaked. Who taking weapon in hand, speedily went forth and raised the rest withall to take armes.'

The English has a plainness to which Holland very rarely attains; but it is not its plainness nor its perfect harmony that gives it a character of its own. In the first place, 'gagling' arrests the ear so sharply, that the reader is as wide awake as *M. Manlius* himself. And then how admirable in sound and sense is the equivalent of *vir bello egregius*—'a right hardie and noble warriour!' It is by such touches as this and by a feeling of what is musical in prose, which never deserted him, that Holland produced his effects. His

failing from a pedantic point of view is an excess of ornament. He was not always content to say what he had to say once. He delighted to turn a statement about—to put it now in this light now in that. '*Jacta est alea*,' writes Suetonius. 'The dice be thrown,' says Holland; 'I have set up my rest; come what will of it.' His variety and resource are endless. In a single passage he makes Vitellius his own contemporary.

'Being given most of all to excessive bellie cheere and crueltie,' he writes, 'he divided his repast into three meales every day at least, and sometime into foure, to wit, Breakefast, Dinner, Supper, and rere-bankets.'

From this, the last drop of Latin austerity is squeezed. And you can hear Vespasian rioting with his friends when Holland writes:

given exceedingly hee was to skoffs, and those so skurriile and filthy, that he could not so much as forbear words of ribaudrie. And yet there he makes right pleasant conceited jests of his extant.

In such terms as these might Rabelais have composed the lives of the Roman Emperors. Excellent in tone and movement as is the *Suetonius*, in some respects his *Pliny* is Holland's masterpiece. The difficulty of this enterprise was far greater. If the obstacle in the way of a familiar rendering might have seemed insuperable, Holland has easily surmounted it. He has thawed the frigid original at the fire of his romantic temper. 'Sirrah (quoth he) remember you are but a shoemaker, and therefore meddle no higher I advise you than with shoes.' The mere *Sirrah* carries you leagues away from Apelles and the shoemaker whom he bade look to his last, and reminds you of the truth that Holland, like the old painters, put the noblest of his Greeks and Romans into doublet and hose.

His industry was universally applauded. He composed folios with as little toil as other men give to the writing of pamphlets. The two largest of his works are separated by a bare year. It was said that he wrote the whole of Plutarch's *Morals* with one pen—a pen which became mythical. 'It seemed that he leaned very lightly on the Neb thereof,' says Fuller, 'though weightily enough in another sense, performing not slightly but solidly what he undertook.' Fuller, with his usual good sense, puts his finger upon the truth. It was the solidity of Holland's achievement, not its extent, which was remarkable. His industry was always well directed. Few writers have ever kept so consistently at a high level of excellence. He was no master in the art of sinking. His narrative never flags; his argument knows no failure. His style was apt alike for history or reflection. And if he did not accurately

present in English the prose of Livy and Plutarch, of Suetonius and Pliny, he left us a set of variations upon ancient motives, which we may listen with an independent and unalloyed pleasure.

John Florio's *Montaigne* holds a place apart. This translator had neither the sentiment of North nor the scholarship of Holland. He brought to his task that which neither the one nor the other of these masters possessed—a curious fantasy, which was all his own. He was of the stuff whereof pedants are made. He delighted in eccentricity and extravagance. His prefaces are masterpieces of pomp and decoration. Asking, in a breathless refrain, 'Madame, now do I flatter you?' he exhausts the language of adulation, until at last he falls back upon ecstatic repetitions. He dedicates the first book of his *Montaigne* 'to the Right Honourable my best-best Benefactors, and most-most honored Ladies, Lucie Countesse of Bedford; and hir best-most loved-loving mother Lady Anne Harrington.' He plays upon words; he lets sound take the place of sense; he cultivates alliteration, and pleads guilty to 'a jirke of the French jargon.' A plain simplicity is beyond his reach; he fetches his frequent images from afar. He declares that in his translation he serves 'but as Vulcan, to hatchet this Minerva from that Jupiter's bigge braine.' When he contemplates his finished work, he strikes an attitude of valiance. 'I sweat, I wept, and I went-on, til now I stand at bay.' He is modest only when he thinks of his original. 'Him have I set before you,' says he, 'perhaps without his trappings,' and his 'meate without sauce.' But he keeps a stern face even in the presence of his 'peerlesse, and in all good gifts unparagenised Ladies'; he tells his reader that he is 'still resolute John Florio'; and there is always more of Bobadil in his bearing than of Holoternes.

Upon his version of Montaigne's *Essays* he exhausted his gifts and lavished his temperament. He loved words for their own sakes with a love which Montaigne would not have appreciated, and which will be easily intelligible to all who know Florio's famous *Horde of Wordes*. Turn where you will in his translation, and you will find flowers of speech, which grow not in the garden of the original. '*Je n'y vauls rien*,' says Montaigne, and Florio interprets: 'I am nothing worth, and I can never fadge well.' For *soufflet* Florio can find nothing simpler than 'a whirret in the ear'; for *finesses verbales* he gives us 'verbal wily-beguillies,' surely a coinage of his own. *Fade* becomes 'swallowish,' and *crestez* is admirably rendered

by 'pert and cocket.' The 'jirke of the French jargon,' already mentioned, is evident in such borrowed words as 'tintamast,' 'entrecuidance,' 'friandize' and 'mignardize.' He is as fond, as Montaigne himself of proverbial phrases. 'I will have them to give Plutarch a bob upon mine own lips' has precisely the same sense and sound as the French '*Je veux qu'ils donnent une nazarde à Plutarque sur mon nez.*' And, though the metaphor is changed, 'he hath had the canvas' (as who should say 'he hath had the sack') is an excellent match for '*cettuy-cy aura donné du nez à terre.*' It will be seen that Florio's method was neither just nor accurate. He made no attempt to suppress himself as we are told a good translator should. The reader never forgets that 'resolute John Florio' is looking out from the page as well as Montaigne. He is often inaccurate, and not seldom he misses the point. But, compare his version with Cotton's, and you will not hesitate to give the palm to Florio. Cotton's translation is a sound and scholarly piece of work; Florio's is a living book.

The translations in verse made in the age of Elizabeth may not be compared with the translations in prose. For their inferiority there are many plain reasons. Only a poet can render in another tongue the works of a poet, and even a poet cannot ensure a just interpretation. Between one language and another there are obstacles of metre and style, of temper and music, which are most often insuperable. Moreover, in the sixteenth century, the translating of prose was governed by so wise a convention, that mere journeymen could attempt a delicate task without risking conspicuous failure. The secret of verse could not be thus easily imparted, and much that won the approval of its own time appears to us the saddest, of doggerel. The enterprise was yet further hampered by a vain love of experiment. An age which desired to leave nothing untried did its best to introduce the hexameter into English verse, and, as Vergil and Ovid composed their poems in hexameters, it seemed proper to some translators to follow an alien example. Ascham began the controversy both by practice and precept. In his *Toxophilus*, he gave the world some poor specimens of the kind. The exercise of some ingenuity may scan the lines which follow:

What thing wants quiet and meri rest endures but a smal while.

Both merie songs and good shoting deliteth Apollo.

His precept was better than his practice. He condemned the English hexameter far more effectively than he wrote it. *Carmen*

anacretum, said he, 'doth rather holte and hoble than run smoothly in an English tong.' The question, once posed, was hotly debated. Gabriel Harvey wished no other epitaph than this: 'the inventor of the English hexameter.' Spenser gave Harvey a ready approval, and Nashe, of course, took the other side. 'The Hexameter verse,' says he, with excellent sense, 'I grant to be a gentleman of an auncient house (so is many an English begger); yet this clyme of ours hee cannot thrive in.' Time has proved the justice of Nashe's opinion. The experiments of Spenser and Harvey were long since forgotten, and those who turned Vergil and Ovid into their own measures are remembered only as curiosities.

By far the bravest of them was Richard Stanyhurst, who, in 1582, published 'the First Foure Bookes of Virgil his Aeneis translated intoo English heroical verse.' Whether he wrote in prose or verse, he surpassed in a fantastic eccentricity the vainest of his contemporaries. Never was there a stranger mixture of pedantry and slang than is to be found in his work. His criticism is his own and expressed in his own terms. The verses of Ennius, he says, 'savoure soomwhat nappy of thee spigget,' and he classes him with Horace, Juvenal and Persius among a 'rablement of cheate Poëtes.' Vergil, on the other hand, 'for his peerelesse style, and matchlesse stuffe doth beare thee prick and price among al the Roman Poëta.' He declares that, if any hold that Phaer's version lightened his enterprise, they 'are altogeather in a wrong box.' He offers to go over these books again and give them a new livery, which shall neither 'jet with Mr Phaer his badges, ne yeet bee clad with this apparaile wherewith at this present they coom furth atyred.' Indeed, he makes light of his labour. Phaer took fifteen days to translate the fourth book. He 'huddled up' his in ten. And for this he asks no praise but pardon, adding, characteristically, that 'forelittning bitches whelp blynd puppies.' But, though he wasted not his time, he did nothing at haphazard. He expounds his theory of the hexameter with great care, and gives every syllable its proper quantity, varying its length according to its termination and to the consonant or vowel which follows it. His labour is lost. Even if his theory were admissible, it would not save his version from ridicule.

Yet, absurd as it is, Stanyhurst's *Vergil* is worth examination. It is a work which owes no debt to anything save to its author's perverted ingenuity. Orthography, metre, vocabulary are each unique. Stanyhurst aimed, not merely at a new prosody, but at a new language. He invented a set of phonatopoeic symbols,

which you cannot match elsewhere in literature. What can we make of such lines as these :

Thesee flaws theyre cabbans wyth stur snar jarrye doe ransack.

Now doe they rayse gastly lyghtnings, now grislye reboundings

Of ruffe raffe roaring, mens harts with terror agrysing,

With peale meale ramping, with thwikk thwack sturdelye thundring?

Not content with these mimicries of sound, he invented whatever new words seemed useful for his purpose. 'Mutterus humming,' 'gredelye babled,' 'smacklye bebasee thee,' 'boucherous hatchet'—these are a few of his false coins. And he used the slang which was modern in his day for the interpretation of Vergil without scruple or shame. Imagine Dido, queen of Carthage, asking in fury: 'shall a stranger give me the slampam!' With an equal contempt of fitness he renders *pollutum hospitium* by 'Paltock's Inn,' and so pleased is he with 'Scarboro warning,' for the blow before the word, that he uses it with no better excuse than *incautam*, and, in another place, he is guilty of 'Scarboro scrabbling' without any excuse at all. As little did he hesitate to mar the epic dignity of Vergil with the popular proverbs of every day, such as 'in straw there lurketh some pad,' or 'as wild as a March hare.' And, being bound in the chains of the hexameter, he distorts the order of the words out of all semblance to English, until his version is wholly unintelligible without the friendly aid of the Latin. Yet his monstrous incongruities pleased the taste of his time. Harvey is proud to have been imitated by 'learned Mr Stanyhurst'; and Phaer fell, that this 'thrasonick huffe snuffe' might rise. Richard Carew mentions him in the same breath with Sir Philip Sidney, and Francis Meres cites him without disapproval. But critics there were who saw through his pretence. Nashe, above all, rated him at a proper value; and Barnabe Rich did him ample justice in few words: 'Among other Fictions,' says Rich, 'he tooke upon him to translate Virgill, and stript him out of a Velvet gowne into a Fooles coate, out of a Latin Heroicall verse into an English riffe raffe.' The question of the English hexameter has received a final answer, and, for us, Stanyhurst is but an episode in the history of literature. And what an episode! His very gravity makes him the more ludicrous, and his only pupils are Charles Cotton, Thomas Bridges, captain Alexander Radcliffe and the other writers of burlesque.

To Stanyhurst, Thomas Phaer was an insignificant competitor. But he had enjoyed twenty years of fame before Stanyhurst's

version was printed, and, though momentarily depressed, he survived the absurd fashion of the hexameter in the esteem of his contemporaries. Webbe praises his 'most gallant yerse,' and chooses him as an example to prove 'the meetnesse of our speeche to receive the best forme of poetry.' The proof is deficient. Phaer was no poet, and very ill-skilled to present the beauty of Vergil in English verse. As Anthony à Wood says, he was 'a person of a mutable mind,' who addicted his muse to many studies. Educated at Oxford, he studied law, wrote a work *Of the Nature of Writs* and presently adopted medicine as his profession. In brief, translation was his pastime, and, doubtless, his knowledge of the healing art was profounder than his knowledge of English or Latin. His *Vergil*, composed in lines of fourteen syllables, like Golding's *Ovid* and Chapman's *Homer*, never rises above a facile mediocrity. The translator constantly sacrifices taste and sense to the demands of rime, and mixes in a kind of familiar jingle the easy stateliness of the original. Even in the rare passages which display some movement and energy, he descends suddenly upon the wrong word, and sets the reader on his guard. Here, for instance, is his rendering of the celebrated lines, *Monstrum horrendum ingens*, etc., in the fourth book:

A monster gastly great, for every plume her carkas beares
Lyke number leering eies she hath, like number harkning eares,
Lyke number tounoges and mouthes she waggs, a wondrous thing to speake;
At midnight fourth she flies, and under shade her sounde doth squeake.

If the first two lines might pass muster, no word can be said in defence of the others. With the word 'squeake,' Phaer descends into bathos, and the best that can be said for him is that, while Stanyhurst always lets his reason go, Phaer is sometimes sane.

The best loved of all the ancient poets was Ovid, whose popularity is attested by many translations of varying worth. The first version in point of date is *The Fable of Ovid tretting of Narcissus, translated oute of Latin into Englysh Mytre, with a morall therein to, very pleasante to rede*. This was followed, five years later, by the first edition of Arthur Golding's work (1565), of which more will be said presently. In 1567, George Turberville printed *The Heroycall Epistles of the learned Poet Publius Ovidius Naso*, and, in 1577, there came from the press two versions of *Ovid his Invective against Ibis*, one of which is the work of Thomas Underdowne, to whom, also, we owe the *Aethiopian Historie* of Heliodorus. Marlowe turned the *Elegies* into rimed couplets, and George Chapman, in 1595, published *Ovid's Banquet of Sauce, a coronet*

for his *Mistress Philosophy*, and his *amorous Zodiac*. *De Tristibus* was Englished by Churchyard, and Francis Beaumont gave proof of his skill in a lively version of *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*. The cause of Ovid's popularity is not far to seek. He was an efficient guide to the Greek and Roman mythologies, and he furnished the poets with theme, sentiment and allusion. Of all the translations, by far the most famous was Arthur Golding's rendering of the *Metamorphoses*. The first edition (1565) contained but four books. In 1567, the work was complete. It is described on the title-page as 'a worke very pleasaunt and delectable,' and a stern couplet warns the reader against frivolity:

With skill, heede, and judgement, thys work must be red,
For els to the reader it stands in small stead.

Golding's motive, in truth, was above suspicion. His work was 'pleasaunt and delectable' by accident. He wished to improve the occasion before all things. In a long epistle, addressed to Robert earl of Leicester, he clearly sets forth his purpose. There is no fable of Ovid which does not make for edification. For instance:

In Phaeton's fable untoo syght the Poet dooth expresse
The natures of ambition blynd, and youthful wilfulnessse.

And a little ingenuity will interpret every book in a sense most profitable to the reader. That Ovid and his heroes were paynims he confesses with regret, and takes heart in the reflection that they may all be reduced 'too ryght of Christian law.' In the same spirit, he hopes that the simple sort of reader will not be offended when he sees the heathen names of feigned gods in the book, and assures him that every living wight, high and low, rich and poor, master and slave, maid and wife, simple and brave, young and old, good and bad, wise and foolish, lout and learned man, shall see his whole estate, words, thoughts and deeds in this mirror. It is a bold claim of universality, which Ovid himself would not have made. But it was in tune with the temper of the age, and, doubtless, added to the popularity of the work.

The chief characteristic of the translation is its evenness. It never falls below or rises above a certain level. The craftsmanship is neither slovenly nor distinguished. The narrative flows through its easy channel without the smallest shock of interruption. In other words, the style is rapid, fluent and monotonous. The author is never a poet and never a shirk. You may read his mellifluous lines with something of the same simple pleasure which the original gives you. Strength and energy are beyond Golding's

compass, and he wisely chose a poet to translate who made no demand upon the qualities he did not possess. He chose a metre, too, very apt for continuous narrative—the long line of fourteen syllables, and it is not strange that his contemporaries bestowed upon him their high approval. Puttenham paid him no more than his due when he described him as ‘in translation very cleare and very faithfully answering his author’s intent.’ He won the rare and difficult praise of Thomas Nashe, and he was honoured by Shakespeare, who did not disdain to borrow of his verses. The lines which follow will recall to everyone a celebrated passage in *The Tempest*:

Ye Ayres and windes: ye Elves of Hills, of Brookes, of Woods alone,
Of standing Lakes, and of the Night approche ye everychone.

And Golding was by no means a man of one book. He turned Latin and French into English with equal facility. Had it not been for Holland, he might justly have been called the ‘Translator Generall in his age.’ A friend of Sir Philip Sidney, he completed that poet’s translation of De Mornay’s *Woorke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian Religion*. To him we owe our earliest and best version of Caesar’s *Gallic War* (1565), besides *The abridgemente of the Histories of Trogus Pompeius, gathered and written in the Latin tung by the famous Historiographer Justin* (1570), several works translated from Calvin and the *Politicke, Moral and Martial Discourses written in French by M. Jacques Haurault* (1595). In brief, he tried his hand at many enterprises and failed in none, and Webbe’s panegyric might still stand for his epitaph:

For which Gentleman surely our Country hath greatly to gyve God thanks: as for him which hath taken infinite paynes without ceasing, travelling as yet indefatigably, and is addicted without society by his continuall laboure to profit this nation and speeche in all kind of good learning.

Though Ovid and Vergil were the favourites, the other poets were by no means neglected. Another reign saw the completion of Chapman’s vigorous and faithful *Homer*, which Pope should never have displaced, but he published a translation of seven books of the *Iliad* in 1598, and a word must be said here of his splendid achievement. To do full justice to Chapman’s work a continuous reading is necessary. It shines less brightly in isolated passages than in its whole surface, various and burnished, like the shield of Achilles. It is a poet’s echo of a poet—loud and bold. Justly may the same indulgence be granted Chapman which he would claim for Homer: he ‘must not bee read for a few lynes

with leaves turned over caprichiously in dismembred fractions, but throughout, the whole drift, weight, and height of his workes set before the apprehensive eyes of his judge.' Then shall we perceive the true merit of Chapman's masterpiece. From end to end it gives proof of an abounding life, a quenchless energy. There is a grandeur and spirit in Chapman's rendering, not unworthy the original, 'of all bookes extant in all kinds the first and best.' The long, swinging line of fourteen syllables, chosen for the *Iliad*, is the fairest representative of Homer's majestic hexameters, and it is matter for regret that Chapman preferred the heroical distich in his rendering of the *Odyssey*. Moreover, Chapman claimed an advantage over his fellows in that he translated his author without a French or Latin intermediary. His knowledge of Greek was not impeccable. Errors due to ignorance or haste are not infrequent, nor need they cause us surprise, if it be true, as he asserts, that he translated the last twelve books in fifteen weeks. As little need they incur our censure. If Chapman, the scholar, sometimes nodded, Chapman, the poet, was ever awake, and his version of Homer will ever remain one among the masterpieces of his age and country.

In his prefaces, he vindicates both Homer and himself from the detraction of enemies. Admitting proudly that his manner of writing is 'farre fecht, and; as it were, beyond sea,' he defends, as well he may, his 'varietie of new wordes.' If 'my countrey language were an usurer,' says he, 'hee would thanke me for enriching him.' Chaucer had more new words than any man since him need devise,

and therefore for current wits to crie from standing braines, like a broode of Frogs from a ditch, to have the ceaseless flowing river of our tongue turnde into their Frogpoole, is a song farre from their arrogation of sweetnes.

And, ready as he was, in his 'harmlesse and pious studie,' to esteem the policies and wisdoms of his enemies at no more value than a musty nut, he was readier still to champion the fame of Homer, especially against the 'soule-blind Scaliger' and his 'palsied diminuation.' He did not belittle the beauty of the *Aeneid*, but, with perfect truth, declared that Homer's poems were 'writ from a free furie,' Vergil's out of a 'courtly, laborious, and altogether imitatorie spirit.' In brief, he was loyal alike in commentary and interpretation, and, as he hailed Homer 'the Prince of Poets,' so he himself may justly be styled the prince of poetical translators. But even he had his forerunners. In 1579 Thomas Purfoote gave to English what he calls *The Odyne of Homer's Works, or The Battel of the Frogges and Myce*, and, in

1561, Arthur Hall, M.P. for Grantham, translated ten books of the *Iliad* from the French. Of Horace, Thomas Drant Englished both *Satires* and *Epistles*; Marlowe turned a book of Lucan into blank verse; and Timothy Kendall's *Flowres of Epigrammes* (1575 and 1577) were gathered out of sundry authors and particularly from Martial. The deficiency in Greek drama, as has been said, was made up for by many versions of Seneca, and there was no reason why an Englishman of the sixteenth century, who had not the ancient tongues, should have been deprived of a fair knowledge of the Greek and Latin poets.

Of modern poets there is not so long a tale to tell. Dante was unknown, and Petrarch was revealed for the most part surreptitiously under the names of his translators. The most widely read of them all was Du Bartas, styled by Gabriel Harvey 'the Treasury of Humanity and the Jewell of Divinity,' whose *Divine Weekes and Workes* were translated into rimed decasyllabic verse by Joshua Sylvester (1590—2). The popularity which this version enjoyed is not easily intelligible, and the fact that Milton sought therein some sort of inspiration is not enough to tempt a modern curiosity. Tasso's masterpiece found two translators in Edward Fairfax and Richard Carew, and Sir John Harington, at the behest of queen Elizabeth, made a version of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1591) in eight-lined stanzas. His translation, like the other verse translations of the time, displays care and fluidity without distinction. Its rapid course knows neither check nor variety. Its style is rather familiar than dignified, and Harington errs like Stanyhurst in the use of modern slang. Such lines as

They tooke them to a fort, with such small treasure,
And in so Scarborow warning they had measure,

suggest the barbarism of the barbarous *Aeneid*. Harington, moreover, embellished his text with a set of notes, in which he extols his family and his friends. In brief, he was a pedant and a courtier, who took to letters as a pastime, and practised them after the fashion of his kind. In a characteristic preface, he defended the craft of the poet, his chosen author, and his own enterprise. Though the craft, as he knew well enough, needed no apology, he could not refrain from breaking a lance with Puttenham, whose treatise had recently been published, and who had withheld the 'high and supernatural' title of maker from mere translators. In his defence of Ariosto, Harington appeals to authority and to sound morals. The Italian poet, says his translator, follows the

rules of Aristotle. More than this, he follows Vergil with a patient fidelity. 'Virgill extolled Aeneas to please Augustus; Ariosto prayseth Rogero to the honour of the house of Este.' And does not Alcina beguile Rogero, as Dido beguiled Aeneas? 'It is clear, therefore, that Ariosto should share the common eulogy of Vergil. Indeed, he may claim a higher praise, because there may be found in his many writings passages of which Vergil was incapable—such as the Christian demeanour of Charlemagne in the 14th book, and the conversion of Rogero to the Christian faith in the 41st. Briefly, Harington treats Vergil as Golding treated Ovid, and reproves him, in sorrow rather than in anger, for his inevitable paganism. As for the mention of himself and his kinsmen in his notes, to which Harington pleads guilty, he made them because Plutarch blamed Homer for nowhere explaining of what stock he was, of what town, or of what country. 'Excuse me, then,' says he, 'if I in a work that may perhaps last longer than a better thing, and being not ashamed of my kindred, name them here and there to no man's offence.' No excuse is necessary. Who would blame a whimsical scholar for chattering of himself and for interrupting a serious work with amiable anecdote?

Besides the translations openly made and avowed, there are others which masquerade as fresh, unborrowed works. In his *Elizabethan Sonnets*, Sidney Lee has traced to their origin in France or Italy a vast number of English sonnets. He has proved the debt which the poets of the sixteenth century owed to their predecessors. He has set side by side in a close parallel the sonnets of Lodge and Ronsard, of Daniel and Desportes. He has shown most clearly what Wyatt and many others took from Petrarch. He has illustrated the 'influence' of Marot, du Bellay, de Pontoux, Jacques de Billy and Durant upon our bards, great and small. As an episode in the history of translation this 'influence' is of the greatest interest. We should not consider its moral aspect too censoriously. In Puttenham's despite, the Elizabethans do not seem to have regarded plagiarism as a heinous sin. If they had, who would have escaped condemnation? No doubt Southern, who pilfered from Ronsard, and spoiled what he pilfered, deserved all the censure which the critic heaped upon him. But there are indications not merely that plagiarism was thought respectable, but that a translator might claim as his own that which he had put into English. 'I call it mine,' says Nicholas Grimald of his translation of Cicero's *De Officiis*, 'as Plautus and Terence called the comedies theirs which they made out of

Greek'; and, doubtless, Wyatt, Daniel, Lodge, Spenser and the rest called the sonnets theirs which they had made out of French and Italian, because they had made them. Ben Jonson did not think it worth while to give Philostratus credit for his 'Drink to me only with thine eyes,' and he left it for the critics of a later age to track every chapter of his *Discoveries* to its lair. In neither case need the morality of his method be discussed, and Dryden's defence of him may stand as a defence for all save for such burglars as Southern: 'He has done his robberies so openly, that we may see that he fears not to be taxed by any law. He invades authors like a monarch; and what would be theft in other poets, is only victory in him.'

CHAPTER II

THE *AUTHORISED VERSION* AND ITS INFLUENCE

IF the *Authorised Version*¹ of the Bible be the first English classic, as seems by all competent authorities to be allowed, two enquiries suggest themselves: first, what is meant when it is called a classic, and, secondly, what are the qualities that entitle it to be ranked as the first classic in English? In other words, it will be necessary first to examine the Bible as literature, irrespective of any translation whatever; and, secondly, to examine its diction in the standard English translation, in order to see whether the choice of words, the mould of sentences and the harmonious disposition of sounds are such as deserve the highest praise, in comparison with the choicest productions of native English genius.

These two enquiries, however—the one into the nature of the Bible considered as literature, and the other into the nature of the English in which our standard version is written—will, of necessity, imply some consideration of the successive stages by which what we call the Bible grew into being, and of the successive stages by which the English of our Bible was gradually selected, imbued with the proper meanings and associations, and ordered into a fit medium for the conveyance of the high thoughts and noble emotions in which the original abounds. Especially is it true of our second enquiry that no adequate conception of the language employed in the Jacobean version can be formed, save through at least a brief survey of the series of English translations which led up to it. Their indebtedness to their predecessors is recognised most clearly by the translators of the *Authorised Version*, who say in their preface:

Truly, good Christian reader, we never thought, from the beginning, that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one; . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against—that hath been our endeavour, that our mark.

¹ Notwithstanding the current use of this term, the Jacobean revision was never publicly authorised by parliament or convocation, privy council or king. The acceptance which it has enjoyed has been won chiefly on its merits.

• The Bible either proceeds from divine inspiration, as some will have it, or, according to others, is the fruit of the religious genius of the Hebrew race. From either point of view, the authors are highly gifted individuals, who, notwithstanding their diversities, and the progressiveness observable in their representations of the nature of God, are wonderfully consistent in the main tenor of their writings, and serve in general, for mutual confirmation and illustration. In some cases, this may be due to the revision of earlier productions by later writers, which has thus brought more primitive conceptions into a degree of conformity with maturer and profounder views; but, even in such cases, the earlier conception often lends itself, without wrenching, to the deeper interpretation and the completer exposition.

• The Bible is not distinctively an intellectual achievement. Like all other great works of literature, it springs from, and addresses, human nature as a whole. It has no more to do with intellect than with sensibility, imagination, or will. In fact, if it be more concerned with one of these faculties than another, sensibility, the sphere of the emotions, is the one that has pre-eminence over the rest.

The character of the Bible as a whole is best understood by regarding the Old Testament as its representative, and devoting attention primarily to that. It is the Hebraic temper, and the achievements of the Hebrew genius, that give the Bible a unique place among books; and these racial traits were much less subject to modification by alien influences—such as that of Greek culture—in the period covered by the Old Testament, than during the epoch in which the composition of the New Testament was effected. Much of the difficulty, for example, encountered in the adequate rendering of St Paul's epistles into another tongue is due to elements in his writing which are not common to him and the writers of the Old Testament, but belong specifically to him as one who had received a tincture of Greek learning, which, in modifying his thought, had also modified his speech. The tone of the Bible, then, is given to it by the Old Testament, which, therefore, may be considered as the type of the whole.

Its themes are the greatest that literature can treat. They may be reduced to three—God, man and the physical universe. The physical universe is regarded as subordinate, and even subject, to man, within the measure of his capacity and needs, while man, in his turn, is subject to God. The visible creation reveals the wisdom, power and skill of its Maker. Man's constitution

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being related to that of the world about him, he finds in the latter provision for his physical wants, and a certain satisfaction, falling, however, short of the highest, for his spiritual cravings. The relations of one human being to another, and of all spiritual existences among themselves, are partly matters of positive ordinance, and partly to be inferred from their relations to God. Thus, if God is the Father of all, all men are brethren. God is represented as desiring to draw man into closer and closer union with Himself, or as restoring man to his original condition of friend and trustful child. Such eventual and complete restoration is to be effected through the agency of the Hebrew people, but particularly of certain leaders—patriarchs, prophets and others—who, accordingly, are made the subjects of more or less extended biographies.

Speaking generally, the three species of literature in the Old Testament, succeeding one another in the order of time, are: narrative, poetry—chiefly lyrical—and prophecy. In the New Testament, the epistles may be said to represent prophecy, and the *Revelation* to be partly of a prophetic, and partly of a poetical, character, so far as these two can be distinguished.

Narrative, then, comes first in order of time, as in order of books. It deals with the early history of mankind, and the great epochs, especially the earlier, in the history of the Hebrew race. As suggested above, it delineates history largely under the form of biography, its most universally interesting form, and these biographies are full of ups and downs, of lights and shadows, both in characters and events. Conceived as affecting the ultimate destinies of all mankind, and, indeed, of every individual soul, these lives, presented in bold and picturesque outlines, are among the most enthralling of stories.

Next in order to the narrative books, thus filled with matter of deepest import and overwhelming interest to the race, come the poetic books, of which the *Psalter* is the chief. Some of the psalms are founded upon chapters of the national history, and all presuppose an acquaintance with the national religion. In turn, the psalms of an earlier period are subject to reworking at a later epoch, to express more perfectly the sentiments of the individual or the religious community. The same staple of matter thus reappears in a variety of forms, all of them charged with sincerity, fervour, or even passion.

The prophetic books form the third main division. After story and song come monition and reproof, mingled with predictions of

a better time. The prophet has much in common with the poet, but is more didactic, and is concerned with the national life rather than with the individual. Like the poet, the prophet rehearses or alludes to God's dealings with His people, so that continuity of motive is maintained throughout. A projection into the future opens up occasional vistas of limitless range and surpassing beauty, which give scope and direction to such hopes as men are prone to conceive for themselves or their descendants.

The first condition of great literature is a unity of theme and concept that shall give coherence and organisation to all detail, however varied. By this test the Bible is great literature. One increasing purpose runs through the whole, and is reflected in the widening and deepening thought of the writers; yet it is a purpose which exists germinally at the beginning, and unfolds like a "bud." Thus, all the principal books are linked and even welded together, and to the common consciousness form, as it were, but a single book, rather τὸ βιβλίον than τὰ βιβλία.

By far the greater part of the books which the world has agreed to call classic—that is, permanently enjoyable and permanently helpful—are marked by dignity of theme and earnestness of treatment. The theme or themes of the Bible are of the utmost comprehensiveness, depth and poignancy of appeal. In the treatment there is nowhere a trace of levity, or insincerity to be detected. The heart of a man is felt to be pulsating behind every line. There is no straining for effect, no obtrusive ornament, no complacent parading of the devices of art. Great matters are presented with warmth of sentiment, in a simple style; and nothing is more likely to render literature enduring.

Another trait of good literature exemplified by the Bible is breadth. Take, for example, the story of Jacob, the parable of the Prodigal Son, or St Paul's speech on Mars' hill. Only the essentials are given. There is no petty and befogging detail. The characters, the events, or the arguments stand out with clearness, even with boldness. An inclusive and central effect is produced with a few masterly strokes, so that the resulting impression is one of conciseness and economy.

Closely associated with this quality of breadth is that of vigour. The authors of the Bible have no time nor mind to spend upon the elaboration of curiosities, or upon minute and trifling points. Every sentence, nay, every word, must count. The spirit which animates the whole must inform every particle. There is no room for delicate shadings; the issues are too momentous, the concerns

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too pressing, to admit of introducing anything that can be spared. A volume is compressed into a page, a page into a line.

And God said, Let there be light, and there was light.

Jesus wept.

It would not be difficult to show how all these qualities flow necessarily from the intense preoccupation of the Biblical authors with matters affecting all they held dear, all their hopes and fears with respect to their country, their family and themselves, at the present and in a boundless future. Even when the phrases employed seem cool and measured, they represent a compressed energy like that of a tightly coiled spring, tending to actuate effort and struggle of many kinds, and to open out into arts and civilisations of which the Hebrew never dreamed.

In a sense, then, it is the lyrical faculty that distinguishes the Hebrew author. Yet he is not an Aeolian harp, delicately responsive to every zephyr of sentiment. His passions are few and elemental, and, as we have seen, are prone to utter themselves energetically. One is tempted to compare the great lyric, as it has been called, of the Hebrew, with the effusions, or rather the creations, of Sappho and Pindar. Yet Sappho and Pindar must suffer in the comparison. Addison speaks of Horace and Pindar as showing, when confronted with the *Psalms*, 'an absurdity and confusion of style,' and 'a comparative poverty of imagination.' As for Sappho, her longest extant production, while intense, shows, in conjunction with the shorter fragments, that her deeper emotion is limited in range, and, because of this limitation, and the tropical fervour displayed, is less universal in its appeal than the best lyrical outpourings of the Hebrew genius. These include, not only the *Psalms*, but much of *Job*, the best of the prophets, a good deal of the *Apocalypse*, occasional passages of St Paul, and even parts of the narrative books, especially those which report the utterances of notable persons.

It has been asserted that the Hebrews of the Old Testament were incapable of producing either drama or fiction, and, one might add, the leisurely developments of the epic. This is only another way of affirming their lyrical intensity and preoccupation. The destruction of Sennacherib's host is related with exultation, and the historian of *Exodus* rejoices over the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red sea. He is no more dispassionate than Tacitus in excoriating Nero, or Joinville in his devotion to St Louis. Events are never displayed in that 'dry light' so dear, as they supposed,

to Heracitus and Francis Bacon. There are always postulates which nothing could induce the writer to discard. There is always a presumption in favour of monotheism, of God's protecting or punitive care for the people of Israel, of their eventual deliverance and full entrance upon their divinely ordained mission. The poet or prophet could never be brought to admit that there might be gods many, nor that the Hebrew people were not fore-ordained to pre-eminence over Philistines and Assyrians.

But this egotism, this racial pride, which manifest themselves by a strong colouring and a decided tone, and which are at the furthest possible remove from scientific indifferentism, do not prevent the Bible from possessing a universality which has placed it at the foundation, or the head, or both, of all modern literatures. There are several reasons for this. Every one is interested in the origin of the world and of man. It may be urged that no other literature gives so plain and coherent an account of these origins, and of the early history of mankind, as the book of *Genesis*. Next, the Bible emphasises the conception that all nations are of one blood, and that all men are brethren, since their Father is one. This, in satisfying the social instinct, has tended more and more to draw tribe to tribe, and kingdom to kingdom, as well as individual to individual, and, indirectly, has appealed to national and personal ambition. Thirdly, the morality of the Bible, even where it takes the form of statutory enactments, keeps in view the interests of individual happiness and social well-being. Fourthly, the Hebrew race is presented as, in some sort, the prototype, or the beneficent elder brother, of all other races and nationalities, so that any of its experiences are likely to find a parallel in subsequent history, or even to help in making subsequent history. Fifthly, the future of mankind is regarded in the Bible as bound up with the general acceptance of Hebrew principles and ideals. Sixthly, the utmost fulness of individual life is represented as conditional upon the acceptance of that God who first distinctly revealed Himself to the Hebrews, upon obedience to Him and upon spiritual union with Him. With this is associated the Messianic hope of a Deliverer, who, greater than His brethren, yet even as they, should serve to bring God down to man, and lift man up to God. These, perhaps, are reasons enough why, notwithstanding the lyric note which is everywhere heard throughout the Bible, it possesses also a character of universality, and, one might also say, of impersonality. Thus, the *Psalter*, the most lyrical part of the Bible, is perhaps the widest in its appeal of

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any, simply because the cry of the individual believer, however impassioned, finds an echo in every other believing soul, and is not without some response from the most apathetic.

As to form, in the sense of order and proportion, it is often assumed that the Greeks alone possessed its secret in antiquity, and bequeathed some hint of it to the modern world. Perhaps, in an endeavour to vindicate for the Hebrews a sense of form, we may best appeal to authority; and, if so, we can hardly decline to accept the judgment of a man who, classically educated, and possessed of a Frenchman's love of order and beauty, was a Semitic scholar of unusual scope and insight. It was Renan who said:

Israel had, like Greece, the gift of disengaging its idea perfectly, and of expressing it in a concise and finished outline; proportion, measure, taste were, in the Orient, the exclusive privilege of the Hebrew people, and because of this they succeeded in imparting to thought and feeling a form general and acceptable to all mankind.

It is true that, if we regard the technicalities of literary construction, a book of the Bible will not infrequently seem to fall short; but this is because the author is not intent upon structure of a patent and easily definable sort. If he secures unity of impression with variety in detail, it is often by the use of other means, and especially, through an intrinsic and enthralling power which pervades his whole composition. Structure in the more usual sense is, however, to be found in limited portions, such as the story of Joseph, a single prophecy, or a speech from the *Acts of the Apostles*.

An attempt has been made above to show what there is in the constitution and qualities of the Bible entitling it to be called a classic. In what follows, the aim will be to consider the process by which it became an *English* classic, and the influence it has exerted, and continues to exert, in that capacity. Before attempting this directly, however, we shall need briefly to examine the problem which it presents to the translator.

The nature of the Hebrew language first demands consideration. Its most noticeable feature is its deficiency in abstract and general terms. It has no philosophical or scientific vocabulary. Nearly every word presents a concrete meaning, clearly visible even through a figurative use. Many of its roots are verbal, and the physical activity underlying each word is felt through all its special applications. Thus, to take a single example, there is

A Hebrew word variously rendered in the following passages by *bud*, *east*, *spring*, *outgoing*, *going out*:

Job xxxviii, 27: To cause the *bud* of the tender herb to spring forth.

Psalms lxxv, 6: For promotion cometh neither from the *east* nor from the *west*.

2 Kings i, 21: And he went forth unto the *spring* of the waters.

Psalms lxxv, 8: Thou makest the *outgoings* of the morning and evening to rejoice.

2 Sam. iii, 25: Thou knowest . . . that he came to deceive thee, and to know thy *going out* and thy coming in, and to know all that thou doest.

In every one of these cases the Hebrew word means 'going out' or 'going forth,' and the Hebrew so understands it; but the 'going forth' of the sun is one thing, and that of the waters another. Now, if we could suppose the word 'bud' or 'east' in English to present to the imagination, as transparently as 'spring' does, the original activity which the word records, we should better understand what is true of practically all Hebrew words. Everywhere we are face to face with motion, activity, life. Of the Hebrew words for pride, one presents the notion of mounting up, one of strutting, and one of seething, as a boiling pot. What fundamental idea of similar concreteness does the English word 'pride' suggest?

There were not many abstract ideas to be conveyed in Biblical Hebrew; the absence of the words is a sign of the absence of the ideas. Such a sentence as 'The problem of external perception is a problem in metaphysics,' or, 'The modifications produced within our nervous system are the only states of which we can have a direct consciousness,' would be untranslatable into ancient Hebrew. It is hardly too much to say that every generalisation—or, better, every general truth—expressed by the Hebrew is rendered with the utmost directness, and in phraseology as pictorial, as elemental, as transparent, as stimulative to imagination and feeling, as could possibly be. Such a language is the very language of poetry. The medium through which poetry works is the world of sensible objects—wine and oil, the cedar of Lebanon, the young lion, the moon, the cloud, the smoking hills, the wild goat, the coney and the stork; or, if we turn to Homer rather than the Psalmist, a plane-tree, the bright water of a spring, a snake blood-red on the back, the cheeping brood of a sparrow, or beaked ships and well-greaved Achæans. What is necessary in order to make poetry out of such materials is intensity of feeling, with elevation and coherence of thought. These, we have seen, were the endowment of the Hebrews. On the one

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hand, they were close to nature; they had not parcelled out their human constitution into separate and independent faculties; they had not interposed a cloud and hubbub of words between themselves and things; they had not so dissipated their powers in minute and laborious analysis that they were incapable of naïve views, powerful sensations and vigorous convictions. On the other hand, they had, as tending to coherence and elevation of thought, what to them was a sufficient explanation of all the wonders of the universe, and a sufficient impulse to lift up their hearts: these they found in their overmastering belief in God the Creator, God the Maintainer, and, for those who trust and love Him, God the Deliverer.

But not only were their words concrete—the structure of their sentences was simple, while of the paragraph, in the Greek sense, they had hardly any conception, until, in the New Testament, we find their diction fallen under Greek influence. Their chief connective was ‘and’—hence the periodic sentence was, virtually, beyond their scope. The verse was their stylistic unit; and a sequence of verses, or of sentences about the length of what we understand by the average Biblical verse, was all that they aimed at achieving in composition.

Their poetry was measured, not by feet, as in ancient Latin and Greek, but by word-accents, as in the most ancient poetry of many nations, including that of our English ancestors. Moreover, Hebrew poetry was dominated by the principle of parallelism of members. Often these members are arranged in couplets, but sometimes they include several lines. The three primary forms of parallelism are the synonymous, the synthetic and the antithetic. Thus, synonymous:

Psalms xv, 1: (a) Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? (b) Who shall dwell in thy holy hill?

Synthetic (a succeeding line or lines supplementing or completing the first):

Psalms xiv, 2: (a) The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, (b) to see if there were any that did understand, and seek God.

Antithetic:

Proverbs i, 1: (a) A wise son maketh a glad father, (b) but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.

Besides these, there are variations, such as climactic parallelism, where an expression in the first line is repeated in one or more that follow:

Psalms xxiv, 8: (a) The Lord strong and mighty, (b) the Lord mighty in battle.

The formation of the strophe, and devices such as the refrain, are less important. What is chiefly to be noted is, first, that Hebrew poetry has a decided accentual rhythm, and, secondly, that the dominant principle in the union of lines into larger groups is that of parallelism. The controlling rhythm is, therefore, the rhythm of meaning, what Watts-Dunton has called 'sense-rhythm,' this, as he observes, being the rhythm of nature. Stanley eloquently says :

'The rapid stroke as of alternate wings,' 'the heaving and sinking as of the troubled heart,' which have been beautifully described as the essence of the parallel structure of Hebrew verse, are exactly suited for the endless play of human feeling, and for the understanding of every age and nation.

Much of Hebrew prose was poetical, in the sense that it employed these devices to a greater or less extent, and all of it was poetical in the sense described above in the discussion of the Hebrew vocabulary. The prophets, in particular, frequently rise into a strain which is hardly distinguishable from poetry.

The qualities, then, which fitted the Bible, beyond any other book of the world, for translation, are, among others, these :

(a) Universality of interest. There is much in it for the meanest and most illiterate, and its treasures are not to be exhausted by the wisest. It touches every person at more points than any other book that can be named. •

(b) The concreteness and picturesqueness of its language, appealing alike to the child and the poet, while suggesting abundant reflection to the philosopher.

(c) The simplicity of its structure, which requires little more from the translator than that he shall render with fidelity one brief clause at a time, and follow it by the next.

(d) A rhythm largely independent of the features, prosodical or other, of any individual language—a rhythm free, varied and indeterminate, or, rather, determinate only by what has been called 'the energy of the spirit which sings within the bosom of him who speaks,' and therefore adaptable to every emotion, from the most delicate to the most energetic.

It follows that the sway of the original is so powerful that hardly any translation will be devoid of merit, while infinite room is still left for felicities of detail, according to the character of the medium and the skill and taste of the translator.

Among the qualifications of a good translator, the first, undoubtedly, is that he shall be penetrated by a sense of the surpassing value of his original, and a corresponding sense of

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the importance of his task. This will preserve him from flippancy and meanness, by imbuing him with earnestness and humility. It will make him ready to follow wherever he is led by the text, and will prevent him from pluming himself upon prettiness of phrase, or any fancies of his own. Such a translator will strive with all his might after fidelity to word and sense, and after the utmost clearness and simplicity of rendering, avoiding, on the one hand, the trivial, and, on the other, the ornate or pompous. He will conform to the genius of his own tongue while endeavouring to transfer to it the treasures of another; and, besides possessing naturally, he will cultivate, in every proper way, a sensitiveness to that music of the phrase, which, in the case of the Bible, is but another name for the music of the heart. Only a few translators have united these endowments in a just proportion, but, among them must be counted Jerome, the first of the great translators, whom we know by name, the author—though he called himself rather the reviser—of the Latin *Vulgate*.

Of Jerome's fitness for his task the following illustration will serve. It is worthy of attention, moreover, as presenting the verses contained in the various English specimens which follow :

Exod. xix.^c 16, 18, 19: Jamque advenerat tertius dies, et mane inclaruerat, et ecce coeperunt audiri tonitrua, et micare fulgura, et nubes densissima operire montem, clangorque buccinae vehementius perstrebat, et timuit populus qui erat in castris. . . . Totus autem mons Sinai fumabat, eo quod descendisset Dominus super eum in igne, et ascenderet fumus ex eo quasi de fornace; eratque omnis mons terribilis. Et sonitus buccinae paulatim crescebat in majus, et prolixius tendebatur.

The language into which the Bible can be most perfectly rendered will, in the first place, be popular, in distinction from artificial or scholastic. Its vocabulary will consist of such words as ordinary people would naturally use to describe objects or utter their emotions. It will abound in concrete expressions, and need but few learned or recondite terms. The words should, if possible, exhibit their primitive meaning on their face, or, at least, suggest immediately a single central meaning which can be accepted as radical and primary. They must, in general, while racy and vernacular, be free from degrading or belittling associations, so that they may be equally suitable for the middle or ordinary style and for passages of any degree of elevation up to the highest. A considerable proportion of them must possess sonority, or contain such admixtures of vowels and musical consonants as will ensure, according to the need, a scale of melodious effects ranging from serene and quiet harmonies to rich and rolling *crescendos*—

but all without appearance of effort, instinctively responsive to the situation, and to the feeling which the situation evokes.* If the rhythmical effects of a language are attained through the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, such a language will so far resemble the Hebrew, and serve as a natural medium for the transmission of the original effects.

The influences which moulded the English language into a proper vehicle for so stupendous a literary creation as the Bible must next be briefly considered. Early in the eighth century, Bede was making a translation into Old English of the *Gospel of John*, and, about the year 800. A.D., the language was already capable of such poetry as this from the *Christ* of Cynewulf¹:

Thereupon from the four corners of the world, from the uttermost regions of earth, angels all-shining shall with one accord blow their crashing trumpets; the earth shall tremble under men. Glorious and steadfast they shall sound together over against the course of the stars, chanting in harmony and making melody from south and from north, from east and from west, throughout the whole creation. All mankind shall they wake from the dead unto the Last Judgment; they shall rouse the sons of men all aghast from the ancient earth, bidding them straightway arise from their deep sleep.

Throughout the Old English period, most of the literature produced was strongly coloured by Biblical diction. Even a work like Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* was under this influence. By about the year 1000, the language was able to render the Latin of Jerome, as given above, in the following form² (*Exod.* xix, 16, 18, 19):

ƿā cōm se ƿrydda dæg, and ligetta and ƿunor and ƿiece genip oferwrāþ þone munt, and hýman swég was gehíred, and eall ƿæt folc him ondréd þe was on þām fyrdwicon. . . . And eall Sinaí munt sméac, forþamþe Drihten was uppan him on fyre; and se smíc ārās of him, and eall se munt was egeslic. And þære hýman swég wéox swā lēng awā swifðor³.

Before we leave this part of the subject, it may be added that, according to the computations of Marsh, about 93 per cent. of the words of the *Authorised Version*, counting repetitions of the same word, are native English.

Ormulum and *Piers Plowman* will suggest the influence exerted by the Bible on English diction during the period between A.D. 1000 and 1400—roughly speaking, between the age of Aelfric and

¹ Ll. 878—889, Whitman's translation.

² The vowel-sounds of either Italian, French, or German will be sufficiently close. The characters *ſ* and *þ* represent *th*; *g* before or after *e* or *i* is usually like *y*. Final *e* is pronounced somewhat like that in *liveth*, or the final *e* of German. The macron indicates length of vowel.

³ Aelfric's versions of the same passage may be found in his *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, i, 312; ii, 196, 202.

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that of Wyclif. The poetry near the end of this period is better able than prose to cope with the difficulties of translation. Thus, Chaucer¹ has :

Caste alle away the werkis of derknesse,
And armeth you in armure of brightnesse;

where the second Wyclifite version reads :

Rom. xiii, 12: Therfor caste we awei the werkis of derknessis, and be we clothid in the armeris of list.

Though this second version, that of Purvey (1388), is, in general, much less pedantically literal than the first, made some eight or nine years earlier, yet such words as *derknessis* and *armeris*, for the Latin plurals *tenebrae* and *arma*, illustrate the chief defect of both the Wyclifite translations, namely, a failure to attain perfect English idiom.

Purvey seems to have been quite conscious of the excessive literalness of the earlier version (1380), and of the awkwardness due to the close following of Latin idiom. In his prologue, after describing how he had toiled, in association with others, to obtain a true Latin text, and to elucidate its difficulties, he proceeds to lay down important principles of Biblical translation, which have never been superseded. Among them are :

First, to translate as clearly as possible according to the sense, and not merely according to the words.

Secondly, to make the sentence at least as 'open' in English as in Latin, that is, to have due regard to English idiom.

Nevertheless, it may be affirmed that both Wyclifite versions are far inferior in ease and idiomatic character to the Old English. It cannot be said that scholars are agreed as to the influence of the Wyclifite versions upon Tindale and the *Authorised Version*; but it is pretty clear that Tindale was influenced by them to a moderate extent, and that expressions of great force and beauty have, occasionally, been appropriated from Wyclif by the *Authorised Version*, either mediately or directly. One or two instances may suffice: *John* iv, 14, 'a well of water springing up into everlasting life' comes, through Tindale, from both the Wyclifite versions; *1 Cor.* ii, 10, 'the deep things of God,' which Tindale renders, 'the bottom of God's secrets,' and the Rheims version, 'the profundities of God.' How easy it is to go stylistically astray in such matters is shown by the fact that two versions, both published within the last ten years, have, respectively, for the first passage above, 'a spring of water... welling up for enduring life,'

¹ *Second Nun's Tale*, 884—5.

and 'a fountain . . . of water springing up for the Life of the ages'; and, for the second, 'the profoundest secrets of God,' and 'the depths of the divine nature.'

The Wyclifite version of *Exod.* xix, 16, 18, 19 is subjoined, the spelling being modernised, and modern renderings being indicated:

WYCLIF (earlier).

And now the third day was come, and the morning [*morewe*, morrow] tide was full cleared; and lo! thunders began to be heard and lightnings [*leytes*, from the Old English word above] to shine, and the most thick cloud to cover the hill; and the cry of the trump more hideously made noise, and the people dreaded that was in the tents. . . . And all the hill of Sinai smoked, because [*for thi that*] the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke rose [*steyde*] up of it as of a furnace, and all the hill was full fearful; and the sound of the trump litle by litle [*litil mele*] sprang into more, and longer was stretched.

A hundred years later than the Wyclifite versions (20 November, 1483), Caxton published his *Golden Legend*, in which he had inserted considerable portions of the *Pentateuch* and the Gospels, on the basis, probably, of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*. Caxton's theory of translation, if we may judge from the preface to his *Eneydos*, was to seek a mean between 'fair and strange terms,' by some regarded as 'over curious,' and such 'old and homely terms' as were now strange and almost disused. His aim lay in the wish to be generally understood. The clearness and beauty of the passage from *Exodus* will be readily seen.

CAXTON'S *Golden Legend* (spelling modernised).

When the third day came, and the morning waxed clear, they heard thunder and lightning, and saw a great cloud cover the mount; and the cry of the trump was so shrill that the people were sore afraid. . . . All the mount of Sinai smoked, for so much as our Lord descended on it in fire; and the smoke ascended from the hill as if had been from a furnace. The mount was terrible and dreadful, and the sound of the trump grew a little more, and continued longer.

It will be evident that the vocabulary of Caxton is drawn from the same sources as Tindale's, while it does not greatly differ from Wyclif's, these sources being native English and Old French, with a very slight admixture of words coming directly from the Latin.

It is agreed on all hands that the English of the *Authorised Version* is, in essentials, that of Tindale. Minor modifications were made by translators and revisers for the next eighty years or so; but, speaking broadly, the *Authorised Version* is Tindale's. The spirit of the man passed into his work, and therefore it is of moment to ascertain what that spirit was. 'He himself may tell us:

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(a) His version was to be made for all the people, even the humblest:

If God spare me life, ere many years I will cause the boy that driveth the plow to know more of the Scriptures than you [a theologian] do.

To the same effect is his preference of *favour to grace, love to charity, health to salvation.*

(b) His surrender of himself to God. Writing to a friend and fellow-labourer, Frith, he says:

The wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God if we despair in ourselves, and trust in him; and his is the glory. Amen.

(c) His theory regarding the meaning to be conveyed:

Believing that every part of Scripture had one sense and one only, the sense in the mind of the writer.

(d) On Greek and Hebrew with reference to English:

The Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one, so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English word for word, when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shalt have much work to translate it well-favouredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English than into the Latin.

(e) His scrupulous fidelity:

I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus Christ to give reckoning of our doings that I never altered one syllable of God's Word against my conscience, nor would to this day, if all that is in earth—whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches—might be given me.

The observation of Augustus Hare, in speaking of the Jacobean revisers, is applicable to Tindale: 'They were far more studious of the matter than of the manner; and there is no surer preservative against writing ill, or more potent charm for writing well.' And so Goldsmith: 'To feel your subject thoroughly, and to speak without fear, are the only rules of eloquence.' Elsewhere he says: 'Eloquence is not in the words, but in the subject; and in great concerns, the more simply anything is expressed, it is generally the more sublime.'

(f) His humility:

And if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue, or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hand to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do.

Again, he speaks of himself as 'evil-favoured in this world, and

without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted.'

• If we add that he was an assiduous and minute student, went directly to the originals, and employed the best helps attainable, all that is needful will have been said.

TINDALE.

• And the third day in the morning there was thunder and lightning, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the horn waxed exceeding loud, and all the people that was in the host was afraid. . . . And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended down upon it in fire; and the smoke thereof ascended up, as it had been the smoke of a kiln, and all the mount was exceeding fearful. And the voice of the horn blew, and waxed louder and louder.

Before we pass from Tindale to the *Authorised Version*, three other translations must be mentioned. Coverdale's nature may be indicated by the fact that it is he who introduced into the language the expressions 'loving kindness' and 'tender mercy.' Tindale's nature was masculine, Coverdale's of a more feminine cast. His translations, of which the Prayer Book¹ version of the *Psalter* is the most generally known—possess a more flexible and musical rhythm than Tindale's. Tindale wrote (*Luke* ii, 12): 'And take this for a sign; ye shall find the child swaddled, and laid in a manger.' When this has passed under Coverdale's revising hand, it stands: 'And take this for a sign; ye shall find the child wrapped in swaddling clothes, and laid in a manger.' Westcott has truly said of Coverdale that he

allowed himself considerable freedom in dealing with the shape of the original sentences. . . . There is in every part an endeavour to transfuse the spirit as well as the letter into the English rendering.

A peculiarity of the Genevan version is that it attains a special accuracy. One example will suffice. Tindale translates *Luke* xi, 17: 'One house shall fall upon another.' The Genevan Bible has: 'A house divided against itself, falleth.'

The Rheims and Douay versions inclined to Latinise, whereas earlier versions had sought to employ simpler words, generally of

¹ The Prayer Book excels in the music of its phrasing. One of Cranmer's collects, that for the first Sunday in Advent, will serve as a specimen (c. A.D. 1546): 'Almighty God, give us grace that we may cast away the works of darkness, and put upon us the armour of light, now in the time of this mortal life, in which Thy Son Jesus Christ came to visit us in great humility; that in the last day, when He shall come again in His glorious majesty to judge both the quick and the dead, we may rise to the life immortal, through Him who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, now and ever.'

Coverdale has been regarded by some as the originator of the tendency to translate the same word in different ways at different times; but this tendency existed as far back as the Old English period.

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native origin. Thus, Tindale had written (*Rom. x, 10*): 'To know-
ledge [i.e. acknowledge] with the mouth maketh a man safe.' The
Rheims version has: 'With the mouth confession is made to salva-
tion'; the second Wyclifite version had rendered the same Latin
by: 'By mouth knowledging is made to health.' The trans-
lators of the *Authorised Version* endeavoured, out of the English
renderings with which they were acquainted, compared with the
originals and the principal versions into other tongues, ancient
and modern, to frame one which should surpass them all, by
appropriating the chief excellences of each—so far, at least, as
these excellences could be harmonised with one another. In so
far as it did thus reconcile pre-existing differences, it became a
powerful agent in establishing unity throughout the English nation,
for, to borrow the words of Gardiner: 'In its production all
sectarian influences were banished, and all hostilities were mute.'
Whereas previously, one Bible had been read in church, and
another at home, now, all parties and classes turned with one
accord to the new version, and adopted it as their very own. It
thus became bound up with the life of the nation. Since it stilled
all controversy over the best rendering, it gradually came to be
accepted as so far absolute that, in the minds of myriads, there
was no distinction between this version and the original texts, and
they may almost be said to have believed in the literal inspiration
of the very words which composed it.

It must not be overlooked that the *Authorised Version* profited
by all the controversy regarding previous translations. Practically
every word that could be challenged had been challenged. The
fate of a doctrine, even the fate of a party, had, at times, seemed to
depend upon a phrase. The whole ground had been fought over so
long that great intimacy with the Bible had resulted. Not only
did the mind take cognisance of it, but the emotions seized upon
it; much of it was literally learned by heart by great numbers of
the English people. Thus, it grew to be a national possession;
and literature which is a national possession, and by its very
nature appeals to the poor and lowly, is, in truth, a national
classic. No other book has so penetrated and permeated the
hearts and speech of the English race as has the Bible. What
Homer was to the Greeks, and the Koran to the Arabs, that, or
something not unlike it, the Bible has become to the English.
Huxley writes:

Consider the great historical fact that, for three centuries, this book has
been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history;

that it has become the national epic of Britain, and is as familiar to noble and simple, from John-o'-Groat's House to Land's End, as Dante and Tasso once were to the Italians; that it is written in the noblest and purest English, and abounds in exquisite beauties of pure literary form; and finally, that it forbids the veriest hind who never left his village to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilizations, and of a great past stretching back to the furthest limits of the oldest civilizations of the world.

The classical, yet popular, character of the Bible has been already insisted on. Two or three comparisons will further illustrate this. Chateaubriand, rendering the pathetic address of Ruth to Naomi in the Homeric manner, shows how prolix and comparatively languid Homer can be. It might be objected that Chateaubriand has travestied Homer, but it cannot be said that Thucydides, the consummate Greek historian, travesties himself. Compare the close of a Thucydidean speech, being about one-sixth of the harangue of Brasidas to his soldiers before their engagement with the Illyrians (Thuc. iv, 126), with the whole of Gideon's address to his men before their encounter with the Midianites (*Judges* vii, 17, 18):

If you repel their tumultuous onset, and, when opportunity offers, withdraw again in good order, keeping your ranks, you will sooner arrive at a place of safety, and will also learn the lesson that mobs like these, if an adversary withstand their first attack, do but threaten at a distance and make a flourish of valour, although if he yields to them they are quick enough to show their courage in following at his heels when there is no danger.

Look on me, and do likewise; and behold, when I come to the outside of the camp, it shall be that, as I do, so shall ye do. When I blow with a trumpet, I and all that are with me, then blow ye the trumpets also on every side of all the camp, and say, The sword of the Lord, and of Gideon.

The speech of Jahaziel (2 *Chron.* xx, 15—17) seems real. It is thus that an energetic man would speak. It runs (with modernised punctuation):

Hearken ye, all Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem, and thou king Jehoshaphat. Thus saith the Lord unto you: Be not afraid nor dismayed by reason of this great multitude, for the battle is not yours, but God's. To-morrow go ye down against them. Behold, they come up by the cliff of Ziz, and ye shall find them at the end of the brook, before the wilderness of Jeruel. Ye shall not need to fight in this battle. Set yourselves, stand ye still, and see the salvation of the Lord with you, O Judah and Jerusalem. Fear not, nor be dismayed. To-morrow go out against them, for the Lord will be with you.

Coleridge was so impressed with the vigour of Biblical style as to affirm:

After reading Isaiah, or St Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, Homer and Virgil are disgustingly tame to me, and Milton himself barely tolerable.

Shakespeare, by common consent, is the first name in English literature. Of Shakespeare's prose, Churton Collins makes five

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classes, the last being what he calls highly wrought poetical prose. 'This,' he says, 'is the style where Shakespeare has raised prose to the sublimest pitch of verse.' As the first illustration of it he chooses *Hamlet*, act II, sc. 2, 310—321:

This goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory, this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave overhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why, it appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals! And yet, to me, what is this quintessence of dust? Man delights not me.

This, indeed, is fine rhetoric, but how apostrophic it is, and how repetitious! 'Canopy'—'firmament'—'roof'—thus it is amplified. Again, even if we can distinguish between 'noble in reason,' 'infinite in faculty,' and 'in apprehension...like a god,' how shall we make clear to ourselves the difference between 'moving' and 'action'? And what an anticlimax—'the paragon of animals'!

This is Shakespeare, though, to be sure, Shakespeare putting words into the mouth of a dramatic character. And now, merely as a composition, compare *Psalm* viii, 3—8:

When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained, what is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet: all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field; the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas.

Does 'moon and stars' appeal less forcibly and pictorially to the imagination than 'golden fire'? Shakespeare's 'majestical roof' is unrelated to man; the 'heavens' of the Biblical passage are knit up into the same fabric with him. In the psalm there is no exaggeration. Man is not, as a matter of fact, 'infinite in faculty,' nor may we assume a universal consensus that he is, above everything else, 'the beauty of the world.' In the psalm he is subordinated to the heavens, only to be exalted over the creatures, and, when he is said to be 'a little lower than the angels,' the moderation of tone is more permanently effective than Shakespeare's 'in action how like an angel!' which seems merely a piece of somewhat hysterical exaggeration—though, perhaps, dramatically in keeping—to one who has formed his conception of angels

from the Bible, Dante, or Milton, from the Hermes of the ancient poets, or even from Shakespeare's own line in this same play,

And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest.

Milton does not scruple to affirm: 'There are no songs to be compared with the songs of Zion, no orations equal to those of the prophets.' As Sir Walter Scott drew near his beautiful and affecting end, he requested Lockhart to read to him. When asked from what book, he replied: 'Need you ask? There is but one.' To Wordsworth, 'the grand storehouses of enthusiastic and meditative imagination... are the prophetic and lyrical parts of the Holy Scriptures.'

Ruskin ascribed the best part of his taste in literature to his having been required by his mother to learn by heart certain chapters of the Bible, adding: 'I count [it] very confidently the most precious, and, on the whole, the one *essential* part of all my education.' Carlyle said: 'In the poorest cottage... is one Book, wherein for several thousands of years the spirit of man has found light, and nourishment, and an interpreting response to whatever is deepest in him.' Newman speaks of the Scriptures as 'compositions which, even humanly considered, are among the most sublime and beautiful ever written.' Macaulay regarded the Bible as 'a book which, if everything else in our language should perish, would alone suffice to show the whole extent of its beauty and power'; and, elsewhere, he says of Bunyan: 'He had studied no great model of composition, with the exception—an important exception undoubtedly—of our noble translation of the Bible.' Froude speaks of its 'mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur.' Swift writes, almost exactly a hundred years after the date of the *Authorized Version*: 'The translators of our Bible were masters of an English style much fitter for that work than any which we see in our present writings, which I take to be owing to the simplicity that runs through the whole'; and again, of the changes which had been introduced into the language: 'They have taken off a great deal from that simplicity which is one of the greatest perfections in any language.'

Hallam, though he admits that the style of the *Authorized Version* is 'the perfection of our English language,' has often been censured for declaring that 'the English of the Jacobean version 'is not the English of Daniel, of Raleigh, or Bacon'—in fact, that 'it is not the language of the reign of James I.' Yet this is strictly true, and for the reason that he assigns, namely, 'in consequence of the principle of adherence to the original versions which had been kept up since the time of Henry VIII.' It is true,

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in a sense, that no great writer's diction is of his age, any more than he himself is of his age. Coleridge declares of Shakespeare, 'His is not the style of the age,' just as Ben Jonson declared of the poet himself, 'He was not of an age.' Indeed, it seems as though this were the necessary condition, at least in the case of great writers, of being 'for all time,' that one shall not be too much 'of an age.' Great thought and great feeling, draw their own appropriate diction to themselves, somewhat as the magnet attracts steel filings; and, after the appropriate diction has thus been attracted, the union between it and the substance of discourse seems to be almost indissoluble. It is as if a soul had been clothed upon with flesh. From that moment, nothing can be changed with impunity; if you wrench away a word, it is as if a portion of the life-blood followed it. Now the time when the soul of the Bible began to take upon itself flesh for us was nearly three-quarters of a century before the work of the Jacobean revisers. But, since the life-process, so to speak, did not absolutely begin with Tindale, it really extended over a considerably longer period than that named above, especially if we consider that Wyclif was concerned in it; for, if the Wyclifite versions be included, the *Vulgate* can hardly be ignored, so that eventually the *Septuagint* must be regarded as having initiated a process which the Jacobean revisers completed. If the substance of the Bible may thus be compared to a soul which was to be fitted with a body, it will follow that the diction will differ somewhat from member to member, even as it did in the Hebrew and Greek originals; but it will also follow, in proportion to the assumed relation and interdependence of these parts or members, that this diction will have a certain homogeneity, so that a radical change in the vocabulary at any point would be likely to throw that part out of keeping with the rest. The truth of this was recognised by Ellicott, when, in 1870, he advised future revisers, to

limit the choice of words to the vocabulary of the present [Authorised] version, combined with that of the versions that preceded it; and in alterations preserve as far as possible the rhythm and cadence of the Authorised Version.

It is not a little remarkable that the effects wrought by the English Bible should require so few words. The editors of the *New English Dictionary* reckon the words in A to L, inclusive, as 160,813, of which number 113,677 are what they call main words. Shakespeare, it has been estimated, employs about 21,000 (others say 15,000, or 24,000); Milton, in his verse, about 13,000. The Hebrew (with the Chaldee) of the Old Testament, according to the

computations of Leusden, comprises 5,642 words, and the New Testament, it is said, has 4,800, while the whole English Bible, if we may trust Marsh, employs about 6,000. Making all due allowances for the 'myriad-mindedness' of a Shakespeare, there is still room for the conclusion that the capacities of words, especially of the simpler words, are much greater than is believed by those who use a large and heterogeneous vocabulary. In this respect, there is not so much difference between native English and Norman-French words as is commonly supposed. In the following examples, the words *clean*, *pure*, and *clear* translate the same Greek adjective, and all seem equally expressive, or nearly so:

Rev. xv, 6: 'And the seven angels came out of the temple, ... clothed in *pure* and white linen.'

Rev. xix, 8: 'And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, *clean* and white.'

Rev. xxi, 18: 'And the city was pure gold, like unto *clear* glass.' That, in this sense, they are fairly interchangeable may be seen by comparing *Job* xv, 15, 'Yea, the heavens are not *clean* in his sight,' with Tennyson's

Make thou my spirit *pure* and *clear*
As are the frosty skies.

This brings us to the question of the influence of the *Authorised Version* upon subsequent English literature—an influence which cannot always be precisely distinguished from that of the Bible in some earlier form. When Spenser or Shakespeare, for instance, uses the Bible, it is, of course, not the Jacobean version, and now and then the same thing will be true at a later period, as in some of Milton's writing. The more important modes in which the Bible has affected English literature are these:

(a) The themes are Scriptural, and the language partly, at times even largely, Scriptural. Such is the case in sermons, versified psalms, paraphrases of Scriptural narrative, devotional essays, and the like. An excellent example is Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. This book apart, however, there are few, if any, examples of a work which has been accepted as pure literature employing Biblical diction to anything like such a degree. Other attempts, such as the *Book of Mormon*, tend to the grotesque or ludicrous, because of the disparity between the language and the ideas suggested. A diction resembling that of the Bible in its concreteness and simplicity, and in its slightly archaic character, has, however, of late been employed with good effect in prose versions from authors like Homer.

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(b) Quotations from the Bible are introduced, sometimes slightly changed, into secular writings. The object is to substantiate a statement, or to awaken a train of associations favourable to the author's purpose. These can be found in almost any author, but they are more common in the nineteenth century than earlier, being especially used by writers who have at heart the reform or elevation of society or individuals.

(c) Allusions, or considerably modified quotations, are introduced freely, and may be found on the editorial page of many a newspaper. Thus, one reads: 'The full measure of justice is not meted out to them'; 'They sold their birthright for a mess of pottage'; 'They have fallen among thieves.' In the last three books which the present writer has read for amusement, he has been interested to note quotations and allusions of this nature. In one of them, a recent book on life in an Italian province, 63 references were found; in the second, a recent work on the life of wild animals, 12; in the third, a novel by Thomas Hardy, 18.

(d) Many phrases have grown so common that they have become part of the web of current English speech, and are hardly thought of as Biblical at all, except on deliberate reflection. For instance: 'highways and hedges'; 'clear as crystal'; 'still small voice'; 'hip and thigh'; 'arose as one man'; 'lick the dust'; 'a thorn in the flesh'; 'broken reed'; 'root of all evil'; 'the nether millstone'; 'sweat of his brow'; 'heap coals of fire'; 'a law unto themselves'; 'the fat of the land'; 'dark sayings'; 'a soft answer'; 'a word in season'; 'moth and rust'; 'weighed in the balance and found wanting'; even such colloquialisms as, 'we are the people' (cf. *Job* xii, 2). Many more of these might readily be quoted.

(e) Other influences, less definitely measurable, but more important, remain to be mentioned.

Of the Bible in its relations to religion, individual conduct, and ideals political and social, this is not the place to speak; yet these affect literature to an incalculable extent, if they do not even provide its very substance. Of such matters as fall within the scope of this chapter—matters of vocabulary, grammar, idiom, and style—something may briefly be said.

In the first place, the literary influence of the Bible, like that of any classic, is distinctly conservative. The reading of it tends to keep alive a familiarity with the words and constructions which were current when the English Bible grew up, or, rather, of such of these words and constructions as proved most conformable to the genius of the Hebrew and Greek employed in the sacred

writings. As hinted above, this influence, in conjunction with that of the Bible in the sphere of thought and emotion, seems to have culminated, if its culmination be not rather a matter of the future, in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The result is that many terms formerly regarded as awkward, or alien to the genius of the language, are now understood and accepted. Soon after the *Authorised Version* was issued, Selden thus criticised the rendering:

The Bible is rather translated into English words than into English phrases. The Hebraisms are kept, and the phrase of that language is kept.

A typical Hebraism is the use of *of* in such phrases as 'oil of gladness,' 'man of sin,' 'King of kings'; but who has any difficulty with them now? In the first half of the nineteenth century, Hallam could say:

• It abounds;... especially in the Old Testament, with obsolete phraseology, and with single words long since abandoned, or retained only in provincial use.

At present this is no truer of the Bible than of Shakespeare, if as true. Our earlier English has been so revived, and rendered so familiar, that much which needed elaborate explanation in the eighteenth century is now intelligible to every one. As Lightfoot said of other objectors:

The very words which these critics would have ejected from our English Bibles as barbarous, or uncouth, or obsolete, have again taken their places in our highest poetry, and even in our popular language.

Like the course of a planet round the sun, the movement of English diction, which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was, on the whole, away from that of the Bible, now returns with ever accelerating speed toward it. That the movement really began at a much earlier date, though inconspicuously, is shown by the counsels and practice of Swift, and by the circumstance that Challoner's Roman Catholic version of 1763—4 abandoned many of the Latinisms of the Rheims and Douay translations in favour of the simpler language of the *Authorised Version*.

The use of concrete words has grown in favour. The colourlessness, vagueness and obscurity of abstract terms, and of conventional phraseology whether abstract or not, have been discredited. Vividness, the sense of reality, have more and more prevailed in literature—that is, in non-technical writings.

Simplicity has always been recommended by the example of the *Authorised Version*, and, especially since the age of Wordsworth, is more and more gaining upon bombast and meretricious ornament. The concreteness and simplicity of the *Authorised Version*,

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and its use of the homely vernacular, have steadily appealed to plain people, as distinguished from those who have had more abundant opportunities of education. But the love of the humble for the Bible is largely due to its message of cheer and hope. Huxley has even gone so far as to call the Bible 'the Magna Charta of the poor and the oppressed.' Two men, Bunyan and Lincoln, who educated themselves largely by means of the Bible, may serve as examples of many who have become known to posterity for their inestimable services to their race. Both are famous as writers, and the best writing of both is alive with the spirit of the Bible. Bunyan has already been mentioned. Of Lincoln it has been said that he

built up his entire reading upon his early study of the Bible. He had mastered it absolutely; mastered it as later he mastered only one or two other books, notably Shakespeare; mastered it so that he became almost 'a man of one book'; . . . and he left his life as part of the crowning work of the century that has just closed.

Of Walt Whitman, the American who wished to be known as the poet of democracy, it has been authoritatively said:

His own essential model, after all is said, was the rhythmical patterns of the English Bible. Here was precisely that natural stylistic variation between the 'terrific,' the 'gentle,' and the 'inferior' parts, so desired by William Blake. Here were lyric fragments, of consummate beauty, imbedded in narrative or argumentative passages. . . . In this strong, rolling music, this intense feeling, these concrete words expressing primal emotion in daring terms of bodily sensation, Whitman found the charter for the book he wished to write.

The elevation and nobility of Biblical diction, assisted by its slightly archaic tinge, have a tendency to keep all English style above meanness and triviality. In the words of Coleridge, 'intense study of the Bible will keep any writer from being vulgar in point of style.'

The Bible teaches that emotion should not habitually be divorced from thought, nor thought from emotion; certainly not in literature. Wherever simple language is charged with noble feeling, stirs the imagination, is directed by steady and comprehensive thought, is adapted to actuate the will in the direction of social and individual good, and is concise and pregnant, Biblical style is approximated, and, very probably, Biblical influence is dominant.

Finally, the English Bible is the chief bond which holds united, in a common loyalty and a common endeavour, the various branches of the English race. The influence of the Bible can be traced through the whole course of English literature and English civilisation, and, more than anything else, it tends to give unity and perpetuity to both.

CHAPTER III

SIR WALTER RALEGH

NOTHING, perhaps, is more remarkable with regard to Sir Walter Raleigh's literary career than the fact that a man of his nature should have won for himself a place in the history of letters. He was, pre-eminently, a man of action, a man who loved the stir and bustle of life, the excitement of adventure; and his proud, ambitious character made him keen to play a foremost part in the affairs of the world. But his intellectual activity was as great as his physical energy. Neither his mind nor his body could rest. All the periods of enforced leisure in his life he used for study or writing; yet the chance of an active enterprise could always win him away from his books.

At the age of 14 or 15, Raleigh, who was born in 1552, at Hayes Barton, Budleigh, Devon, went to Oxford, where he stayed for about three years. According to Anthony à Wood, 'he became the ornament of the juniors, and a proficient in oratory and philosophy.' He passed from Oxford quickly to seek more stirring adventures in the Huguenot army in France. But, wherever he went, he was gathering knowledge. Sir Robert Naunton says 'he was an indefatigable reader, whether by sea or land, and none of the least observers both of men and the times.' On his sea voyages, he took always a trunk of books with him, and spent the long hours, when he had nothing to divert him, in reading. He is said, by an early biographer, to have slept but five hours, so as to gain daily four hours for reading. His knowledge of literature helped, no doubt, to give him that command of words, that incisive way of stating a question which called Elizabeth's attention to him when he discussed Irish affairs over the council table with Lord Grey. He had, says Naunton, 'a strong natural wit and a better judgment, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage.' He retained a decided Devonshire accent all his life; but his parliamentary speeches were distinguished by good style and pointed utterance. He seems

¹ Raleigh's name may be found spelt in some seventy different ways. His own signature varied very considerably till 1584, after which he used no other signature but Raleigh; he never used the common modern form Raleigh. His pronunciation of his name is clear from the fact that in his early days he often wrote Rauley.

to have shown a tendency towards liberal views. In a debate about the Brownists, in 1583, he spoke against religious persecution. But his was neither the speech nor the nature by which a man wins ready popularity, for in everything, though he showed himself a lover of liberty, he showed, also, his proud and contemptuous character. Perhaps that proud and contemptuous character showed itself also in the extravagance of the language of compliment and adulation with which he addressed Elizabeth. Such language was fashionable at the time, but it seems strange in the mouth of a man like Raleigh, and we are inclined to think that it was his ambition and desire to get on which made him put no limit to his exaggeration, in scornful contempt of the vanity that could be pleased by such language.

That Raleigh must have early been known as a writer of occasional verse is shown by the fact that he contributed some introductory verses, *In commendation of the Steel Glass*, to George Gascoigne's satire, published in 1576. In these lines he describes Gascoigne's poems in one of his concise, pointed phrases :

This medicine may suffice
To scorn the rest, and seek to please the wise.

Elizabethan poets appear to have had little desire to see their works in print. They wrote to please their friends, or for their own delight, not for the general public. Their poems were passed about in manuscript or read to their friends, and then might, perhaps, find their way into some of the popular miscellanies of verse. Few of Raleigh's poems appeared with his name during his lifetime, and it was long after his death before any attempt was made to identify or collect his scattered verses. Some of them had appeared in *England's Helicon* with the signature 'Ignoto,' and it was, in consequence, at first assumed that all the poems so signed in that collection were his. More critical examination has rejected many of these, and Hannah's carefully edited collection, published in 1892, gives some thirty pieces which have reasonably been supposed to be Raleigh's¹. These are enough to justify fully the judgment passed on him in Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie*, 'For dittie and amorous ode I find Sir Walter Raleigh's vein most lofty, insolent and passionate.'

Raleigh seems, at many crises in his life, to have sought expression for his feelings in verse. When, after his rapid rise to favour at court, he was driven into temporary disgrace by the jealousy of Essex, he employed himself in composing a long elegy

¹ See post, the chapter on the 'Song Books.'

expressing his devotion to Elizabeth, and his despair at her anger, in which he addressed the queen as Cynthia. We hear of this poem first in Spenser's verses *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*. During this temporary disgrace, Raleigh revisited Ireland, where he had served some years before. There, he either began or renewed at Kilcolman his friendship with Spenser, then lord Grey's secretary. The poets seem to have passed some delightful days in reading their verses to one another. Spenser says of Raleigh in *Colin Clout*

His song was all a lamentable lay
Of great unkindnesse, and of usage hard
Of Cynthia the Ladie of the Sea,
Which from her presence faultlesse him debarde.

Raleigh's delight in *The Faerie Queene* led him, as soon as he was restored to favour, to introduce Spenser at court. Spenser, in his turn, was full of admiration of Raleigh's work, and wrote

Full sweetly tempered is that Muse of his
That can empierce a Princes' mightie hart.

He returns to it again in the beautiful sonnet addressed to Raleigh which appeared attached to *The Faerie Queene*, where he says that, compared with Raleigh's, his rimes are 'unsavory and sowre,' and concludes

Yet, till that thou thy Poeme wilt make knowne,
Let thy fair Cinthias praises be thus rudely showne.

Cynthia was never published; we do not know that it was ever presented to Elizabeth. It was thought to be entirely lost, when a fragment of it was discovered among the Hatfield MSS and first printed by Hannah in 1870. This fragment is entitled *The twenty-first and last book of the Ocean to Cynthia*. Spenser used to call Raleigh 'The Shepherd of the Ocean,' and, hence, Raleigh took to calling himself 'the Ocean.' Hannah published this fragment as *A continuation of the lost poem Cynthia*, and imagined that it was composed during Raleigh's imprisonment in the Tower under James I. But it has been conclusively shown that it must be a portion of the earlier poem¹. If the other twenty books were of the same length as this canto, the whole poem must have consisted of ten to fifteen thousand lines. It is written in four lined stanzas, alternately rimed. Judging from the fragment that remains, there appears to have been no action or narrative in this

¹ This point has been clearly demonstrated by Edmund Gosse from internal evidence, in two letters printed in *The Athenaeum* for the first two weeks of January 1886. See, also, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, by W. Stebbing, p. 78.

long poem, yet Gabriel Harvey describes the part of it which he saw before 1590 as 'a fine and sweet invention.' There are many fine passages, none finer than the line

Of all which past the sorrow only stays.

The stately, dignified sonnet by Raleigh, which was appended to the first edition of *The Faerie Queene*, in 1590, is worthy of an age when the sonnet attained rare distinction. Brydges, the first editor of a collection of Raleigh's poems, says:

Milton had deeply studied this sonnet, for in his compositions of the same class, he has evidently more than once the very rhythm and construction, as well as cast of thought of this noble though brief composition.

Other of the poems by Raleigh show more of the impetuous and daring spirit which was compelled to find an utterance. The ringing scorn of 'The Lie' depicts the man who knew from personal experience courts and their meanness. The disenchantment with life expressed in several of his poems led to the assumption that they were written on the night before his death; but of only one can this be true, the fine lines found in his Bible at the gate-house, Westminster:

Even such is time, that takes on trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us but with earth and dust.

The others, such as *Like Hermit Poor*, and *The Pilgrimage*, were, probably, written at moments when his impatient spirit was filled with disgust of life. No poem of his has greater charm than *The Pilgrimage*, whether for its form, its fancy, or for the deep seriousness underlying its light grace. Among the authenticated poems of Raleigh there are few love poems, and those few are singularly free from sentimentality or the precious conceits popular at the time. In his reply to Marlowe's song *The passionate Shepherd to his Love*, he by no means responds to the passion of the appeal, but shows his disbelief in the possibility of the permanence of the shepherd's love in a world full of fears of 'cares to come.'

The authenticity of many of Raleigh's prose works is almost as difficult to decide with any certainty as that of his poems. He seems to have written papers on many varied subjects, but only two of them, and *The History of the World*, were published during his lifetime. Raleigh manuscripts were collected by literary men, were to be found in many libraries and were much valued. It is said in the *Observations on the Statesmen and Favourites of England*, by David Lloyd, published in 1665, that John

Hampden, shortly before the Civil Wars, was at the charge of transcribing 3452 sheets of Raleigh's writing. Archbishop Sancroft speaks of 'a great MS in folio,' by Sir Walter, lent to him by Mr. Raleigh, the author's grandson. He also possessed another MS, a *Breviary of the History of England under William I* which he attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, and which he said had been 'taken from the papers of an old Presbyterian in Hertfordshire, which sort of men were always the more fond of Sir Walter's books, because he was under the disfavour of the Court.' One of his MSS, called *The Arts of Empire*, was first printed by Milton in 1658, under the title of *The Cabinet Council by the ever-renowned knight, Sir Walter Raleigh*. It does not seem as if Raleigh, ambitious in other respects, aspired to the fame of an author. He read and wrote for his own delight and recreation. He loved books and the society of men of letters of all kinds. He was a friend of Sir Robert Cotton, the antiquary, who collected the famous library at Cotton House, which became the meeting place of the scholars of the day. There and elsewhere, Raleigh consorted with the other men of learning of his times. He was a member of the Society of Antiquaries, which archbishop Parker had founded in 1572, and which lasted till 1605, and he is said to have suggested those gatherings at the Mermaid tavern, in Bread street, where Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and other play writers met the antiquaries and literary men of the day, such as Cotton, Selden and Donne. Here began Raleigh's friendship with Ben Jonson, which led him, later, to choose him as travelling tutor for his son. Always of an open mind and liberal views, Raleigh also mixed freely with sceptical and freethinking men. He often met together with Marlowe, Harriot and others for discussions, in which religious topics were treated fearlessly and without reserve. A Roman Catholic pamphleteer, writing in 1592, says that the meetings of this little group of friends were called 'Sir Walter Rawley's School of Atheism.' In 1593, the attention of the privy council was called to their discussions, and a special commission was appointed to examine Raleigh, his brother Carew and others as to their alleged heresies. What was the result of this investigation we do not know, but it is impossible to read Raleigh's writings without being convinced of the depth and sincerity of his religious convictions. Sir John Harington says of him in *Nugæ Antiquæ*: 'In religion he hath shown in private talk, great depth and good reading.'

Raleigh was, at all times, a generous patron of learning. He

advised Richard Hakluyt with regard to his great collection of voyages, and assisted his enterprise with gifts of money and manuscripts. He was with the fleet that, under the command of the earl of Essex, made, in 1596, a descent upon Faro in Portugal, and it was, no doubt, he that suggested the seizure and careful preservation of the great library of bishop Hieron Osorius, which was afterwards given, probably, again, at Raleigh's suggestion, to the library newly founded at Oxford by Sir Thomas Bodley. The Bodleian library was opened in 1602, and, in 1603, Raleigh showed his love for books by making it a gift of fifty pounds.

The first work published by Raleigh was a quarto tract issued in 1596, called *Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of the Acores this last sommer*. It appeared anonymously, but was republished by Hakluyt, as Sir Walter Raleigh's. It describes the doings of the little fleet in which, at the last moment, Raleigh had been prevented from sailing himself, and ends with an account of the famous fight and death of his kinsman Sir Richard Grenville, on *The Revenge*. In forcible and vigorous prose, Raleigh tells with great simplicity the story of what actually happened. But, both before and after his story, he gives vent to violent denunciation of the Spaniards, at all times the object of his bitterest hatred. He speaks of 'their frivolouse vain glorious taunts' as opposed to the 'honorable actions' characteristic of the English. It seems to have been this kind of language which counted as patriotism in Elizabethan days, and helped to give Raleigh his high reputation as a lover of his country. The account ends with a touch of poetry when, after describing the terrible storm which followed the fight of *The Revenge* and caused the destruction of many ships, he says: 'So it pleased them to honor the buriall of that renowned ship the Revenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she achieved in her life time.'

It was partly his natural love of adventure, partly his desire to regain the favour at court which he had temporarily lost, that led Raleigh to undertake his first expedition to Guiana, in 1595. When he returned, full of tales of what he had seen, his enemies attempted to cast discredit on him by asserting that he had never been to Guiana at all. To defend himself, he at once wrote an account of his *Discovery of the large, rich and beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden city of Manoa*. This appeared in 1596, with a dedication to 'my singular good Lord and kinsman Charles Howard and to the Rt. Hon. Sir Robt. Cecil'; in which Raleigh says that in his

discourse he has 'neither studied phrase, forme, nor fashion.' The simple story of his stirring adventures, told in pure and nervous English, won immediate popularity, and was translated into German, Dutch and Latin, running through many editions. His sentences are long and sometimes involved, but he tells his story admirably and his adventures live, whilst his descriptions of scenery are graceful and attractive, and he urges the advantages of the colonisation of Guiana in glowing and eloquent words. His allusions to the tales that the natives told him of tribes of Amazons, and other strange beings, led Hume to characterise his whole narrative as 'full of the grossest and most palpable lies'; a criticism which his most careful editor, Sir Robert Schomburgh, who has himself visited Guiana, says 'we can now regard with a smile.' Besides these two tracts, nothing was published by Raleigh during the reign of Elizabeth, though one or two of his letters, especially that written to Robert Cecil on the death of his wife, in 1596, and the one giving *A relation of the Cadiz Action*, in the same year, well deserve to be counted amongst literary productions. In the letter to Cecil, we find these fine words :

The minde of man is that part of God which is in us, which, by how much it is subject to passion, by so much it is farther from Hyme that gave it us. Sorrows draw not the dead to life, but the living to death.

Raleigh's life of stir and adventure, his enjoyment and hope of court favour, all came to an end with the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James I. He found himself, only just reprieved from the scaffold, a prisoner in the Tower, the victim of the prejudice and suspicions of the king. Conscious of the falseness of the accusation of treason upon which he had been convicted, still full of schemes of active enterprise and, especially, of the idea that he would be able to win for England a possession of boundless wealth in Guiana, he could not, at first, believe that his captivity would last. But, as his hopes of a speedy release slowly passed away, it became more and more necessary for him to use his energies in work of some kind. For the most part, the conditions of his captivity were not rigorous. He had rooms in the Bloody Tower, with sufficient accommodation to enable his wife and son to be with him. His friends visited him freely. His rooms opened out on a terrace, where he could take exercise, and below was a little garden, where he was allowed to turn a former hen-house into a laboratory for the chemical experiments in which he delighted. At first, it was to his scientific studies that he devoted

most of his time. But he also wrote a great deal. Prince Henry, the promising eldest son of James I, was a great admirer of Raleigh and declared that no one but his father would keep such a bird in such a cage. He was only a boy of nine when Raleigh was committed to the Tower, but he had always loved the society of those older than himself, and, as time went on, he consulted Raleigh on many points that interested him, especially on naval and military matters. Several of the papers which Raleigh wrote in the Tower were composed specially for prince Henry. Among others, there is a treatise called *Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea Service*, which is full of interest as throwing light on the condition of the ships by means of which the great Elizabethan seamen carried out their famous exploits. When there was a proposal, very distasteful to prince Henry, to arrange a marriage between him and a daughter of the house of Savoy, Raleigh wrote a vigorous treatise in which he clearly pointed out the disadvantages of the match. It was also for prince Henry that he planned his greatest work, *The History of the World*.

It is a testimony to the extent of Raleigh's belief in himself as well as to the soaring nature of his imagination, that he, a prisoner in the Tower, in broken health and already over fifty years of age, should have projected a work of such gigantic scope. History, as a branch of literature, did not then exist in England; indeed, except for the work of the antiquaries, the Elizabethan age is specially poor in historical work of any kind. The age of the great chroniclers was over. There were some writers of historical poems, some annalists, many industrious antiquaries. But the annalists and the antiquaries still wrote in Latin. Only Richard Knolles had produced his *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, published in 1603, and John Speed a *Historie of Great Britaine*, published in 1611, in English. Raleigh's plan was on an entirely different scale from anything that had been dreamt of before. He wished to bring the history of the past together, to treat it as a whole, to use it as an introduction to the history of his own country; and his great book was to be for the people, not only for the learned. It was written in the pure strong English of which he had such easy command. Not quite free yet from the habit of using too long sentences which, sometimes, have a tendency to become involved, he is free from elaborate and fanciful conceits. The subject seems to command the style. He can tell a story well, he can sketch a character with force and vigour. He shows at least some sense of the unity of history, for the motives of men in the past are judged

- by him in the same way as the motives of men in the present, and, at all events when he began, his intention was to lead up from the past to the present. But, though he had the mind to conceive a work on such a vast scale, he had not the experience or the training to enable him to plan it out in such a way that, under any circumstances, it would have been possible to complete it. The large folio which he did complete, and which consisted of five books, began with the Creation and reached only to 130 B.C., when Macedonia became a Roman province. He projected two other folio volumes, but these do not seem even to have been begun. After the publication of the first volume, his mind was diverted to other schemes, to his hope of regaining his liberty and accomplishing a second voyage to Guiana. The death of prince Henry, in 1612, also deprived him of one of his chief motives for writing the history.

We do not know in what year he actually began to write, but, on 15 April 1611, notice was given in the registers of the Stationers' company of '*The History of the World* written by Sir Walter Rawleighe.'

It was published, according to Camden, on 29 March 1614; but it is possible that it may not really have been published till the beginning of 1615. Many scholars and learned men were ready to help him in his work. Sir Robert Cotton freely lent him books from his great library. Robert Burhill, a divine of wide learning and acquainted with Greek and Hebrew, languages unknown to Raleigh, was frequently consulted by him. John Hoskins, a wit and scholar and also a prisoner in the Tower for a supposed libel on James I, is credited, by tradition, with having revised the book for him. The fact that Ben Jonson was, also, for a short time a fellow prisoner in the Tower, and was known to have been connected with Raleigh, led some to believe his boasts, made some years later over his cups, that he had contributed considerable portions of the *History*. But there is no evidence for these assertions, which rest only on his own word. • •

In his search for accuracy, Raleigh frequently consulted Thomas Harriot the mathematician, an old friend of his, on points of chronology and geography. But, though no doubt he profited by the advice and learning of his friends, no one can read the *History* without feeling that it is the work of one man, inspired by one mind and purpose. Moreover, though he naturally read and studied much specially for it during his years in the Tower, we see in it also the result of the reading of his whole life. In *The History of the World*, as well as in his occasional writings,

we are struck with the freedom with which Raleigh handles his material, with the ready hold that he has on the resources of his vast reading. About the middle of the nineteenth century, some old books, amongst them Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, were found behind the wainscot of a room in Raleigh's favourite Irish house at Youghal. Comestor is one of the authors quoted by Raleigh, and, though it is possible that these old books were placed in their hiding-place before his day, yet it is by no means improbable that his study of Comestor may have begun at Youghal during the months he spent in Ireland. It has been computed that six hundred and sixty authors are cited by him in his *History*, and there exists a letter to Cotton asking for the loan of thirteen books, none of which is included amongst the works of the six hundred and sixty authors quoted.

In writing his history, Raleigh was inspired by a distinct purpose. He says in his preface, that he wishes to show God's judgment on the wicked; to him all history was a revelation of God's ways. His preface is to us now, perhaps, the most interesting part of the book. In it he runs through, and passes judgment upon, the kings of England from the time of the Conquest, then makes a rapid survey of the history of France and of Spain. From the teaching of history he draws his philosophy of life :

For seeing God, who is the author of all our tragedies hath written out for us and appointed us all the parts we are to play; and hath not, in their distribution been partial to the most mighty princes of the world . . . why should other men, who are but as the least worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, that the change of fortune on the great theatre is but the change of garments on the less: for when on the one and the other, every man wears but his own skin, the players are all alike.

As we think of the picture of his own times, of the account of Elizabeth and her court, of the stirring tales of adventure that the ready pen and quick insight of Raleigh might have given us had he spent his time in prison in writing his own memoirs, we can but be filled with regret that he should have chosen, instead, to have written long chapters on the Creation, the site of the garden of Eden, the ages of the patriarchs. But Raleigh had not done with life, his ambitious, restless spirit still aspired to play a part in the world outside and his book was intended to add to his friends, not to his enemies. In his preface, he explains his choice of subject :

I know that it will be said by many, that I might have been more pleasing to the reader, if I had written the story of mine own times. . . . To this I answer,

that whosoever in writing a modern history, shall follow truth too near the heels, it may happily strike out his teeth. There is no mistress or guide that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. . . . It is true, that I never travelled after men's opinions, when I might have made the best use of them; and I have now too few days remaining to imitate those, that, either out of extreme ambition or extreme cowardice, or both, do yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world between the bed and the grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times; wherein also, why may it not be said, that, in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and tax the vices of those that are yet living in their persons that are long since dead; and have it laid to my charge. But this I cannot help, though innocent.

It is but seldom that he even illuminates his pages with any illustrations drawn from his own experiences. Sometimes, he indulges in a digression, as when he breaks forth into a dissertation on the nature of law, after telling of the giving of the law to Moses, or when, in a later book, he makes long dissertations on the way to defend the coast, on the nature of government, on mercenary soldiers, on the folly and wickedness of duels and the false view of honour they involve. He has a long digression, also, about the bands of Amazons, said to be living in the districts round Guiana, and gives his reasons for believing in the possibility of their existence.

The first two books of the *History*, containing twenty-eight chapters, are occupied with an account of the Creation and the history of the Jews. Side by side with that history, they give the contemporary events in Greek mythology and Egyptian history. The questions treated of, and the method of treating them, alike show how different were the interests of his day and ours. His discussion as to the nature of the two trees in the Garden of Eden is enlivened by a description of *Ficus Indica* as he had seen it in Trinidad, dropping its roots, or cords, into the sea 'so as by pulling up one of these cords out of the sea, I have seen five hundred oysters hanging in a heap thereon.' In none of Raleigh's writings do we find any sign that he possessed a sense of humour; had he done so, he would not, perhaps, have indulged in such an elaborate disquisition as to the capacity of the ark to hold all the animals which were driven into it. Naturally, no thought of criticising the Bible narrative entered his mind, as he said 'Let us build upon the scriptures themselves and after them upon reason and nature.' But there is some attempt at criticism in comparing one author with another, some attempt to trace the development of thought, and to bring things together, a remarkable feat in his day, as we may realise when we remember that, before him, there

was practically no attempt at critical history in English. He was much interested in questions of chronology, and provided his book with elaborate chronological tables as well as with many maps. But it is a relief when he passes from his discussions on chronology to tell a story, such as the story of the Argonauts, which he does simply and well.

The book moves more freely as he reaches Greek and Roman times. The characters of some of the great men are given with much insight and point, and he brings his commonsense to bear in criticising the conduct of leaders and generals. As the book goes on, his references to modern history in illustration of his story grow more frequent. We feel that not only has he read much, but that he has weighed and pondered what he has read in the light of his own experience. In reflecting on the end of Hannibal and Scipio, he says

Hence it comes, to wit from the envy of our equals, and jealousy of our masters, be they kings or commonweals, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of men of war and great captains, being no kings. . . . For the most of others whose virtues have raised them above the level of their inferiors, and have surmounted their envy, yet have they been rewarded in the end either with disgrace, banishment, or death.

Whenever he touches upon any matter of personal experience, the interest at once quickens and the writing appears at its best. War is always his main theme; to him, history is an account of wars and conquests. Questions as to methods of government or the social conditions of the people have little interest for him, though he seems to see the importance of combining geography with history by the descriptions he gives of the nature of the countries, the towns and cities of which he writes. On the whole, the best part of the book is his account of the Punic wars; there he feels fully the interest of his story. Curiously enough, he misses the tragic interest of the Athenian expedition to Sicily, which, in his telling, he even manages to make dull.

Never does he lose sight of his moral purpose. His whole object in writing was to teach a great moral: 'it being the end and scope of all history to teach by example of times past, such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions.' So he carries us through the history of the 'three first Monarchies of the world'; leaving off when the fourth, Rome, was 'almost at the highest.' He ends with these noble words on death:

O eloquent, just and mighty death! Whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded! What none have dared, thou hast done! And whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised!

Thou hast drawn together all the far fetched greatness, all the pride, cruelty and ambition of men; and covered it all over with these two narrow words: His *jacet*.

Though, in his preface, Raleigh said of James I that

if all the malice of the world were infused into one eye, yet could it not discern in his life, even to this day, any one of those foul spots, by which the consciences of all the fore named princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent blood on the sword of his justice, with which the most that forswent him have stained both their hands and fame,

James I was displeased with the book. Perhaps he was clever enough to discern the value of this fashionable language of adulation; perhaps, as some said, he thought that Raleigh had criticised too freely the character of Henry VIII, when he said 'if all the pictures and patterns of a merciless prince were lost in the world, they might all again be painted out of the story of this king.' To the fanatical believer in the divine right of kings, any censure of princes was, in itself, a crime. James appears, in consequence, to have tried to suppress the book. In a letter written to Venice on 5 January 1615, it is said, 'Sir Walter Raleigh's book is called in by the King's commandment, for divers exceptions, but specially for being too saucy in censuring princes.' There is, also, a letter from the archbishop of Canterbury, dated 22 December 1614, to the Stationers' company, saying that he had received 'expresse directions from his Majestie that the book latelie published by Sr Walter Rawleigh, nowe prisoner in the Tower, should be suppressed and not suffered for hereafter to be sould.' The book mentioned in this letter can be none other but the *History*. But the suppression seems not to have been carried out; at any rate, the royal command did not affect the distribution of the book. The first two editions appeared anonymously without any title-page, but with an elaborate allegorical frontispiece, representing *Magister Vitae*, standing on Death represented by a skeleton, and Oblivion as a man asleep. Experience, as an old woman, and Truth as a young woman, hold aloft a globe, on one side of which *fama bona* and, on the other, *fama mala* are blowing trumpets. On the other page is a sonnet, presumably by Ben Jonson, as he afterwards published it under his name, containing these lines

From death and dark Oblivion (neere the same)
The Mistresse of Man's life, grave Histerie
Raising the world to good or Evill fage
Doth vindicate it to Aeternitie.

The book seems to have been immediately popular. From 1614 to 1678, ten separate folio editions of it appeared, and of the

first edition, certainly, and probably of others, there were several distinct issues. For the first time, English readers could enjoy an account of the Persian, Greek and Punic wars, written in the finest prose, as well as learned and yet popular discussions of those questions of biblical history and chronology which then interested the reading public. Wilson, in his life of James I, written in 1653, says 'Rawleigh while he was a Prisoner, having the Idea of the World in his contemplation, brought it to some perfection in his excellent and incomparable history.' The moral purpose of the book also commended it to many. It was a favourite book amongst the puritans of the next generation. Oliver Cromwell recommended it to his son Richard, saying, 'Recreate yourself with Sir Walter Raleigh's *History*; it is a body of history, and will add much more to your understanding than fragments of story.'

No doubt the popularity of the *History* was increased by the sudden revulsion of feeling in favour of Raleigh, which was called out by his tragic end, and the noble manner of his death. Men were glad to find in it the mind of one of the most distinguished amongst the soldiers and statesmen of the great days of Elizabeth. Many of the reasons which led to the popularity of the *History* no longer prevail with us. We value it, chiefly, as a noble monument of Elizabethan prose, and as a revelation of the character and mind of its author. But its place in the development of English historical writing should not be overlooked.

None of the political treatises written by Raleigh during his imprisonment were printed during his lifetime. *The Prerogative of Parliaments*, written in 1615, was circulated in manuscript copies and was presented to James I. In spite of the usual adulatory preface, James was much displeased by this treatise, which, in the form of a dialogue between a counsellor of state and a justice of the peace, demonstrates the advantage of raising money through parliament, instead of by benevolences and other exceptional means. For his day, at least, Raleigh's views were liberal—at any rate they were too liberal for James I. *The Prerogative of Parliaments* was not printed till ten years later, at 'Middelburg.' The manuscript of *The Cabinet Council*, a treatise on state-craft, passed into the hands of Milton, and was by him published in 1658. Its numerous quotations from the classics show the wide range of Raleigh's reading, and the treatment of the subject, as well as many allusions, show his intimate acquaintance with the writings of Machiavelli. *The Maxims of State* is a

shorter treatise of somewhat the same kind, wise and sensible enough, but, on the whole, it cannot be said that there is any distinctive flavour or charm of style about these two treatises. Raleigh's lack of humour gives a certain heaviness to his moral and political writings. They are wanting in terse and epigrammatic sayings, and give us the sense of being almost too wise. We are tempted, as we read, to think that he followed too closely his own precept, quoted in a paper called *The Loyal Observer*, printed in the *Harleian Miscellanies*, 'It is an observation of judicious Raleigh "Nothing is more an enemy to wisdom than drollery and over sharpness of conceit."' Raleigh's papers dealing with naval and military affairs, such as *A Discourse on War in General* and *Observations on the Navy and Sea Service*, are much more living and full of interest, as written by a man having close personal acquaintance with what he is writing about. A paper on *Trade and Commerce* shows that he had studied modern conditions with the same care as the history of the past. In the paper on *A war with Spain* we have an interesting study of the relative strength of the European powers at that time, bringing out the great importance of the Dutch as a maritime power.

In all these occasional papers, we have constant evidence of Raleigh's wide knowledge, and of the way in which he had his knowledge at his command. Always there is a remarkable freedom in the use of historical allusions and illustrations.

The growing interest in Raleigh after his death led to the issue of various collections of his shorter papers. The most popular of these collections was *The Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh*, which first appeared in 1651, and of which there are many subsequent editions, varying slightly in their contents. Another interesting sign of the popular feeling for him was a little tract of six pages, which appeared in 1644, called *To-day a man, To-morrow none, or Sir Walter Rawleigh's Farewell to his Lady with his advice concerning Her and her Sonne*. Besides this last letter to his wife, the tract contains the beautiful lines beginning 'Like hermit poor,' and the striking poem found in his Bible in the gate-house at Westminster, written on 28 October 1618, the night before his execution.

CHAPTER IV

THE LITERATURE OF THE SEA

FROM THE ORIGINS TO HAKLUYT

THE great movement which stirred the minds of men in the days of the renaissance, born in a love of the intimate life of nature, and in an abundant zeal for the glories of classic art and letters, received a new impulse and was inspired with a fresh tendency by the enlargement of the known world and a widening of the horizon of the nations. There was an eager desire to learn more, both of things at home and of the new lands which were being disclosed by the enterprise of merchants and seamen. Curiosity and patient zeal in search of the unknown began, indeed, at home. We may read in *The laborious Journey and Serche of Johan Leylande*—his new year's gift to Henry VIII—how he had been possessed with such a desire to see the different parts of the realm that there was

almost neyther cape nor baye, haven, creke or pere, ryver or confluence of ryvers, breches, washes, lakes, meres, fenny waters, mountaynes, valleys, mores, hethes, forestes, woodes, cyties, burges, castels, pryneypall manor places, monasteryes, and colleges, but I have seane them, and noted in so doyng a whole worlde of thynges verye memorable.

But the change now wrought in the outlook of the nations went far outside the narrow bounds of any one country, and was more vast than any the world had seen since the fall of the Roman empire. If it has been recognised more often in its intellectual character, its practical effects were seen in the discovery of new lands and the planting of new colonies. Copernicus had revealed the mystery of the universe. Portuguese and Spanish navigators had traversed the unknown seas, and John Cabot had touched the shores of cape Breton or Labrador. Nothing now seemed strange to any one, and, in every part of the world, there were

new seas and lands to explore, and new approaches to be discovered to the Spice islands and Cathay. More, in his *Utopia*, opened a fresh view in the realm of speculation beyond the narrow bounds of knowledge. The most romantic poetic imaginings were exceeded in wonder by the things discovered and made known, and no marvel in *The Faerie Queene* exceeded the strange experiences that storm-tossed mariners told every day on 'change to the merchant adventurers of the Muscovy and Levant trades. 'The nakedness of the Spaniards, and their long hidden secrets, whereby they went about to delude the world,' as Hakluyt says, 'were espied.' Seamen were to make literature; upon their experience was to be built much of the literature that followed; their expressions and words were to descend into the common speech of the land. But, save, perhaps, in the instances of Gilbert and Raleigh, English seamen, pioneers of our maritime supremacy, were not in their own persons stirred by the intellectual movement. Rather they were its unconscious and often dumb instruments, while taking part in the vast material and political change which resulted from the direction of the capital and enterprise of merchants into fresh channels of intercourse and trade.

It would be true to say that the foundations of England's naval greatness were laid almost in silence, and that, though the peculiar genius of the nation for maritime adventure was recognised in the days of the early Henrys¹, hardy seamen were opening communications with the Baltic, and driving their keels into unknown seas, long before any writer set himself to narrate their experiences or their exploits. Monastic chroniclers had collected the legendary lore of their predecessors, records of kings and annals of their own time, but voyages of exploration and discovery lay, mostly, outside the range of their experience or their opportunities of knowledge. It is mainly from narratives of pilgrimages and crusades that we learn how the known world was being widened in those early times. The brilliant chronicles of Giraldus Cambrensis, the quick-witted historian who records the conquest of Ireland, are not altogether barren of reference to events at sea, and there is some reflection of seafaring life in the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Hakluyt, indeed, has included in the *Principall Navigations* the legendary conquests of Arthur and of Malgo from the chronicles of Geoffrey, the achievements of Edwin of Northumbria from Bede and the

¹ Cf. *The Libel of English Policy*, etc. referred to in vol. II of the present work.

navigations of Edgar from Roger of Hoveden, Florence of Worcester and others. There are in existence various narratives, of journeys to Palestine, like that of Sæwulf of Malmesbury, who went overland to Italy in 1102, sailed thence to the Ionian islands and took ship along the coast to Joppa, where he re-embarked, but dared not venture into the open sea for fear of the Saracens. The voyages of Sæwulf, and of Adelard, a little later, and the exploits of the crusaders in 1147 and 1190 on the coasts of Spain and in the Mediterranean, present a view of English enterprise that cannot be passed by without mention, because in them we trace the beginnings of a permanent marine, and of mercantile enterprise, which constituted the mainspring of the exploration of the world and, therefore, of the literature of discovery. But the seamen of Venice and Genoa, as well as Portuguese and Spanish navigators, were, in the fifteenth century, more enterprising than Englishmen, both in discovery and in the systematic recording of voyages.

The journeys of Marco Polo had aroused interest in the study of geography in England at the close of the thirteenth century, and the 'travels' recorded by the Mandeville translators, considered in a previous chapter, had their well-deserved popularity in the early days of English prose. But the literature of travel by sea was unbegotten, and the achievements of the captains of prince Henry, 'the navigator,' and of Columbus and his companions, made far more sound in the world than anything done by British seamen until the time of Drake and Hawkins. A seaman named Thyldre, whom William of Worcester mentions, preceded Columbus by some twelve years, as we ought not to forget, sailing from Bristol in 1480, but he battled vainly with the storms of the north Atlantic, and the world knows infinitely more of the great navigations of the 'admiral of the ocean' and of the bold seaman Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who first set eyes upon the Pacific, and of Ojeda and Nicuesa, who were his equals in courage and enterprise.

It is sometimes said that the great age of English discovery really opened with John Cabot, who, in his effort to discover a north-west passage to India, discovered the mainland of America in 1497, and of him more is known than of the earlier Bristol mariners; but even his discoveries may be accounted foreign to the national instincts of the time, and, being himself a seaman from the Mediterranean, his voyages seem rather to belong to the age of Columbus and Vasco da Gama than to that which saw

the northern enterprises of Willoughby, Chancellor and Burrough. The scanty particulars which Hakluyt could bring together concerning the explorations of John Cabot and his son Sebastian are a very striking illustration of the paucity of literary materials relating to the early history of English maritime discovery.

The literary impulse to the recording of voyages came from the continent, as was inevitable, since foreigners were the pioneers in exploration, adding new links to the long chain of seafaring enterprises which stretched back to the beginning of Mediterranean history. Angiolo Poliziano, professor of Greek and Latin literature at Florence, in a letter addressed to king John II, tendered the thanks of the cultivated world to Portugal for dragging from secular darkness into the light of day new seas, new lands and new worlds, and offered his services to record great voyages while the materials should be fresh and available. At Seville, in 1522, Peter Martyr of Anghiera, was instructed to examine all navigators who returned, and to write the history of Spanish explorations. He threw his whole mind into the task, was the first historian of the discovery of America and became known as a great cosmographer. The first *Decade* of his *De Orbe Novo* was published at Seville in 1511, but appears to have been surreptitiously anticipated at Venice in 1504. Three of the *Decades* followed at Alcalá in 1516, and other editions, largely augmented, were printed in 1530 and 1532, and were subsequently translated or became the basis of editions and works published in Italy, France and Germany. Giovanni Battista Ramusio published collections of voyages, which went through several editions, and told the story of Magellan's voyage as recorded by Antonio Pigafetta. Meanwhile, the printing of the *Sumario de la natural y general Hystoria de las Indias* of Gonçalo Hernandez de Oviedo y Valdes was completed at Toledo in 1526 and was followed, in 1552, by the *Historia de las Indias y conquista de Mejico* of Francisco Lopez de Gomara. These, and other works, illuminated the new world for the benefit of the old, and, working like a ferment in the minds of scholars in every centre of learning in Europe, were a new inspiration to Englishmen, and set in motion the navigators who issued from English ports to conquer the mystery and win the spoils of new lands beyond the sea.

The first English book relating to America is said to have been printed in 1511, probably at Antwerp, by John Doesborch or Desborowe. It has been reprinted by Arber, in his *First Three*

English Books on America, 1885, and is entitled *Of the newelandes and of ye people founde by the messengers of the Kyng of Portyngale named Emanuel*; but it is an arid tract, which relates chiefly to the ten nations christened by Prester John, and reflects the legends of the Middle Ages rather than any real knowledge of more recent explorations. More interesting are the references in a *New Interlude and a Merry of the nature of the Four Elements*, printed by John Rastell between 1510 and 1520. Here we have an account of the route to the new lands, and of how men could sail 'plain eastwards and come to England again.' The object was to cast scorn upon English mariners who had relinquished the enterprise, with assumed reference to a supposed failure of Sebastian Cabot in 1516—7.

In the literature of English navigation and discovery, a notable place must be given to Richard Eden, not, indeed, as an original narrator, but as a diligent interpreter of the work of others. His object was to make known to his countrymen what the Portuguese and Spaniards had done, and with that object he translated and published in 1553, from the Latin of Sebastian Münster's *Universal Cosmography*, *A Treatyse of the newe India with other new founde landes and Islands, as well eastwarde as westwarde, as they are knowen and founde in these our dayes*. He followed this, in 1555, with a translation from Peter Martyr: *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India, conteyning the Navigations and Conquestes of the Spanyardes, with particular description of the most ryche and large Landes and Islandes lately found in the West Ocean*. These *Decades* are narratives of the voyages of Columbus and his companions, of Pedro Affonso, of Vincenzo Pinzon and of Nicuesa and others, and Eden added translations from Oviedo and matter descriptive of some other Spanish explorations. His object was national and patriotic; and, in presenting to his countrymen some record of the achievements of Spanish navigators, he censures the timidity of his times, and makes an eloquent appeal to seamen and merchants to quit the well-worn tracks of trade and commerce and to adventure boldly to the coasts of Florida and Newfoundland. Eden was born about the year 1521, and was a student at Cambridge under Sir Thomas Smith. He was a good Latin and Italian scholar, and tells his readers that, in his youth, he had read 'the poet Hesiodus.' He was minded to translate the whole of the *Pyrotechnica* of Vannuccio Biringaccio, but, having completed only a few chapters, he lent them to a friend to read, and they were

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH PROSE

TREVISA. THE MANDEVILLE TRANSLATORS

EARLY English prose had, of necessity, a practical character. To those who understood neither Latin nor French all proclamations and instructions, laws and sermons, had to be issued in English, while, for a long time, the official Latin of the accountant and the law clerk had been very English in kind, even to the insertion of native words with a case-ending appended. With the increasing importance of the commons in the fourteenth century, the proceedings of parliament itself began to descend to the vulgar tongue, which obtained a signal recognition when three successive parliaments (1362-4) were opened by English speeches from the chancellor. Furthermore, a statute, in 1362, ordered the pleadings in the law-courts to be conducted in English, though the cases were to be recorded in Latin, on the ground that French was no longer sufficiently understood. Political sentiment may have inspired this declaration, which was as much overstated as the plea of two of Henry IV's envoys that French was, to their ignorant understandings, as bad as Hebrew; for the yearbooks continued to be recorded in French, and in French not only diplomatic letters but reports to Henry IV himself were written. The use of that tongue, so long the medium of polite intercourse, did not vanish suddenly, but a definite movement which ensured its doom took place in the grammar schools, after the Black Death, when English instead of French was adopted as the medium of instruction. John Trevisa, writing in 1386, tells us that this reform was the work of John Cornwall and his disciple Richard Pencrich, and that, 'in alle þe gramere scoles of Engelond children leveþ Frensche and construeþ and lerneþ an Engliſche,' with the result that they learned their grammar more quickly than children were wont to do, but with the disadvantage that they 'conneþ na more Frensche than can hir lift heele'—and 'þat is harme for hem and þey schulle passe

be see and travaille in straunge landes.' Even noblemen had left off teaching their children French.

Before the close of the fourteenth century, therefore, it could no longer be assumed that all who wished to read would read French or Latin. There was a dearth of educated clergy after the Black Death; disaster abroad and at home left little inclination for refinement, and, when life was reduced to its essentials, the use of the popular speech naturally became universal. Thus, in the great scene of Richard II's deposition, English was used at the crucial moments, while, at the other end of the scale, king Richard's master cook was setting down his *Forme of Cury* for practical people. In the same way, on the continent, 'Sir John Mandeville' was writing in French before 1371 for the sake of nobles and gentlemen who knew not Latin, and there, as at home, Latin books and encyclopaedias were so far ceasing to be read that he could venture to plagiarise from the most recent. In England, the needs of students, teachers and preachers were now supplied in the vernacular by the great undertakings of John Trevisa, who translated what may be called the standard works of the time on scientific and humane knowledge—*De Proprietatibus Rerum* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Higden's *Polychronicon*. These great treatises are typically medieval, and the former a recognised classic in the universities. The minorite friar Bartholomaeus, who must have been born an Englishman, was a theological professor of the university of Paris, and his *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, an encyclopaedia of all knowledge concerned with nature, was compiled in the middle of the thirteenth century, possibly during his residence in Saxony, whither he was sent, in 1231, to organise the Franciscans of the duchy. Ranulf Higden was a monk of St Werburgh's, Chester, and wrote his *Polychronicon* about 1350. It is compiled from many authorities, and embraces the history of the entire world, from the Creation to Higden's own times; the different countries are described geographically, and all the favourite medieval legends in the histories of Persia, Babylon and Rome are introduced. There are many points in which Higden, Bartholomaeus and the later 'Sir John Mandeville' accord, revealing some common predecessor among the earlier accepted authorities; for the object of the medieval student was knowledge and no merit resided in originality: he who would introduce novelty did wisely to insert it in some older work which commanded confidence. Naturally, therefore, translations of books already known were the first prose works to be set before the English public, namely the two great

works of Trevisa, and *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, a book which, under a thin disguise of pious utility, was really a volume of entertainment.

The translators of these works aimed at being understood by a wider class of readers than the audience of Chaucer or even of *Piers the Plowman*. The style, therefore, though simple, is by no means terse. Where any doubt of the meaning might arise, pairs of words are often used, after a fashion not unknown to the poets. This usage prevailed during the following century—and with some reason, for the several dialects of England still differed so much that a southern man could scarcely apprehend what Trevisa calls the ‘scharpe slitting, frotynge and unschape’ speech of York. The translators desired only to convey the meaning of their originals and their renderings are extremely free; they omit or expand as they choose, and this saves early English prose from the pitfall of Latinism, giving it a certain originality, though at the cost of tautology. Trevisa, in the introduction to *Polychronicon*, explains to his patron that though he must sometimes give word for word, active for active, passive for passive, yet he must sometimes change the order and set active for passive, or ‘a resoun’ (a phrase) for a word, but he promises that, in any case, he will render the meaning exactly. These translations became recognised authorities among the reading public of the fifteenth century and may reasonably be considered the corner-stones of English prose. All three were accepted as absolutely veracious; the adventures of Mandeville, the legends of *Polychronicon*, the fairy-tale science of Bartholomaeus, were taken as literally as their scriptural quotations or hints on health. The information, all the same, seems to be conveyed with an eye to entertainment; little effort of thought is required in the reader; paragraphs are short, statements definite and the proportion of amusing anecdote is only equalled by the trite moralising, couched in common-place phrases, which had become a required convention in a materialist age. Books were distributed to the public by means of professional scribes; but, since there lay no sanctity in exact phraseology, the translators themselves were at the mercy of copyists. Cheaper copies were sometimes produced by cur-tailing the text, or newer information might be added. Trevisa’s *Bartholomaeus* was probably brought up to date by many a scribe, and the different MSS of his *Polychronicon*, though unaltered as to the narrative, present a variety of terms. Mandeville, too, appears in (probably) three distinct translations, the most popular of which was multiplied in shortened forms. It is,

therefore dangerous to base theories upon the forms found in any one MS; for we can rarely be sure of having the actual words of the author. Often, though not always, the MS may be inconsistent with itself, and, in any case, few MSS of philological interest exist in many copies; in other words, they were not popular versions, and, as most of the MSS are inconsistent with each other in spelling and in verb-forms, it seems that the general reader must have been accustomed to different renderings¹ of sound. Caxton need hardly have been so much concerned about the famous 'egges or eyren.'

John Trevisa, a Cornishman, had made himself somewhat notorious at Oxford. He was a Fellow of standing at Exeter College in 1362, and Fellow of Queen's, in 1372—3, when Wyclif and Nicholas Hereford were also residents, at a time when Queen's was in favour with John of Gaunt, and, perhaps, a rather fashionable house. The university was then, like other parts of England, a prey to disorder. Factions of regulars and seculars, quarrels between university authorities and friars, rivalry amongst booksellers and a revolt of the Bachelors of arts, produced petitions to parliament and royal commissions in quick succession. Amongst these dissensions had occurred a quarrel in 'Quenehalle,' so violent that the archbishop of York, visitor of the college, had intervened and, in 1376, in spite of resistance and insult, had expelled the Provost and three Fellows, of whom one was Trevisa, 'for their unworthiness.' It is possible that Wyclifite leanings caused this disgrace; for the university was already in difficulties on the reformer's account, and both Exeter and Queen's are believed to have been to some extent Wyclifite, while Trevisa's subsequent writings betray agreement with Wyclif's earlier opinions¹. The ejected party carried off the keys, charters, plate, books and money of their college, for which the new Provost was clamouring in vain three years later. Royal commissions were disregarded till 1380, when Trevisa and his companions at length gave up their plunder. No ill-will seems to have been felt towards the ejected Fellows, for Trevisa rented a chamber

¹ The old suggestion of Henry Wharton, rejected by Forshall and Madden, that Trevisa might be the author of the general prologue to the second Wyclifite Bible, has been lately repeated, on the ground of the likeness of their expressed opinions on the art of translation. But, apart from other arguments, the style is not Trevisa's, nor its self-assertion, nor its vigorous protestantism. Trevisa's anti-papal remarks are timid and he never finds fault with the secular clergy. The same principles of translation were in the literary atmosphere, and it is open to doubt whether Trevisa's scholarship would have been equal to the full and precise explanations of the prologue.

at Queen's between 1395 and 1399, probably while executing his translation of Bartholomaeus. Most of his subsequent life, however, was spent as vicar of Berkeley in Gloucestershire and chaplain to Thomas, Lord Berkeley, reputed to have been a disciple of Wyclif. He also, like Wyclif, held a non-resident canonry of the collegiate church of Westbury-on-Trym. At some earlier date, Trevisa had travelled, for he incidentally mentions his experiences at Breisach on the Rhine, Aachen and Aix-les-Bains, but he had not seen Rome.

His two great translations were made at the desire of Lord Berkeley. *Polychronicon* was concluded in 1387, *De Proprietatibus* in 1398. He executed several smaller translations, including the famous sermon of archbishop FitzRalph, himself an Oxford scholar, against the mendicant orders, and, probably, a translation of the Bible now lost.

Trevisa was a man of wide reading rather than exact scholarship; his explanation of the *quadrivium* is incorrect, and his Latinity was far inferior to Higden's. But his robust good sense, his regard for strict accuracy and his determination to be understood, make him an interesting writer. He was fond of nature, he knew his *De Proprietatibus* well before he wrote it in English and he could even bring witness of additional wonders, told to him at first hand by trustworthy parishioners of Berkeley. Without historical acumen, he does not hesitate to level scathing criticisms at old writers, but, on the other hand, he sometimes clears away a difficulty by common sense. Why was Higden puzzled by the inconsistent descriptions of Alcuyd? was there not more than one Carthage, and is there not a Newport in Wales and another in the parish of Berkeley?

The explanations so frequently inserted in the text suggest that, though *Polychronicon* was translated in the first instance for Lord Berkeley, a wider public was in the maker's mind. His notes are usually brief: .

Ethiopia, blew men lond; laborintus, Daedalus his hous; Ecco is þe reboundynge of noyes; Gode genius is to menyngge a spirit þat folowet a man al his lyfetime; Kent and Essex, Westsax and Mercia—þat is as hit were a greet deel of myddel Englonð; theatres, places hise and real to stonde and sytte ynne and byholde aboute: Tempe Florida, likynge place wip floures. .

It is but seldom that he is absurd, as when he renders *matrones* by *old mothers*, or gives a derivation for *satirical*: 'som poete is i-clepede satiricus, and haþ þat name of satis, þat is inow, for þe matire þat he spekeþ of he toucheþ at þe fulle.' These lengthier notes, inserted 'for to brynge here hertes out of þoust' he always

signs 'Trevisa.' We observe that he feels it advisable to explain in full a very simple use of hyperbole.

As a translator, many more slips in scholarship might be forgiven him for the raciness of the style. Neither in terms nor structure does it suggest the Latin, but the interpolated criticisms are less wordy than the translation. Trevisa expands his original, not because he is a poor Latinist but partly because he wishes to be understood, and partly from that pleasure in doublets which would seem to be a natural English inheritance. Sometimes the synonymous words are accepted catch-phrases, sometimes they evince pure pleasure in language. We always get 'domesmen and juges,' 'tempest and tene,' 'þis worlde wyde'. Not that Trevisa is enslaved by alliteration; he uses it less as the work proceeds, save in the regular phrases; but he loves balanced expression, and ruins Higden's favourite antitheses². His picturesqueness is, perhaps, elementary, less that of an artist than of a child³.

It is Trevisa's principle to translate every word: the Mediterranean is 'þe see of myddel erþe.' Even when he cannot understand a set of verses he doggedly turns them into a jumble of pure nonsense which he asserts to be rime, adding, candidly, 'God woot what þis is to mene.' The outspoken criticisms and occasional touches of sarcasm seem to betray a man impatient of conventions which he felt to be practical abuses, but scrupulously orthodox in every detail which could be held to affect creed. To the wonderful fable of the marble horses at Rome he appends the moral that it shows 'þat who forsakeþ all þyng forsakeþ all his cloþes, and so it foloweþ þat þey þat beþ wel i-cloþed and goþ aboute and beggeþ and gadereþ money and corn and catel of oþer men forsakeþ not al þing.' On the other hand, he is shocked that Gregory Nazianzen tells 'a ungodly tale of so worthy a prince of philosphes as Aristotle was.' A saying of the mythical Nectabanus: 'No man may fleþ his owne destanye' is thus stigmatised: 'Nectabanus seide þis sawe and was a wiiche, and þerfore it is nereþe þe bettere to trowynge...for from every mishap þat man is i-schape in þis worlde to falle inne God may hym

¹ 'Limes = þe meeres and þe marks, affixit = dede hym moche woo and tene, fortes = stalworþe men and wight.' So too 'a pigmei bookeþ hym to bataile and array hym to fyt.'

² 'Figmēta gentitium, dicta Ethiorum, miranda locorum,' becomes 'feynyng and sawes of myshibeled and lawles men and wondres and mervellis of dyverse countres and londes.'

³ 'Ocean by clippeþ al þe erþe aboute as a garland'; *antiquitas* = 'longe passyng of tyme and elde of dedes.'

save ȝif it is his wille.' To the charitable miracle recorded of Dunstan and St Gregory who, respectively, prayed the souls of Edwy and Trajan out of hell, he refuses credit—'so it myte seeme to a man þat were worse þan wood and out of riȝt bileve.' At least once, he deliberately modifies his author: Higden observes, giving his reasons, that the Gospel of Matthew must, in a certain passage, be defective; Trevisa writes that here St Matthew 'is ful skars for mene men myȝte understonde.' Yet, though punctiliously orthodox, Trevisa has scant reverence for popes or for fathers of the church, and none for monks and friars. Edgar, he says, was lewdly moved to substitute monks for (secular) clerks: and, in at least two of the early MSS, though not in all, a passage distinctly Wyclifite is inserted in the midst of the translation:

and nowe for þe moste partie monkes beþ worste of all, for þey beþ to riche and þat makeþ hem to take more hede about seculer besynesse þan gostely devocioun...þerfore seculer lordes schulde take away the superfluyte of here possessions and ȝeve it to hem þat needeþ or elles, whan þey knowen þat, þey beþ cause and mayntenours of here evel dedes...for it were almesse to take away þe superfluite of here possessions now þan it was at þe firste fundacioun to ȝeve hem what hem nedede.

Though this passage is not signed 'Trevisa,' its occurrence in the copy which belonged to Berkeley's son-in-law Richard Beauchamp suggests its authenticity. Trevisa was a positive man: he falls foul of Alfred of Beverlȝ for reckoning up the shires of England 'without Cornwall' and he cannot forgive Giraldus Cambrensis for qualifying a tale with *si fas sit credere*.

The translation of Bartholomaeus, also made for Lord Berkeley, though doubtless as popular as the chronicle, has, perhaps, not survived in so authentic a form; moreover, embodying the accepted learning of the Middle Ages, it gave less scope for Trevisa's originality. History anyone might criticise but novelty in science was only less dangerous than in theology. The style of the original, too, is inferior to Higden's; there are already duplicate terms in plenty, and, though Trevisa contrived to increase them, he got less opportunity for phrasing.

This encyclopaedia, in nineteen books, is a work of reference for divine and natural science, intermixed with moral and metaphor. Beginning with the Trinity, the prophets and angels, it proceeds to properties of soul and body, and so to the visible universe. A book on the divisions of time includes a summary of the poetical, astrological and agricultural aspects of each month; the book on birds in general includes bees, and here occurs the edifying imaginary picture of these pattern creatures which was the

origin of so much later fable, including Canterbury's speech in *King Henry V.* There are a few indications of weariness or haste as Trevisa's heavy task proceeds, but it is especially interesting for his rendering of scriptural quotations. Like the writers of *Piers the Plowman* and like Mandeville, Trevisa expects certain Latin phrases to be familiar to his readers, catchwords to definite quotations; but he translates the texts in full in a version certainly not Wyclif's and possibly his own. Always simple and picturesque, these passages cause regret for the loss of that translation of the Bible, which, according to Caxton, Trevisa made. Caxton's words in the *prohemye* to *Polychronicon* imply that he had seen the translation; but no more is heard of it until the first earl of Berkeley gave to James II an ancient MS 'of some part of the Bible,' which had been preserved (he said) in Berkeley Castle for 'neare 400 years.' It probably passed to the cardinal of York, and may have been that copy of Trevisa's English Bible said once to have been seen in the Vatican catalogue, but now unknown.

The dialogue between a lord and a clerk—Lord Berkeley and John Trevisa—prefixed to *Polychronicon* is really Trevisa's excuse for his temerity. It gives a somewhat humorous picture of the doubts of the man of letters. Ought famous books and scriptural texts to be put into the vulgar tongue? Will not critics pick holes? Lord Berkeley brushes his objections aside. Foreign speech is useless to the plain man: 'it is wonder that thou makest so febel argumentis and hast goon soo longe to scole.' The clerk gives in, breathing a characteristically alliterative prayer for 'Wit and wisdom wisely to work, might and mind of right meaning to make translation trusty and true.' He has only one question to put: 'whether is you lever have a translatioun of þese cronykes in ryme or in prose?' We ought to be grateful for Lord Berkeley's reply:—'In prose, for comynlich prose is more clepe than ryme, more esy & more playn to knowe & understonde.'

To be certain in any given instance exactly what words Trevisa used is not always possible, for the four MSS which have been collated for the Rolls edition of *Polychronicon* show a surprising variety. Even in the same MS, old and new forms come close together, as 'feng' and 'fong,' and other variations of past tenses and participles, though the sentence is always the same¹.

¹ The same MS, which usually gives 'myneheon,' 'comlynge,' 'fullynge,' 'mawmette,' 'wood,' 'bytook,' 'dele,' gives, also, at least once, 'gonne,' 'alien,' 'bapteme' and 'i-cristened,' 'idole,' 'madde,' 'took,' 'partye.' Prefixes are already disappearing:

Most of Trevisa's vocabulary is still in common use, though a few words became obsolete soon after he wrote, for instance: 'orped,' 'magel,' 'malshave,' 'heled,' 'hatte,' which stand for 'brave,' 'absurd,' 'caterpillar,' 'covered,' 'called.' He uses 'triacle' sarcastically for 'poison'—'Nero quyte his moder that triacle.' He usually distinguishes between 'pewes' (manners) and 'manere' (method) and between 'feelynge' (perception) and 'gropyng' (touching). 'Outtake' is invariably used for 'except,' which did not come into use until long after. Perhaps in 'Appollin,' as the equivalent of Apollo Delphicus, we may recognise the future appellation of a later personage. Trevisa's translation needs only to be compared with the bungling performance of the later anonymous translator¹, in order to be recognised as a remarkable achievement of fluency. Where Higden tried to be dignified, Trevisa was frankly colloquial; this characteristic marks all his translations and gives them the charm of easy familiarity. His use of the speech of the masses is often vigorous—a 'dykeré,' for a 'dead stock,' the 'likpot,' for the 'first finger,' 'he up with a staff þat he had in hond.' He had, too, a fine onomatopoeic taste: Higden's *boatus et garritus* (talk of peasants) becomes a 'wlaflerynge, chikerynge, harynge and garryge grisbayting'; and to this sense of sound is, no doubt, owing the alliteration to which, though southern by birth and education, he was certainly addicted—a curious trait in a prose writer. His work would seem to have been appreciated, the number of MSS still extant of *Polychronicon* and its production by the early printers proving its popularity; and his *Description of England* formed the model for later accounts. The chroniclers of the sixteenth century who quoted from *Polychronicon* as from an unquestionable authority were, perhaps, not altogether uninfluenced by the copiously vigorous style of this first delineation of England and her story in native English.

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville had been a household word in eleven languages and for five centuries before it was

we have 'to-sparpled' and 'to-schad' (*dispersus*), 'i-hilde' and 'i-schad' (*infusum*), but few others. In the genitive, the separate 'his' is usual—'Austin his bookes,' though we get 'the chirohes roves'; the combination 'oon of Oristes nayles, our lady smok and Seynt Symon his arme' gives all forms. The feminine, as a rule, has no mark, though 'his' occurs twice, possibly by an error of the scribe ('Faustina his body,' 'Latona his son'). Another translation of *Polychronicon*, made by an anonymous hand, 1432—50, uses, by preference, the preposition 'of,' but 'his' had even intruded into proper names. Trevisa expressly states that, in his day, Harnishowe 'is nowe Ern his hulle' and Billingsgate 'Belyn his gate.'

¹ Printed with Trevisa's in the Rolls edition.

ascertained that Sir John never lived, that his travels never took place, and that his personal experiences, long the test of others' veracity, were compiled out of every possible authority, going back to Pliny, if not further.

The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, knight, purported to be a guide for pilgrims to Jerusalem, giving the actual experiences of the author. It begins with a suitably serious prologue, exhorting men to reverence the Holy Land, since, as he that will publish anything makes it to be cried in the middle of a town, so did He that formed the world suffer for us at Jerusalem, which is the middle of the earth. All the possible routes to Jerusalem are briefly dealt with, in order to introduce strange incidents; and mention of saints and relics, interspersed with texts not always *à propos*, presses upon more secular fables. We pass from the tomb of St John to the story of Ypocras's daughter turned into a dragon; a circumstantial notice of port Jaffa concludes by describing the iron chains in which Andromeda, a great giant, was bound and imprisoned before Noah's flood¹. But Mandeville's geographical knowledge could not all be compressed into the journeys to Jerusalem, even taking one *via* Turkestan; so, when they are finished, with their complement of legends from Sinai and Egypt, he presents, in a second portion of the book, an account of the eastern world beyond the borders of Palestine. Herein are lively pictures of the courts of the Great Cham and Prester John, of India and the isles beyond, for China and all these eastern countries are called islands. There is the same combination of the genuine with the fabulous, but the fables are bolder: we read of the growth of diamonds and of ants which keep hills of gold dust, of the fountain of youth and the earthly paradise, of valleys of devils and loadstone mountains. You must enter the sea at Venice or Genoa², the only ports of departure Sir John seems acquainted with, and go to Trebizond, where the wonders begin with a tale of Athanasius imprisoned by the pope of Rome. In the same way, all we learn of Armenia is the admirable story of the watching of the sparrow-hawk, not, says Sir John cautiously, that 'chastelle Despuere' (Fr. *del esperuier*) lies beside the traveller's road, but 'he þat will see swilk mervailles him behoves sum tym þus wende out of þe way.'

Both parts of the book have been proved to have been compiled from the authentic travels of others, with additions gathered from almost every possible work of reference. The journeys to

¹ Andromeda had become merged in Prometheus.

² Genoa, Januæna.

Jerusalem are principally based upon an ancient account of the first crusade by Albert of Aix, written two-and-a-half centuries before Mandeville, and the recent itinerary of William of Boldensele (1336), to which are added passages from a number of pilgrimage books of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries¹. The second half of Mandeville's work is 'a garbled plagiarism' from the travels of a Franciscan missionary, friar Odoric of Pordenone (1330), into which, as into Boldensele's narrative, are foisted all manner of details, wonders and bits of natural history from such sources as *The Golden Legend*, the encyclopaedias of Isidore or Bartholomaeus, the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, Dante's tutor, or the *Speculum* of Vincent de Beauvais (c. 1250). Mandeville uses impartially the sober *Historia Mongolorum* of Plano Carpini² or the medieval forgeries called *The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*, and *The Letter of Prester John*; no compilation of fiction or erudition comes amiss to him. He takes no account of time; though he is quite up to date in his delimitation of that shifting kingdom, Hungary, many of his observations on Palestine are wrong by three centuries; a note he gives on Ceylon was made by Caesar on the Britons; some of his science comes, through a later medium, from Pliny; his pigmies, who fight with great birds, his big sheep of the giants on the island mountain, boast a yet more ancient and illustrious ancestry. The memory which could marshal such various knowledge is as amazing as the art which harmonised it all on the plane of the fourteenth century traveller, and gave to the collection the impress of an individual experience.

The genius which evolved this wonderful literary forgery sent it forth to fame from the great commercial city of Liège in the latter part of the fourteenth century. The unquestioned myth of its origin was that John de Mandeville, knight, of St Albans, had left England in 1322 to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem; he afterwards travelled all over the world and, returning homewards in 1343, was laid up at Liège by arthritic gout and attended by a doctor, John *ad barbam*, whom he had previously met in Cairo. At the physician's suggestion he wrote, to solace his enforced dulness, a relation of his long experiences, which he finished in 1356 or 1357. Such is the statement given in the principal Latin edition; but neither the gout nor the physician

¹ Including *Pèlerinages por aler en Therusalem*, c. 1381, *The continuation of Wm. of Tyre* (1261), *Jacques de Vitry* (d. 1240) and others.

² Papal emissary to Tartary in 1245.

are mentioned in the earliest MS now known, which is in French, dated 1371, and was originally bound up with a medical treatise on the plague by *Maistre Jehan de Bourgoigne autrement dit à la Barbe*, citizen of Liège, physician of forty years' experience, author (before 1365) of various works of science, of whose plague treatise several other copies still exist. Now, there was at this time resident in Liège a voluminous man of letters, Jean d'Outremeuse, a writer of histories and fables in both verse and prose. He told, in his *Myreur des Histors*¹, how a modest old man, content to be known as Jehan de Bourgogne or Jean à la Barbe, confided on his death-bed to Outremeuse, in 1372, that his real name was John de Mandeville, *comte de Montfort en Angleterre et seigneur de l'isle de Campdi et du chateau Perouse*, and that he had been obliged to fly from home in 1322 because he had slain a man of rank. Unluckily, Outremeuse's story only confounds Mandeville's own, as set forth in the Latin travels, and adds impossible titles to this knight turned doctor. Outremeuse also added that he himself inherited the old man's collection of foreign jewels and—damaging admission—his library. He quotes Mandeville sometimes in his own historical works; but he does not confess the use he makes of the genuine travels of friar Odoric—and neither did 'Mandeville.' According to Outremeuse, Sir John was buried in the church of the Guillemins, and there, by the end of the fourteenth century, stood his tomb, seen by several trustworthy witnesses in the succeeding centuries, adorned by a shield bearing a coat, which proves to be that of the Tyrrell family (fourteenth century), and an inscription differently reported by each traveller. Tomb and church were destroyed during the Revolution. At his birthplace, St Albans, the abbey boasted a ring of his gift, and, in course of time, even showed the place of his grave.

Whether John the Bearded really told Outremeuse that he was John de Mandeville of the impossible titles, or whether Outremeuse only pretended that he did, we cannot hope to ascertain. The puzzling point is the selection of so plausible a name: for there was a John de Bourgogne concerned, though not as a principal, in the troubles of Edward II, who had a pardon in 1321, revoked after Boroughbridge, 1322, when he fled the country. And there was a John de Mandeville, of no great importance, also of the rebellious party, who received a pardon in 1313, but of whom no more is known. The facts ascertained so far about the

¹ In Bk. 4, now lost, but copied, as to this entry, by Louis Abry, before 1720. See Nicholson, *The Academy*, xxi (1884), p. 261.

real author or authors of the *Travels* are: that he was not an Englishman; that he never visited the places he describes, or visited them without making any intelligent observation; that he wrote at Liège before 1371, and in French; that he was a good linguist and had access to an excellent library; that his intimate acquaintance with nearly all the works of travel and of reference then known implies long and diligent study hardly compatible with travelling; that he gauged exactly the taste of the reading public and its easy credence; and, finally, that he (or they) carried out the most successful literary fraud ever known in one of the most delightful volumes ever written. It would be curious if Liège contained at once two men so well read as Outremeuse and 'Mandeville,' both compiling wonder-books, secretly using the same basis, and not in collusion, and it is remarkable that the Latin version with its tale of the physician contains some adventures, not in the French and English versions, of Ogir the Dane, a hero on whom Outremeuse wrote an epic

To the statements made by the author himself no credit need be attached. This greater than Defoe used before Defoe the art of introducing such little details as give to fictions the appearance of personal recollection. He is great on 'numbers and measurements not in his originals, on strange alphabets, some real, some garbled or 'not to be identified'; and, as his statements about himself cannot be verified, there is no more ground for believing that he visited Cairo and met Jean à la Barbe there, or was laid up at Liège with arthritic gout, than that he drank of the fountain of youth and knew the road to the earthly paradise. Similarly, the statement of the French MS that the author ought to have written in Latin, to be more concise, but preferred Romance as more readily understood by travelled gentlemen who could testify to his truthfulness, is to be accepted on the ground of internal evidence, and because the Latin versions all betray a later date and a French original. That the writer was no Englishman, may be deduced from the absence of any local colouring, and from his ignorance of English distances, more surely than from the erroneous titles and coat of arms.

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville were translated into almost every European language, and some 300 MSS are said to be still in existence. The three standard versions are the Latin, French and English, all of which, as early as 1403, Mandeville was credited with having himself composed. Of the five known Latin versions, one¹ was far better known than the others; 12 copies of it survive,

¹ Warner's 'vulgate.'

and it was the basis of other translations. It contains the allusion to the physician. Not a very early version, it was made from the French, shortened in some respects, but with some interpolations. The French manuscripts are said to be all of one type and many copies remain; some of them were written in England for English readers, proving that, in the fifteenth century, the educated might still read French for pleasure. The best MS is the oldest, the French MS of 1371, once in the library of Charles V. Of English versions there seem to be three, represented by (1) the Cotton MS¹, (2) the Egerton MS² and (3) defective MSS³. The Cotton translation was the work of a midland writer who kept very closely to a good French original. The Egerton was made by a northerner who worked with both a Latin and a French exemplar, but whose French model must have differed from any now known, unless the translator, whose touch is highly individual, deliberately composed a free paraphrase. But the version popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was much shorter than either of these, being taken from some French MS which lacked pages covering nearly two chapters, while the translator, too dull to discover the omission, actually ran two incongruous accounts together and made nonsense of the words juxtaposed. The first printed edition corrected the error only very briefly. Though it is possible that this defective version, represented by several MSS, might come from the same original as the complete and superior Cotton MS, seeing that copyists not unfrequently shortened their tasks, the differences are so numerous that it seems, on the whole, easier to assume an independent hand. There is a curious variation in the dates assigned: the best French and Latin texts and the Cotton give 1322 for the pilgrimage and 1355 or 1357 for the composition of the book: the defective MSS and the Egerton put the dates ten years later, 1332 and 1366.

Of these three versions, the defective one is the least spirited, the Cotton is the most *vraisemblable*, owing to the fulness of detail and the plausibility with which everything appears to be accounted for, as it is in the French, while the Egerton is the most original in style and, though it omits some passages found in the Cotton, sometimes expands the incidents given into a more harmonious picture. The change of the impersonal 'men' to 'I,' the occasional emphatic use of 'he pis,' 'he pat' instead of the mere pronoun, the vivid comparisons—the incubator 'like a hous

¹ First printed 1725.

² Printed 1899 for the Roxburghe Club.

³ Often printed 1499—1725.

full of holes'—and countless similar touches, give a special charm to the tale in this version. So vigorous and native is the composition that it scarcely gives the impression of a translation, and gallicisms, such as 'þat ilke foot is so mykill þat it will cover and outhbre all the body,' are rare exceptions. We find plenty of old and northern words¹. Slight hints of antipathy to Rome may be detected, and there are some additions to the recital not found in other English copies, in particular a legend of St Thomas of Canterbury, oddly placed in Thule. The writer of this version so far identifies himself with Sir John as to add to the account of the sea of gravel and the fish caught therein an assertion that he had eaten of them himself. It matters little that there are sundry inaccuracies of translation, such as the rendering of *latymers* (Fr. *lathomeres* = interpreters) by 'men þat can speke Latyne'; but the proper names are terribly confused; we not only get 'Ysai' and 'Crete' for 'Hosea' and 'Greece,' or 'Architriclyne' as the name of the bridegroom at Cana, but also other quite unintelligible forms. Indeed, the transformations of place-names might be worth while tracing: thus, the town Hesternit appears in Latin as *Sternes ad fines Epapie*, in a French version as *Ny e quis a fine Pape*, in Cotton as 'Ny and to the cytie of fipe Pape,' in Egerton as 'Sternes and to þe citee of Affynpane.' The names of the Cotton version are far more accurate than those of the Egerton, as its vocabulary and spelling are also less archaic, but the translator sometimes errs by transferring the sound of his French original; so, *foy d'arbres* becomes 'lytill Arborne,' *iales* of Italy become 'hilla,' and, with like carelessness, *porte du fer* is turned to 'gates of hell,' *signes du ciel* to 'swannes of hevene,' *cure d'avoir* to 'charge of aveer' (Egerton, 'hafyng of erthely gudes'). The Cottonian redactor is strong in scientific explanations and moral reflections, and, like his Egertonian brother, must add his mite to the triumphs of the traveller; to the account of the vegetable lamb he adds: 'Of that frute I have eten, alle thoughe it were wondrfulle but that I knowe wel that God is marveyllous in his werkes.'

This identification of themselves with Mandeville is partly the cause of the high place which these three (or two) translators occupy in the history of English letters. In all literary essentials their work is original; tautology has disappeared; they find in their model

¹ 'Growe,' 'graven' (buffed), 'warne' (unless), 'buse' (must), 'bese' (is), 'nedder' (dragon or serpent), 'oker' (usury), 'unqwhile' (formerly), 'spire after' (ask for), 'mesells' (leprosy), 'salde wonder dere,' 'ga na ferrere,' 'to see on ferrum' (from afar), 'mirkness umbelapped þe emperoure.'

no temptation to repetition or to jingling constructions and they add none; the narrative goes smoothly and steadily forward, with an admirable choice of words but without any phrasing, as different from the lavish colloquialism of Trevisa as from the unshapen awkwardness of the Wyclifite sermons. This natural style of simple dignity undoubtedly aids the genius of the original author in investing his fairy tales with that atmosphere of truthfulness which is the greatest triumph of his art. In the first place, Mandeville had the boldness not to be utilitarian, but to write with no other aim than entertainment. It is true that he professes to begin a manual of pilgrimage, but the thin disguise is soon cast aside, and the book could scarcely be mistaken for either a religious or a solidly instructive work. It was a new venture in literature—amusement had been hitherto the sphere of poets. And what vivifies the book, what marks it off from medieval tales like those of *Gesta Romanorum*, was also a new thing in prose: the sense of a human interest which is really the inspiring principle of the whole and forms out of scattered anecdotes a consistent story. The descriptions are of people and their behaviour, and in the midst is the quiet but discernible figure of Sir John himself. It was to the interest in human life that Mandeville appealed and this, in turn, he educated. He had, moreover, skilful devices for creating the feeling of reality: the wonders are sometimes accounted for by what appears a rational cause; touches of criticism or personal reflection contradict the supposition of simplicity; with equally circumstantial gravity he describes the trees which bear 'boumbe,' or cotton, and those which bear the very short gourds 'which, when ripe, men open and find a little beast with flesh and blood and bone, like a little lamb without wool.' Certainly, he was abreast of the most recent knowledge of his time in his account of the cotton-tree and in his assurance of the roundness of the earth. His readers, he says, witten well that the dwellers on the other side of the earth are straight against us, feet against feet, and he feels certain that by always going onwards one may get round the world, especially since Jerusalem is in the middle of the earth, as men may prove by a spear pight into the ground which casts no shadow at midday in the equinox. Then, as many journeys as it takes to reach Jerusalem, so many more will bring one to the edge of the world, after which one must proceed to India and other places on the underneath side; 'I have oft tymes thought on a tale pat I herd when I was yung of a man who travelled till he reached an island

where he heard one calling to plow oxen in words of his own tongue; 'but I suppose he had so long went on land and of see environand þe world þat he was comen in to his awen marches' (Egerton). The author dovetails his bits of genuine information into his fictions with deft ingenuity. One of the means of proving a diamond is to 'take þe adamaund that drawez þe nedill til him by þe whilk schippe men er governed in þe sea' (Egerton), and, if the diamond is good, the adamant, 'that is the schipmannes ston' (Cotton) will not act upon the needle while the gem rests upon it. But Mandeville cannot refrain from heightening the marvellous stories culled elsewhere. To the account of the diamond, sufficiently strange in 'Ysidre' or 'Bertilmeu,' to whose corroboration he appeals, he must needs add that 'þai growe sammen, male and female, and þai er nurischt with dew of heven...and bringes furth smale childer and so þai multiply and growez all way' (Egerton). He has often seen that they increase in size yearly, if taken up by the roots with a bit of the rock they grow on and often wetted with May dew. The source of this detail, as of the stories of Athanasius, of the man who environed the earth and of the hole in the Ark 'whare the fend ȝode out' when Noe said Benedicite, has not yet been discovered. Probably Mandeville invented them, as he did the details of the Great Cham's court: hangings of red leather, said Odoric—hangings made of panther skins as red as blood, says Mandeville; now, a panther, in those times, was reckoned a beast of unheard-of beauty and magical properties. Odoric expressly owned that he did not find such wonders in Prester John's land as he had expected from rumour; Mandeville declares that the half had not been reported, but that he will be chary of what he relates, for nobody would believe him. Such indications of a becoming reticence help to create the air of moderation which, somehow, pervades the book. The author's tone is never loud, his illustrations are pitched on a homelier key than the marvel he is describing—so of the crocodiles, 'whan thei gon bi places that ben gravelly it semethe as thoughe men hadde drawn a gret tree thorghe the gravelly places' (Cotton). It is a blemish on the grandeur of the Cham's court that 'the comouns there eten withouten clothe upon here knees.' Mandeville faces the probability that his readers may withhold belief: 'he þat will trowe it, trowe it; and he þat will not, lefe. For I will never þe latter tell sum what þat I sawe...wheder þai will trowe it or þai nil' (Egerton). He discounts a possible comparison with Odoric by mentioning that two of his company in the valley of devils were

'fere menoures of Lombardy,' and artfully calls to witness the very book that he stole from, 'the Lapidary that many men knowen noght.' Not that he ever avowedly quotes, save, rather inaccurately, from the Scriptures. The necessary conventional dress of orthodoxy he supplies to his travels by the device of crediting the mysterious eastern courts with holding certain Christian tenets. The shrine of St Thomas is visited 'als comounly and with als gret devocioun as Cristene men gon' to Seynt James' (Odoric said, St Peter's); Prester John's people know the Pater-noster and consecrate the host.

Mandeville hopes that everyone will be converted; his tolerance of strange creeds and manners is that of a gentle, not of a careless, mind. The Soudan of Egypt—who, indeed, rebuked the vices of Christianity after the fashion of Scott's Saladin—would have wedded him to a princess, had he but changed his faith. 'But I thanke God I had no wille to don it for no thing that he behighten me' (Cotton). It is with such light touches that Sir John pictures himself. He is no egoist, nor braggart; we know nothing of his appearance; he does no deeds of prowess himself 'for myn unable suffisance'; his religion is that of ordinary men. He ventured, duly shriven, and crossed, down the perilous vale, full of treasure and haunted by devils,

I touched none (he says) because that the Devels ben so subtile to make a thing to seme otherwise than it is, for to disceyve mankynde,... and also because that I wolde not ben put out of my devocioun; for I was more devout thanne than evere I was before or after, and alle for the drede of Fendes that I saughe in dyverse Figures (Cotton).

Sir John, in short, reveals himself as a gentleman, filled with a simple curiosity and with that love of strange travel which, he says, is native to Englishmen, born under the moon, the planet which moves round the world so much more quickly than the others. He is honest and broad-minded, free from any taint of greed—there is not a sordid observation in the whole book—and that he ever comes to an end is due to his consideration for others, for were he to tell all he had seen nothing would be left for other travellers to say: 'Wherefore I wole holde me stille.'

CHAPTER IV

THE SCOTTISH LANGUAGE

EARLY AND MIDDLE SCOTS

THE history of the Scots vernacular is, in its earlier stages, a recapitulation of the tale of Northumbrian Old English and northern Middle English. It is, perhaps, too dogmatic to say, especially when the documentary evidence is so slight, that, in the earliest period, the language north of the Tweed was identical with that between the Tweed and the Humber; but we may reasonably conclude that the differences were of the narrowest. The runic verses of *The Dream of the Rood* on the cross at Ruthwell, Durnfriesshire, might have been cut on the shores of the Forth, or in Yorkshire. Later, though local differences may have been accentuated, chiefly by the intrusion at one point or another of Scandinavian or other words, the structural identity of the language in the two areas was maintained. The justice of this assumption appears when, in a still later period, we have an opportunity of comparison by written texts. It is unnecessary to point out the close kinship, in the fourteenth century, of the language of Barbour's *Bruce*, written in Aberdeen, with that of the writings of Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole, near, Doncaster. The likeness is the more remarkable, if we accept the opinion that Barbour's text, in its extant form, was written out in the fifteenth century. It is, therefore, not only scientifically accurate to treat the language of the *Bruce* as northern English, but it is historically justifiable to call that language 'English.' To Barbour and his successors—till a change in political circumstance made a change in nomenclature necessary—their tongue is not 'Scots,' but invariably 'Ynglis,' or English.

The name 'Scots' or 'Scottish' has been applied to the language of the whole or part of the area of modern Scotland in such a variety of senses that some statement of the history of the term is a necessary preliminary to even the briefest outline.

Modern associations and modern fervour have too often obscured the purely linguistic issues. In its original application, 'Scots' is the speech of the Scottish settlers in Alban: that is, Celtic of the Goidelic group, the ancestor of the present Scottish Gaelic. In due course, the name was applied to the vernacular of the entire area north of the dividing-line between the estuaries of the Forth and Clyde. As this extension covered the eastern Pictish territory, then under the rule of the kings of the Scots, it is possible that some change was ultimately effected by the political association of these several northern non-Teutonic communities. Whatever be the outcome of speculation on this point, the only consideration pertinent to our present purpose is that the speech of this wider area was known as 'Scots' to all peoples south of the dividing-line, whether Anglian settlers in the Lothians or Bretts (or 'Welsh') in Strathclyde.

When the limits of the 'Scottish' kingdom were enlarged southward and had, in the thirteenth century, become identical with those of modern Scotland, the name 'Scots' was no longer applied to the language of the rulers. The process of amalgamation was, in every sense, an anglicisation, which became more effective as the Scottish kings carried out their policy of intruding Teutonic culture into the eastern fringe of their ancestral 'Scotland.' Thus, when the wider political idea of a 'Scotland' takes shape, we find 'Ynglis' the name of the speech of the 'Scottish' court and of the surrounding Anglian population in the Lothians and Fife, and 'Scots' that of the speech of the northern and western provinces. This alienation of the anglicised Scot from the Gaelic Scot—illustrated in the story of Duncan and Macbeth—was completed in the wars of independence, in which the Teutonic or 'English' elements representing 'Scottish' nationality were hampered in their resistance to the Anglo-French civilisation of England by the vigorous opposition of non-Teutonic Scots. When the struggle was ended and Teutonic Scotland started on a fresh career of national endeavour, the separation from the Celtic Scots was absolute. On the other hand, certain elements of Anglo-French culture were readily assimilated. The guiding factor was race. For some time after this, even at the close of the fifteenth century, 'Scots' is the name for the Gaelic speech of the north and west. By writers of Lothian birth, this tongue is spoken of disrespectfully as the tongue of 'brokin men' and 'savages' and 'bribour bairdis.' These Lothian men are Scots, willing subjects of the king of 'Scots.'

proud of their 'Scotland'; but they are careful to say that the language which they speak is 'Ynglis.'

Later, however, with the political and social advance of the kingdom and the development of a strong national sentiment during the quarrels with England, it came about, inevitably, that the term 'Ynglis' no longer commended itself to northern patriotism. It was the language of the 'auld enemy,' an enemy the nearest and the most troublesome. If these northerners were proud of Scotland and of being Scots, why might not their tongue be 'Scots'? In some such way the historian guesses at the purpose of sixteenth century literature in taking to itself the name of the despised speech of the 'bards,' and in giving to that speech the name of 'Ersch' or 'Yrisch' (Irish). The old reproach clung to the new title 'Ersch': and it was to be long before the racial animosity, thus expressed in the outward symbol of language, was to be forgotten in a more homogeneous Scotland. No better proof of this internal fissure can be found than in Dunbar's *Flyting with Kennedie*¹, which is, in first intention, an expression of the feud between the English east and the Gaelic west. If the poem be, as we are asked to believe, a mere bout of rough fun, it is none the less interesting as evidence of the material which gave the best opportunities for mock warfare.

This break with the family name and historic association indicates, in a blunt way, a more fundamental change in the language itself. The causes which produced the one could not fail to influence the other. For 'Scots,' erst 'Ynglis,' had, for some time, lived apart: during more than two centuries there had been little intercourse with England by any of the peaceful methods which affect language most strongly; closer association had been enforced with the unreconciled Gaels within its area or with new friends beyond; generally, a marked differentiation had been established between the civilisations north and south of the Tweed. These considerations, among others, prepare us for the changes which soon become evident, though they may not be very helpful in explaining the details of these changes. It may be that some of them were longer in the making than our study of the few extant documents of the earlier period has led us to believe. We lack evidence of the extent of Scandinavian interference in the northern Anglic dialect, structural and verbal, and we know too little of the Anglo-French influences resulting from the Norman culture which had grown up in the Lothians. Yet, while

¹ See Chapter x.

allowing for possibilities, or probabilities, of this kind, we may conclude that, on the whole, the literary language of Scotland down to the early fifteenth century was in close conformity with the usage of northern England. The texts of Barbour and Hampole force us to accept this. Any qualification which may be made must be due, not to the testimony of facts (for they are wanting), but to an acknowledgment of the general principle that languages and dialects change slowly and that the differences in the latter part of the fifteenth century (to which we are about to refer) are too fundamental to have taken shape of a sudden.

A change in the habit of the literary language is discernible from the middle of the fifteenth century. It is definite and of general occurrence; and it continues with but few variations, which are due to the idiosyncrasies of writers or the circumstances of publication, down to the opening decades of the seventeenth century. To this period (1450—1620) the name of 'Middle Scots' has been given. The title is not altogether satisfactory, but it is the best that has been found; and it is useful in suggesting the special linguistic phase which intervened between earlier and later (or modern) Scots. It is applied only to the literary speech. The spoken language pursued its own course and showed fewer points of difference from both the literary and spoken dialects of northern England. When the middle period closes, spoken Scots is again restored to something of the dignity of a literary medium. This is said advisedly, for diversity of dialect and the lack of a fixed orthography in Modern Scots are the denial of the main characteristics of a standard instrument. In Middle Scots, on the other hand, the linguistic peculiarities are, with the allowances already noted, uniform within the period, and deliberately followed.

The name 'Early Scots,' for the period ending c. 1450, is even less satisfactory than 'Middle Scots' for the next (from 1450 to 1620); but it will do no harm if it be understood to be the literary language of Teutonic Scotland during the century and a half before 1450, when such differentiation from early northern English as may be assumed, but cannot readily be proved, was established. The names 'Northumbrian' and 'Early Northern English' may be applied to the still earlier stages. Of 'Early Scots' the typical examples are Barbour's *Bruce* and Wyntoun's *Chronicle*: of Middle Scots the writings of Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas and Lyndsay. In a more exhaustive scheme it is convenient to have an intervening 'Early Transition Period'—say from 1420 to 1460—represented by such important works as *The Kingis Quair*, *Lancelot of the Laik*, and *The Quare of Ielusy*. The linguistic basis of

these poems is Early Scots; but they show an artificial mixture with southern and pseudo-southern forms derived from Chaucer. Their language represents no type, literary or spoken; it is a bookish fabrication; but, though exceptional and individual, it has the historical interest of being the first expression of a habit which, in Middle Scots, was neither exceptional nor individual. In this transition period the foreign elements are exclusively Chaucerian: in Middle Scots, Chaucerian influence, though great and all pervading, is not the sole cause of the differences¹.

The statement that Middle Scots is uniform throughout its many texts must not be misunderstood. Full allowance must be made, in each case, for the circumstances of composition and production. Translations from Latin or French will show a larger percentage of Romance forms; a dream-poem will attract more Chaucerian words and phrases and tricks of grammar; a recension of a southern text or the writing of a Scot in exile in England will 'carry over' certain southern mannerisms; French printers in Paris, or Chepman and Myllar's English craftsmen in Edinburgh, will bungle and alter; and poets like Gavin Douglas will deal in archaisms which even an educated contemporary might not readily understand. Yet these exceptions, and others which might be named, but prove the validity of the general rule.

Middle Scots stands in marked contrast with Early Scots in phonology and orthography, in accidents, in syntax and in vocabulary and word-forms. It is not desirable to attempt even an outline of each of these in this short chapter. The reader who wishes further acquaintance is referred to the bibliography. The remaining pages will be devoted to brief consideration of the main causes of change and of their relative importance in the transformation of the dialect, especially in the matter of vocabulary. The persistence of certain popular misconceptions; or overstatements, of the indebtedness of Scots justifies some discussion of the question in this place.

An artificial dialect such as is used by the greater Middle Scots poets is, in some respects, unaffected by the processes which mould a living speech². It draws from sources which are outside the natural means of supply; it adopts consciously and in accordance

¹ It may be well to add that these 'transitional' texts are more strongly southern than are the later texts which continued the habit of borrowing.

² If the entire literature of the period (prose as well as verse), be considered, this impression of artificiality will, of course, be modified. This must always be so, even when eccentricity is more marked than it is in the present case. Yet we must not underestimate the importance of a habit which was, after all, followed by all Middle Scots writers who make any claim to literary style.

with a deliberately accepted theory of style. If it borrow the forms which come to all languages with the new things of the marketplace, it does so advisedly, just as it recovers the older forms which have been lost to ordinary speech. Books are its inspiration, and the making of books is its end. In this way the literary consciousness of an age as it appears in writers like Henryson and Dunbar is an index to its linguistic habit. When poets show a new pride in the vernacular and are concerned with the problems of poetic diction and form, their admiration of the models of style takes a very practical turn. Scottish literature, in the full enjoyment of a new fervour, showed the effect of its enthusiasm in the fashion of its language. In it, as in the Italian and Burgundian, the chief effort was to transform the simpler word and phrase into 'aureate' mannerism, to 'illumine' the vernacular, to add 'fresch anamalit termis celicall.' This Crétinism was the serious concern of the Scottish poets for at least a century, and even of prose-writers such as the author of *The Complaynt of Scotlande*, or Abacuck Byssset, so late as 1622. In the later stages of Middle Scots, and especially in the prose, other influences were at work, but the tradition established during the so-called 'golden age' still lingered.

• The chief modifying forces at work during the middle period are English, Latin and French. Others—say Celtic and Scandinavian—may be neglected, but the case for the former will be glanced at later.

• The southern, or English, influence, which is the strongest, is exerted in three ways. It comes through the study of Chaucer and the English 'Chaucerians'; through religious and controversial literature; and, lastly, through the new political and social relations with England, prior to and following the accession of James VI to the English throne. The first of these is the most important. In a later chapter, attention is drawn to the debt of the Scottish 'makars' to the southern poet and his followers for the sentiment and fabric of their verse. The measure of that debt is not complete without acknowledgment to Chaucer's language. The general effect on Middle Scots of this literary admiration was an increase in the Romance elements. It may be taken for granted that the majority of words of Anglo-French origin, which were incorporated at this time were Chaucerian; but it is not always easy to distinguish these words from the Anglo-French which had been naturalised in the early period. It must not be forgotten, especially in estimating the French contribution to Middle Scots (see *post*) that the most active borrowing from that quarter had been accomplished before this time. In

The Kingis Quair and *Lancelot*, which illustrate the first Chaucerian phase in Scots, the infusion is not confined to the vocabulary. Fantastic grammatical forms are common: such as infinitives in *-en* (even *-ine*), *weren* for *war*, past participles with *y-*, frequent use of final *-e*—all unknown and impossible to the northern dialect. In these cases there is no mistaking the writer's artifice and its source. Such freaks in accident are hardly to be found in the poetry of James IV's reign; though Gavin Douglas's eclectic taste allows the southern *ybound* and the nondescript *ysowpit*. In the verse of the 'golden age' it is the word, or tag, which is the badge of Chaucerian affectation. The prose shows little or nothing of this literary reminiscence. John of Ireland, whose writing is the earliest extant example of original Scots prose of a literary cast, speaks of 'Galfryde Chauceir' (by whom he really means Occleve), but exhibits no trace of his influence. When the Middle Scots prose-writer is not merely annalistic, or didactic, or argumentative, he draws his *aureat termis* from the familiar Latin. So, when *The Complaynt of Scotlande* varies from the norm, it is, in Rabelais's phrase, to 'despumate the Latial verbocination,' or to revel in onomatopoeia.

In the prose, the second and third English influences are more easily noted, and they are found towards the end of the period, when a general decadence has set in. Indeed, they are the chief causes of the undoing of Middle Scots, of breaking down the very differences which Chaucer, Latinity and (in a minor degree) French intercourse had accomplished. It is to be observed that the language of nearly all religious literature from the middle of the sixteenth century is either purely southern or strongly anglicised: it is worthy of special note that, until the publication of the Bassandyne Bible in 1576—9, all copies of the Scriptures were imported direct from England, and that the Bassandyne, as authorised by the reformed kirk, is a close transcript of the Genevan version. This must have had a powerful influence on the language, spoken and written. Even in Lyndsay, whose dialect is unmistakable, translated passages from the Vulgate are taken direct from the English text. The literary influence was strengthened by protestant controversialists, notably by Knox, perhaps the most 'English' of all Scottish prose-writers. This 'knapping' of 'sudroun' was one of the charges preferred against them by catholic pamphleteers—among others by John Hamilton, author of *Ane Catholik and Facile Traicteise* (1581), who even saw treason in the printing of Scottish books at London 'in contempt of our native language.'

The third English influence, latest in activity, emphasised these tendencies. It is easy to trace in state documents and in the correspondence of the court the intrusion of southern forms. *Sal* and *shall*, *till* and *to*, *quhilk* and *which*, participles in *-and* and *-ing*, *-it* and *-ed*, jostle each other continually. The going of the court to England, and the consequent affectation of English ways, undid the artificial Middle Scots which had been fashioned at, and for, that court. Poetry was transferred, almost *en bloc*, as if by act of the British Solomon, to the care of the southern muse: all the singers, Alexander, Aytoun, Drummond and the rest became 'Elizabethan' in language and sentiment, differing in nothing, except an occasional Scotticism, from their southern hosts. When Scottish literature revives in the mid-seventeenth century, and in the next is again vigorous, its language is the spoken dialect, the *agrest terminis* of the Lothians and west country¹.

That the Romance contribution to Middle Scots is large is obvious; that it is found in writings which are not mere *tour de force* of 'aureate' ingenuity is also obvious. But the sorting out of the borrowings according to their origin has not been so clear to amateurs of Scots etymology. There has been no lack of speculation, which, in its generally accepted form, must be seriously traversed.

The non-Toutonic elements (excluding Celtic) are Latin and French. An exaggerated estimate of the political and social intercourse with France, and a corresponding neglect or depreciation of the position of Latin in Scottish culture, have given vogue to a theory of French influence on the language which cannot be accepted without serious modification. The main responsibility for the popular opinion that Scots is indebted, inordinately, to French must rest with the late Francisque Michel's *Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language, with the view of illustrating the Rise and Progress of Civilisation in Scotland* (1882). It may be true that, 'to thoroughly understand Scottish civilisation, we must seek for most of its more important germs in French sources'; but certain important qualifications are necessary.

The French element in Middle Scots represents three stages of borrowing: first, the material incorporated in the early period during the process of Anglo-French settlement in the Lothians; next, the material, also Anglo-French in origin, drawn from Chaucer and the 'Chaucean' texts; and, finally, the material adopted from

¹ Some qualification is, of course, necessary in Ramsay's case. His antiquarian taste must be reckoned with by the philologist.

central French during the close diplomatic intercourse of the Scottish and French courts, and as a result of the resort of Scottish students to the university of Paris, and, later, of the national interest in Calvinistic protestantism. The last of these groups commends itself readily to the popular imagination: its plausibility is enforced by recalling the stories of the Scot abroad, of careers like Buchanan's, of the Quentin Durwards, and by pointing to the copies of French institutions in the College of Justice and the older universities. Yet, when all these are allowed for, the borrowings from this third source are the smallest in extent, and by no means important. From the second source, which is, in a sense, English (for the borrowings were already naturalised English words), the influx is much greater; but from the first, certainly the greatest.

So far as the vocabulary is concerned, nearly all the Romance elements in Middle Scots which cannot be traced to the first or second, the Anglo-French or Chaucerian source, are of Latin origin. Even many of the borrowings which are French in form and derived through French were taken direct from the *rhétoriciens* because they yielded a ready-made supply of aureate terms and helped the purposes of writers who, like Gavin Douglas, had set themselves to put and carve Latin for the betterment of the vernacular. It was of the nature of an accident that the media were French books. The forms appealed to the Latin-speaking, Latin-thinking Scot. Moreover, not a few of the words which are certainly French, such as the hackneyed *ashet* and *gigot*, belong to the period of Modern Scots; others, as *attour*, *boule*, which appear to yield evidence of French origin, are 'English' dialectal forms. When Francisque Michel refers the child-word *bae* to the bleat in *Fathelin* we begin to understand what a Frenchified thing Middle Scots must have been! Nor is it easy, even with the authority of another investigator¹, to allow a French origin to certain well-known eccentricities of grammar and syntax in Middle Scots—badges of that period and of no other—the indefinite article and numeral *ane*, in all positions; the adjectival plural, e.g. *saidis*, *quhillis*; and the frequent placing of the adjective after the noun, e.g. *factis merciall*, *concepcioun virginale*, *inimy mortall*. The assumption that such a usage as *ane man* is an imitation of the French *un homme* is, in the first place, entirely unsupported by historical evidence; secondly, it shows a grammatical interference in a place where intrusion is least likely, or hardly possible.

¹ See J. A. H. Murray's *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (Historical Introduction).

In the case of the other alleged Gallicisms, criticism may be more constructive, for they may be explained (when they are not the outcome of verse necessity) as relics or reminiscences of Latin syntactical habit. The tradition of theological and legal Latin must be reckoned with; and the fact that the adjectival plural is admitted to be first found 'in legal verbiage' is an important link in the evidence.

So far, we have assumed that the Romance influence which is not Anglo-French or Chaucerian comes through Latin rather than French. We may strengthen this position by pointing to the ascertained importance of Latin in the moulding of Middle Scots. There is, in the first place, the direct testimony of contemporary writers to the vitality of Latin, which stands in remarkable contrast with their silence on the subject of French borrowing. The circumstances of the writer and the nature of his work must, of course, be considered. It is to be expected that, in a translation from Latin, or in treatises on theology, political science, or law, the infusion will be stronger than in an original work of an imaginative or descriptive cast. This consideration may affect our conclusion as to the average strength of the infusion, but it does not minimise the importance of the fact that Middle Scots was liable to influence from this quarter. The testimony of such different writers as John of Ireland, Gavin Douglas and the author of *The Complaynt of Scotlande* is instructive. John excuses his Scots style because he was 'thretty yris nurist in fraunce, and, in the noble study of Paris in latin tounge, and knew nocht the gret eloquens of chaucer na colouris þat men usis in þis Inglis metir.' Nor was he (we may be certain) the only Scot who, when it was a question of writing 'in the commoun langage of þis cuntre,' sought help from Latin, 'the tounge that [he] knew better.' Gavin Douglas allows the general necessity of 'bastard latyne, french, or inglis' to a progressive Scots, but he discusses the advantages of only the first, and shows that in his task of translating Vergil he must draw freely from Latin, if his work is not to be 'mank and mutilait' as Caxton's was. The author of *The Complaynt* says plainly that 'it is necessair at sum tyme til myxt oure langage vitht part of termis dreuyn fra lateen, be reson that oure scottis tong is nocht sa copeus as is the lateen tong.'

These confessions are amply supported by the texts. There we find not only words of unmistakable Latin lineage such as *translatory*, *praeternittit*, *caliginus*, but others used in their Latin

sense, such as *prefferris* (excels), *pretendis* (aims at), and the like. Further, there is ample evidence of the process, at which Douglas clearly hints, that Latin was drawn upon without hesitation and without any attempt to disguise the borrowing. The word *manik* in the quotation already given is an illustration. It may be Old French (through Anglo-French), but its natural parent is *manus*. Examples of direct association with Latin are plentiful: here, two must suffice. 'Withoutin more or delay' is plain *sine mora aut dilacione*: no imaginary French 'more' intervenes. Even at the close of the period a man may be described in kirk minutes as 'apt and idoneus to enter the ministry.' In accident even, as in the uninflected past participle, e.g. *did fatigat, being deliberat, salbe repute*—a form which still lingers in Scottish legal style—the derivation from Latin is direct.

On the whole, therefore, the Romance material in Middle Scots, in so far as it is not Anglo-French, directly or mediately, is largely Latin. Central French is certainly represented in such words as *preaux* and *charpentier*, but they are in many cases ἀναξ λεγόμενα or the liking of certain authors. To counterbalance this, it may be pointed out that in *The Complaynt of Scotlande*, that strange mosaic of verbatim translation from French with encyclopaedic digressions in Scots which are assumed to be original, the author is a more deliberate Latinist in the latter than he is when rendering the passages from the *rhétoriciens*. Here, again, it is the 'rhetorical' quality which attracts him to the French authors. He pays little heed to the French *timbre* of their work, and hastens, when he must be original, to find the closest imitation in diction of this sort.

Now for conclusion of this prolog, i exort the, gude redar, to correct me familiarly, and be cherite, Ande til interpret my intention fauorablye, for doutles the motiōne of the compilatiōne of this tracteit procedis mair of the compassiōne that i hef of the public necessite nor it dois of presumptione or vanb gloir. thy chereitabil correctiōne maye be ane prouocatiōne to gar me studye mair attentiuelye in the pyxt verkis that i intend to set furth, the quhilk i beleif in gode sal be verray necessair tyl al them that desiris to lyue verteuouslye indurand the schort tyme of this oure fragil peregrinatiōne, & as fayr veil.

And this writer dares to call these words 'agrest termis,' and to add that he 'thocht it nocht necessair til hef fardit ande lardit this tracteit vitht exquisite termis, quhilkis ar nocht daly vait' and that he has employed 'domestic Scottis langage, maist intelligibil for the vulgare pepil.'

It has been argued that an additional cause of the differences

between Early and Middle Scots is to be found in Celtic. Interaction has been assumed because the Lowlander and Highlander were brought into a closer, though forced, association in a unified Scotland, or because the anti-English policy of the former, threw him back, no matter with what feelings, upon his northern and western neighbours. There are, however, serious objections to the general assumption and to the identification of many of the alleged borrowings from Celtic. In regard to the first, it must be kept in mind (a) that the only possible interaction, literary or otherwise, was with the Gaels of the west and south-west; (b) that the inhabitants of Strathclyde and Galloway were, to a certain extent, Romanised Celts; and (c) that race-antipathies, as shown in *The Flying of Dunbar and Kennedie*, were a strong barrier to linguistic give-and-take, especially in grammatical structure and orthography. On the marches there would be borrowing of words, perhaps even breaking down of inflections and phonetic change. There is evidence of such effects in the initial *f* for *quh* (*hw*) of the pronoun, at the Aberdeenshire end of the 'Highland line'; but changes of this kind do not affect the literary standard, or every dialect of the spoken language.

• The alleged contributions from Celtic are (a) verbal and (b) orthographic, perhaps phonological. The first are admittedly of the slightest, and are being gradually reduced. In the second a contingency is assumed which, as in the case of central French interference, was the least likely to happen. The closest intimacy is necessary before one language, especially that which is dominant, permits modifications of its grammatical and orthographic habit. Our chief authority on Lowland dialects¹ has described some of the salient variations of Middle Scots, 'in the form of words, and consequently in their written form,' as 'due mostly to Celtic influence.' While it may be admitted that Middle Scots was not 'founded upon precisely the same dialectic type as the written language of the early period,' it is by no means clear that *buik*, *moir*, *glaid*, etc. for older northern forms, the loss of *t* as in *dirreck*, or its addition as in *witht*, the inserted mute *l* in *chalmer* (or *chalmer*, as pronounced), *rolkis* (rocks) and *waltir* (water), the *s* in the past part as *desamet*, or in the adverb, as in *franwart*—that any of these things are the result of the Lowlander's unconscious affectation of 'Erse' speech. The *onus probandi* lies with the supporters of this view. At present no evidence has been produced: it will be surprising if it can be produced.

¹ *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland.*

CHAPTER V

THE EARLIEST SCOTTISH LITERATURE

BARBOUR, BLIND HARRY, HUCHOUN, WYNTOUN, HOLLAND

As has been indicated in the preceding chapter, it is probable that, from a very early period in the English colonisation of Britain, an English dialect was spoken from Forth to Tweed, which was, in most respects, practically indistinguishable from that spoken between the Tweed and the Humber. Even along the north-eastern coast, English was soon the language of the little towns that traded by sea. Before 1124, the communities of Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Nairn and Inverness had formed themselves into a miniature Hanseatic league, on which David I conferred sundry privileges. The inland country behind these communities remained for long in the hands of a Gaelic-speaking people. In the north of Aberdeenshire there is evidence that the harrying of Buchan, carried out by Robert the Bruce, in 1308, as part of his vengeance on his enemies the Comyns, introduced the English language to the inland districts, for in local documents the names of persons change speedily after that date from Gaelic to English.

Of a Scottish literature before the wars of independence there is no trace. In the period preceding the death of Alexander III, in 1286, Scotland was so prosperous that it is difficult to believe no such literature existed. But, as the dialect of Scotland was not yet differentiated from that south of the Tweed, such a literature, unless it took the form of chronicles or was of a strictly local character, could not easily be identified. It is noticeable that there is no lack of literature of which the scene is connected with Scotland. The romance of Sir Tristram, which is associated with the name of True Thomas, the mysterious seer of Erceldoune, is preserved only in a dialect which is not Scots. Though the Gawain cycle appears in different forms in different dialects, all of them seem to be English. Yet Gawain, according

to the legend, was prince of Galloway; and, as we shall see, there is some reason to connect some of these poems with a Scottish author. The contradiction, however, is more in appearance than in reality. If these poems were composed by a Scottish author, they were, undoubtedly, intended rather for recitation than for reading; and, even if they were meant to be read, a southern scribe would be certain to adapt the forms to his own dialect. This adaptation might be either intentional or unintentional. If intentional, the purpose would be to make the poem more easily intelligible to southern readers; if unintentional, it would typify the result which always ensues in all languages from the mechanical copying of an alien dialect.

In the Scots dialect itself, the political separation brought about by the wars of Wallace and Bruce produced considerable changes. The oldest fragments of the dialect are to be found in the phrases introduced for greater precision into the Latin laws of David I and his successors. In these, we hear of *blodewit*, *styn-giedynt*, *herieth* and so forth, for which, in the later Scots version, are substituted *bludewyt*, *stokisdynt*, *hereyelde*. Till Scotland has become again an independent kingdom, such words as these, and the vernacular glosses on the hard words in a Latin lease, are all that survive to us of the old Scottish tongue. Of early continuous prose there are no remains. The earliest poetry extant appears in the few musical and pathetic verses on the death of Alexander III, which have been quoted a thousand times:

Quhen Alysandyr oure kyng was dede

That Scotland led in¹ l^ove and le,

• Away w^os sons¹ off ale and brede,

• Off wyne and wax, off gamyn and gle;

• Oure gold wes changyd into ledg,

• Cryst born into Vygynyte

• Succoure Scotland and remede

• That stad is in perplexyte.

Though preserved only by Wyntoun (c. 1420), they, no doubt, are not far removed from the original form of a hundred and fifty years earlier. In Fabyan's *Chronicle* are preserved some of the flouts and gibes at the English, baffled in the siege of Berwick and defeated at Bannockburn. But it is with Barbour, whose poem *The Bruce* is the triumphant chronicle of the making of the new kingdom of Scotland by Robert and Edward Bruce and the great 'James of Douglas,' that Scottish literature begins. As the national epic, coloured, evidently, to a large extent by tradition,

but written while men still lived who remembered Bannockburn and the good king Robert, it is entitled to the first place, even though conceivably some of the literature of pure romance be not less old.

In John Barbour, the author of *The Bruce*, we have a typical example of the prosperous churchman of the fourteenth century. As we may surmise from his name, he had sprung from the common folk. Of his early history we know nothing. We first hear of him in 1357, when he applies to Edward III for a safe-conduct to take him and a small following of three scholars to Oxford for purposes of study. By that date, he was already archdeacon of Aberdeen, and, as an archdeacon, must have been at least twenty-five years old. He probably was some years older. He died, an old man, in 1396, and we may reasonably conjecture that he was born soon after 1320. In those days there was no university in Scotland, and it may be assumed that the archdeacon of Aberdeen was, in all probability, proceeding in 1357 to Oxford with some young scholars whom he was to place in that university; for the Latin of the safe-conduct need not mean, as has often been assumed, that Barbour himself was to 'keep acts in the schools.' The safe-conduct was granted him at the request of 'David de Bruya,' king of Scotland, at that time a captive in king Edward's hands; and Barbour's next duty, in the same year, was to serve on a commission for the ransom of king David. Other safe-conducts were granted to Barbour in 1364, 1365 and 1368; that of 1365 allowing him to pass to St Denis in France, while, in 1368, he was allowed to cross into France for purposes of study. In 1372 and 1373, he was clerk of the audit of the king's household; and, in 1373, also one of the auditors of the exchequer. By the early part of 1376, *The Bruce* was finished; and, soon after, we find him receiving by command of the king (now Robert II) ten pounds from the revenues of the city of Aberdeen. In 1378, a pension of twenty shillings sterling from the same source was conferred upon him for ever—a benefaction which, in 1380, he transferred to the cathedral of Aberdeen, that the dean and canons might, once a year, say mass for the souls of his parents, himself and all the faithful dead. With northern caution, he lays down careful regulations as to how the dean is to divide the twenty shillings among the staff of the cathedral, not forgetting even the sacrist (the name still survives in Aberdeen), who tolled the bell. Other sums were paid to Barbour by the king's order from the revenues of Aberdeen, and, in 1388, his pension was raised by the king, 'for his

faithful service, to ten pounds, to be paid half-yearly at the Scottish terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas. He died on 13 March 1396. Like Chaucer, he received from the king (in 1390—1) the wardship of a minor, who lived in his parish of Rayne in Aberdeenshire. On at least one of the many occasions when he was auditor of the exchequer, Sir Hew of Eglintoun, who, as we shall see, is also reputed a poet, served along with him.

Such are the simple annals of John Barbour's life, as known to us. For thirty-eight years at least he was archdeacon of Aberdeen, then, probably, one of the most prosperous towns in the realm. Fortunately for itself, it was far removed from the border, and had not suffered so severely as most towns in the wars of liberation, though it had been visited by all the leading combatants, by Wallace, by Edward I and by Bruce. The records of the city, unfortunately, do not begin till a few years after Barbour's death. There is, however, some reason to believe that Barbour was not alone in his literary activity. To the same district and to the same period belong the *Lives of the Saints*, a manuscript discovered in the Cambridge University Library by Henry Bradshaw, who assigned the authorship to Barbour himself. From Wyntoun we learn that Barbour was the author of other works which are now lost. In many passages he refers to themes treated of in a quasi-historical poem, *The Brut*, which clearly, in matter, bore a close resemblance to Layamon's poem with the same title. To Barbour, Wyntoun attributes, also, another lost poem, *The Stewartis Oryginalle*, which carried back the genealogy of the Stewart kings from Robert II of Scotland to Ninus who built Nineveh—a *tour de force* excelled only by another Aberdonian, Sir Thomas Urquhart, the translator of Rabelais, who carried the genealogy of his family back to Adam himself. It was perfectly well known that the Stewarts were a branch of the ancient English house of FitzAlan; but, in the bitter feeling against England which by this time had come to prevail in Scotland, it was, no doubt, desirable to find another and more remote origin for the Scottish royal family. The feeling which led to the production of this fabulous genealogy is vouched for by the author of the *Lives of the Saints* already mentioned, who tells us, in the life of St Ninian, that a paralytic English lord desired his squire, who had brought home a Scot as prisoner, to put a knife in his mouth with the blade outward, that he might 'reave the Scot of his life.' This lord, having been dissuaded from his deed of murder, and

lovers separated by a fatal thunderbolt¹. This is quickly succeeded by a passage on summer bathing, illustrated by the tale of Damon and Musidora, which, in its present form, is entirely altered, and altered for the worse, from the form which it assumed in the earliest draft of the poem². The episode of Palemon and Lavinia in *Autumn* is a tale of harvest, modelled upon the history of Boaz and Ruth³. At their best, these stories are merely elegant decorations of Thomson's verse. Their popularity in their own day was due to an artificial taste which sought in such poetry the distractions of an unreal world, and tolerated the questionable morality and spurious sentiment of the story of Damon and Musidora, for the sake of its superficial prettiness.

Moral reflections, such as those upon love and jealousy suggested by the song of the birds in spring⁴, are among the incidental passages of *The Seasons*. No subject, however, was more congenial to Thomson than the glory of his country, and the patriotic enthusiasm excited by the prospect seen from Richmond hill in *Summer* was more than a conventional sentiment exacted by duty to the political sympathies of his friends and patrons. His convictions, on this head, found their earliest expression in the monologue *Britannia*, and were developed at tedious length in *Liberty*. In this poem, his art failed him, and the careful arrangement of topics which gave much variety to *The Seasons* was abandoned for the prolix discussion of a single theme. Stirred to his subject by the sight of the ruins of Rome, he indulged in a historical survey, related by Liberty herself, of her progress from Greece to Italy, her temporary eclipse in 'Gothic darkness,' and her revival at the renascence to find in Britain a field for her untrammelled sway. In her autobiography, Liberty displays a remarkable lack of modesty, and the width of her claims is the only original feature of Thomson's political philosophy. The poet himself plays the part of an admiring listener to her oration, making, from time to time, respectful interruptions which serve to let loose new floods of verbiage. He evidently grew weary of his task. The prophecy contained in the fifth book, awaited by a steadily decreasing number of subscribers, begins with an uninspired adaptation to Britain of Vergil's famous tribute to Italy in the second *Georgic*, and 'goes dispiritedly, glad to finish' to an abrupt and hurried end. After Thomson's death, Lyttelton, following, as he said, the author's own design, condensed the five books of

¹ *Summer*, ll. 1170 seq.

² *Autumn*, ll. 182 seq.

³ *Ibid.* ll. 1270 seq.

⁴ *Spring*, ll. 959 seq.

Liberty into three. His rearrangement, when compared with the earlier text, is a symptom of the loose construction and redundancy of the original, which made such drastic treatment possible. Thomson's friend Murdoch appears to have set his face against the application of a similar process to *The Seasons*; but it must be owned that, even after all the revision which it underwent from the author himself, *The Seasons* is not without a considerable amount of repetition, which testifies to the limitations of Thomson's material.

Although *Liberty* was a failure, Thomson evidently intended to try his fortune once more with a patriotic poem. The ominous promise, recorded in *The Castle of Indolence*¹, was not fulfilled, for a reason which must be found in *The Castle of Indolence* itself. The elaboration of this short poem occupied many years, and, even in its final condition, bears signs of incompleteness. Each of the two cantos ends abruptly with a homely realistic simile which forms an inappropriate conclusion to a romantic allegory. The poem might, indeed, have been extended to an indefinite length: its merit lies, not in the story which it contains, but in the polish of its style and the success with which Thomson, following a fixed model, contrived to display in it his own best qualities.

This poem (says the advertisement prefixed to it) being writ in the manner of *Spenser*, the obsolete words, and a simplicity of diction in some of the lines, which borders on the ludicrous, were necessary to make the imitation more perfect. And the stile of that admirable poet, as well as the measure in which he wrote, are, as it were, appropriated by Custom to all allegorical Poems writ in our language; just as in *French* the stile of *Marot*, who lived under *Francis i*, has been used in tales, and familiar epistles, by the politest writers of the age of *Louis xiv*.

Already, in 1742, Shenstone had attempted, in *The School-Mistress*, to imitate Spenser's

language, his simplicity, his manner of description, and a peculiar tenderness of sentiment remarkable throughout his works.

Thomson's poem, however, had been conceived at an earlier date than Shenstone's. It shows, not merely an admiration of the external qualities of Spenser's verse, but some intimacy with his methods of description and personification. At the same time, the use of the Spenserian stanza, of obsolete words and of a studied simplicity of diction, could not repress the characteristic tastes of the poet of *The Seasons*. In the habit of poetical inversion Milton stood between Spenser and Thomson; and Thomson had assimilated this habit so thoroughly that *The Castle of Indolence* could hardly

¹ *The Castle of Indolence*; canto 1, st. 52.

fail to be leavened with it. With Spenser, the employment of obsolete words, if, primarily, an affectation, became an essential feature of his poetry. With Thomson, it was purely a quaint imitation of Spenser: his old-fashioned words were dragged in as a necessity, and the poem would lose none of its attractiveness without them.

The point at which Thomson most closely approaches Spenser is in the deliberate movement and varied melody of his stanza. Otherwise, it may fairly be claimed that his resemblance to his model is of the most general kind. The landscape with which the poem opens is his highest achievement in that type of description, combining soft colour with suggestions of perfume and sound, with which *The Seasons* has made us familiar. There is little emphasis on small details: effects of colour, of light and shadow, are conveyed in such general and inclusive phrases as

gay castles in the clouds that pass,
For ever flushing round a summer-sky¹.

If, in such passages, the luxurious beauty of Spenser's descriptions is reflected, it is rather in their form than in their contents. Here, once more, the influence of Milton in poetry, of 'savage *Rosa*' and 'learned *Poussin*' in painting, are too strong to make insistence on detail possible. In his personifications, Thomson comes nearer to Spenser. The incidental persons, the 'comely full-spread porter²' and his 'little roguish page³,' the diseases of body and mind in the dungeon of the castle⁴, 'the fiery-footed boy, benempt *Dispatch*⁵,' who is page to the Knight of Arts and Industry, are portraits which have Spenser's power of giving individual being to abstract qualities. On the other hand, the chief portraits of *The Castle of Indolence*, the sketches of the friends of the poet as inhabitants or visitors of the castle⁶, suggested though they may have been by Spenser's habit of interweaving traits of his contemporaries with his personified abstractions, were drawn with a personal feeling which owed little to imitation. Written by one who has himself fallen under the dominion of the enchanter, the poem has a note of confession and complaint which gives its contents a special interest, apart from questions of derived form and style.

The slightness of *The Castle of Indolence* and its allegory do not bear comparison with the sustained complication of the fable which Spenser made the vehicle of his high philosophy. Thomson's imagination was unrefined by exalted philosophical thought, and

¹ *The Castle of Indolence*, canto i, st. 6.

² *Ibid.* st. 24.

³ *Ibid.* st. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.* st. 78 seq.

⁵ *Ibid.* canto ii, st. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.* canto i, st. 57 seq.

his poem is certainly not improved by excursions into conventional moralising. The eleven stanzas of perverted morality, which are sung with an energy foreign to his character by Indolence as he sits at the gate of his castle¹, do not add anything to the allegory, but simply mark a breathing-space between the opening description and the admirable remainder of the first canto. With the appearance, in the second canto, of the 'generous imp of fame'² whose vigorous accomplishments are to be fatal to the wizard's abode, Thomson was easily betrayed into paths which his muse had trodden bare. After a life passed in varied climes, the Knight of Arts and Industry has at length found his proper home in Britain, encircled by the protection of Britannia's thunder on the main, and aided in his efforts by Liberty, 'th' Eternal Patron³, who handsomely atones for her overpowering egoism in an earlier poem by allowing him to encroach upon her extensive functions. The mechanic arts, the learning, the constitution of Britain, meet with due compliment. Threatened by the minions of Indolence, they are protected by the knight, who sets out to overthrow the castle. The song of the bard Philomelus, tuned to the British harp, stands in contrast to the song of Indolence, and proceeds through its fifteen stanzas with equal smoothness and fluency⁴. Supreme Perfection is invoked from the point of view which, in the concluding hymn of *The Seasons*, sees 'life rising still on life, in higher tone' to absorption with deity. The examples of Greece and Rome and of the great poets are cited to encourage the energy which is the antithesis to slothful repose. A contrast is drawn between health and disease, and a final exhortation to the use of godlike reason has the desired effect of stirring the knight's followers to the attack. While these sentiments are polished with the care which distinguishes the whole poem, they are drawn from a stock-in-trade which Thomson and his contemporaries had well-nigh exhausted, and their commonplace nobility is at the very opposite pole to the grave philosophy of Spenser or to Milton's lofty morality.

Thomson's dramatic work consists of five tragedies and the masque of *Alfred*, written in conjunction with Mallet. He had no special talent for the stage, and, at a period when rhetoric was the chief ambition of the dramatist, Thomson's rhetoric has no distinguishing excellence. His dramas are devoid of characterisation; his characters are vehicles of lofty sentiment, the prevailing tone

¹ *The Castle of Indolence*, canto 1, st. 9 seq.

² *Ibid.* canto II, st. 4.

³ *Ibid.* st. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.* st. 47 seq.

of which is the belligerent patriotism of the party to which Thomson was sincerely devoted. *Sophonisba*, however, the earliest of the tragedies, is without noticeable political bias. It is simply a classical drama of the conventional type. Its subject, to be sure, is patriotic, and its choice of a queen who died for her country may have been intended to spur the queen, to whom it was dedicated, to free herself from an influence to which Thomson's associates were bitterly opposed. There can be no question as to the meaning of the later plays. Between *Sophonisba* and the production of *Agamemnon*, there was an interval of nine years. It is easy to read into the characters of Clytemnestra and Egisthus the queen and the minister whom the prince's coterie was bent on deposing. The Orestes of *Agamemnon* was flattered more openly in *Alfred*, which was played before the prince and princess at Cliveden in 1740; while the application of *Edward and Eleonora* was so obvious that it was rejected for the stage. *Agamemnon* and *Edward* were published with dedications to the princess of Wales; the last of the political plays, *Tancred and Sigismunda*, was inscribed to the prince himself. *Coriolanus*, posthumously produced, is a return to pure tragedy without party bias. It may fairly be said that not one of these plays has the least dramatic interest. Their blank verse, however, is, as might be expected, easy and fluent. Thomson, possibly in imitation of the constant habit of the later Jacobean and Caroline dramatists, permitted himself a free use of weak endings to his lines, a practice which may promote ease in delivery, but becomes monotonous to the reader. His rhetoric is respectable; but the nobility of sentiment which it clothes is not above the ordinary level of the conventional sentiment of the classical drama of his day, and provokes no striking bursts of eloquence. His subjects do not afford scope for his gift of natural description, and there is only an occasional touch to remind us that his true genius lay in his appreciation of natural atmosphere and colour. His philosophy, on the other hand, is frequently introduced, but without any material addition to the contents of the passages in which its vague principles had been embodied in *The Seasons*. On the whole, the main interest of the plays is the debt which they owe directly to Greek tragedy, and not merely to the antique drama through the medium of the French stage. This virtue may, to some extent, be claimed for *Agamemnon*; it cannot be denied to *Edward and Eleonora*, where the self-sacrifice of Eleanor of Castile is imitated at first hand from the devotion of Alcestis, and the famous description of

the Cressid queen's farewell to life is almost translated in the narrative given by Daraxa to the earl of Gloster. Otherwise, the dramas fail to offer any special feature that raises them above the ordinary competence of their time; they are deficient in action, and their division into five acts is a theatrical convention which only emphasises the poverty of their construction. The masque of *Alfred*, the greater part of which, in its first form, seems to have been supplied by Mallet, was afterwards rewritten by Thomson, and the music, 'excepting two or three things which being particularly Favourites at Cliefdon, are retained by Desire,' was 'new-composed' by Arne'. Among the lyrics to which Arne provided new music for the edition of 1753 was *Rule, Britannia*, the sentiments of which embody Thomson's enthusiasm for his country and liberty in its most compact form.

The influence of Thomson was strongly felt by the younger generation of poets: by Collins, who dedicated a beautiful *Ode* to his memory, and by Gray, in whose work reminiscences of the elder poet are frequent. The vogue of *The Seasons* was followed by a period in which blank verse, such as Thomson had employed, was used with some fluency and skill for the treatment of rural subjects. Milton was the original model on which this type of verse was founded, and the example of John Philips, '*Pomona's* bard,' was felt in the choice both of metre and of subject. Somerville, in his preface to *The Chace*, defends his blank verse against 'the gentlemen, who are fond of a gingle at the close of every verse.'

For my own part (he adds), I shall not be ashamed to follow the example of Milton, Philips, Thomson, and all our best tragic writers.

- William Somerville, born in 1675, was a year older than Philips and twenty-five years older than Thomson; but it was not until 1735 that he published *The Chace*, by virtue of which his name survives. He was educated at Winchester and New college, Oxford, and was elected fellow of New college. On succeeding to the family estate of Edstone, near Henley-in-Arden, he settled down to a life in which the ordinary occupations of a country gentleman were varied by the study and composition of poetry. Much of his verse is poor doggerel in the form of fables and tales, dull and coarse after the usual manner of such productions. But Somerville was a scholar and something of a critic. His *Occasional*

¹ Title-page of the 1753 edition of *Alfred*.

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Poems (1727) contain appreciative verses addressed to Addison and Pope; he enjoyed the friendship of Allan Ramsay, and criticised the 'rude notes' of the youthful Jago. In a set of couplets, he welcomed the first edition of *The Seasons* in a tone of patronage which, if justified by his age, was hardly warranted by his own poetry. Prophesying a great future for the young poet, he regretted that his muse should 'want the reforming toilet's daily care,' and urged him to abandon novelties of diction which, dangerous in southern poets, became all the more so 'when minted on the other side of Tweed.'

Read Phillips much, consider Milton more;
But from their dross extract the purer ore¹.

Somerville himself had nothing to teach Thomson; and his *Chace*, when it appeared, shows the influence of the verse of *The Seasons*, or, at any rate, a strong inclination to come into line with it. The poet's 'hoarse-sounding horn' invited the prince of Wales, the friend of Lyttelton and the patron of Thomson,

to the Chace, the sport of kings;
Image of war, without its guilt².

After a short sketch of the history of hunting from the rude but thorough methods of Nimrod to the days of William the conqueror, and a compliment to Britain, the 'fair land of liberty,' as the true home of horse and hound, the country gentlemen of Britain are summoned to hear the poet's instructions upon his favourite sport. He discusses at length, and with much practical knowledge and good sense, the position and proper design of the kennels, with the advice, not inapplicable to a day when Palladian symmetry was being pursued to excess by the architects of country houses and their out-buildings, 'Let no Corinthian pillars prop the dome³.' The habits of hounds, the best breeds—a subject which gives Somerville the true hunter's opportunity to express his contempt for coursing⁴—and the mysteries of scent conclude the first book. Hare-hunting is the main subject of the second and fox-hunting of the third; but Somerville was not a mere sportsman, and his literary digressions and allusions to the great Mogul's battue of wild beasts 'taken from Monsieur Bernier, and the history of Gengiscan the Great⁵,' and to the story of the tribute of wolves' heads imposed

¹ *Epistle to Mr Thomson, on the first edition of his Seasons.*

² *The Chace*, bk i, ll. 13—15.

³ *Ibid.* l. 143.

⁴ *Ibid.* ll. 227—30.

⁵ Argument to *The Chace*, bk ii. The *Voyage of François Bernier* (1625—88), who had been for a time physician to Aurangzebe the great, was published in 1699.

by Edgar, show that he followed his own advice and spent days on which sport was impossible in improving converse with his books. From one of these digressions upon oriental methods of hunting, his 'devious muse' is recalled, with an appropriate reference to Denham's *Cooper's Hill* and a flattering eulogy of the royal family, to Windsor and the king's buckhounds; and the third book ends with an example of royal clemency to the stag and a compliment to the throne. The concluding book contains instructions upon breeding and the art of training puppies, from which a transition is made to the diseases of hounds and the fatal effect of bites. Otter-hunting concludes the series of descriptions, and is followed by a final congratulation, in the spirit of Vergil's *O fortunatos nimium*, on the felicities of the hunter in his unambitious country life.

The Chace was followed a few years later by the short poem entitled *Rural Sports*, also dedicated to the prince of Wales. *Hobbinol*, a burlesque narrative in blank verse, dedicated to Hogarth, was inspired by Philips's *Splendid Shilling*, and is a lively account of the quarrelsome May games of some rustics in the vale of Evesham. In his preface, as in that to *The Chace*, Somerville indulged in a short critical explanation of his chosen form of verse, and defined his burlesque as 'a satire against the luxury, the pride, the wantonness, and quarrelsome temper, of the middling sort of people,' which he condemned as responsible for the decline in trade and the depressed condition of the rural districts. These poems do not add anything to the qualities displayed in *The Chace*, and the mock heroics of *Hobbinol* are unduly prolonged into three cantos. Somerville, however, was always lively in description; he knew his subject, whether he wrote of sport, or of the amusements of the Gloucestershire rustic 'from Kiftsgate to remotest Henbury', and he had a genuine feeling for classical poetry. Philips appears to have been his favourite English author, appealing to his rural tastes and to his particular vein of somewhat coarse humour. Natural description is purely incidental to his verse; but the scene and atmosphere of the various forms of sport which he described are suggested in adequate general terms². Where he approaches detail, as in his description of unfavourable weather for hunting, the resemblance

¹ *Hobbinol*, canto 1, l. 246.

² It may be mentioned that *The Chace* was a favourite of Mr Jorrocks in the sporting novel *Handley Cross*, where several quotations from it occur which have become familiar to readers who know nothing about Somerville's poem.

of his methods to those of Thomson is noticeable. Like Thomson, he was fond, as has been noticed, of oriental and of patriotic digressions. His tendency to moralising is slight when compared with Thomson's, and from quasi-religious rhapsody he was as entirely free as he was from Thomson's sympathy with the victims of the chase. His poems are in no sense dull reading; but his blank verse, suave and regular, is somewhat monotonous, and is seldom broken by any variation of accent, such as that frequent employment of a trochee in the first foot of a line which gives variety of movement to the verse of *The Seasons*.

In the *Edge-Hill* of Richard Jago, a strong taste for moralising was combined with appreciation of 'Britannia's rural charms, and tranquil scenes'.¹ Warwickshire, a fertile nurse of poets, was his native county and provided him with his subject. His father, a member of a Cornish family, was rector of Beaudesert near Henley-in-Arden, where Jago was born in 1715. Somerville, whose estate Edstone lay some three miles distant, was a friend of his boyhood.² At Solihull, where he went to school, he made the friendship of Shenstone, a year his senior, which he continued to share at Oxford and long afterwards.³ He entered University college as a servitor, and, about 1739, took holy orders and became curate of Snitterfield near Stratford-on-Avon. In 1746, he was presented to the vicarage of Harbury, with which he held the perpetual curacy of the neighbouring church of Chesterton. To these, he added, in 1754, the vicarage of Snitterfield; and, in 1771, resigning Harbury vicarage, he was presented to the rectory of Kimcote near Lutterworth. He retained his three livings until his death in 1781. He was buried at Snitterfield.

His poems consist of a few miscellaneous pieces, an oratorio called *Adam*—a canto from *Paradise Lost* intended to combine the passages of that poem most suitable for music—and *Edge-Hill*. The design of the last poem is very simple. In four books, he describes the prospect of Warwickshire as seen at various times in the day from the famous ridge which separates the vale of the Cherwell from the plain through which the Avon flows to meet the Severn. At morning, he looks westward over the vale of Red Horse to Stratford and Alcester. At noon, afternoon and evening, from different standpoints on the hill, his eye, to some

¹ *Edge-Hill*, bk i, l. 1.

² *Ibid.* ll. 365—70.

³ See *ibid.* bk iii, ll. 855 seq., and the stanzas *To William Shenstone, esq. on receiving a gilt pocket-book*, 1751, and *The Goldfinches, an elegy. To William Shenstone, esq.*

extent aided by imagination, roams over other portions of the county and dwells upon its principal towns and gentlemen's seats. These comprehensive panoramas are broken up by a large amount of digressive morality; and a large portion of the third book is a scientific discourse on the theory of sight, addressed to Lord Clarendon, and pointed by an extremely long, if appropriate, anecdote of a blind youth restored to sight by the help of a gentle friend named Lydia. When the fourth book has run a third of its course, and the survey of Warwickshire has been completed by compliments to the owners of Arbury and Packington, Jago turns the sober evening hour to account by reviewing the scene 'with moral eye,' and descants upon the instability of human affairs. This is well illustrated by the death of the seventh earl of Northampton, the master of Compton Wynyates—an allusion which shows that this part of the poem, at any rate, was written in 1763; and the local calamity introduces the chief memory of the place, the battle of Edge-hill and the lessons and warnings to be derived from it. Jago's moralising has a distinctly religious end. His master was Milton, whose phraseology he copies closely and even borrows, although, in such lines as

Nature herself bids us be serious¹,

his ear can hardly be said to have caught the charm of Milton's verse. His topography is conscientious: he mentions every country seat of any importance in the county, and adds footnotes with the owners' names. In such passages, he may have felt the influence of Thomson; but his catalogues have little picturesqueness or colour; while his verse, although it is not without the accent of local association, is typical, as a whole, of the decadence of the Miltonic method of natural description in the eighteenth century. Every group of trees is a grove, every country house a dome, and every hill a precipice. The classicism of the renaissance has degenerated into a fixed and stilted phraseology.

As he looks from Edge-hill to the distant Cotswolds, Jago refers to the *Monody* written by George Lyttelton in 1747 to the memory of his wife, Lucy Fortescue, whose home was at Ebrington near Chipping Campden. Lyttelton, the son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton of Hagley, Worcestershire, was the friend of Pope, Thomson and Shenstone, and his house at Hagley was a favourite resort of men of letters. His life was largely political. Born in 1709, and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, he made

¹ *Edge-Hill*, bk iv, l. 254.

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the usual grand tour, and entered parliament as member for Okehampton in 1735. He was a prominent supporter of the 'patriotic' party against Walpole, and, after Walpole's fall, became a lord of the treasury. In 1751, he succeeded to his father's baronetcy, and, in 1756, after his retirement from a short tenure of the chancellorship of the exchequer, was created baron Lyttelton of Frankley. He died in 1773. His later years saw the publication of *Dialogues of the Dead* and of his *History of the Life of Henry II.* But at no season of his life was literature entirely neglected. He wrote poetry at Eton and Oxford; on his foreign tour, he addressed epistles in couplets to his friends at home; and, soon after his return, he appears to have composed the four eclogues called *The Progress of Love*. His poems include some songs and stanzas, of which the best are those addressed to his wife. His affection for her is a pleasing trait in a character which excited genuine devotion in his friends; and his *Monody*, composed in irregular stanzas, with a motto taken from Vergil's description of the lament of Orpheus for Eurydice¹, is written with some depth of feeling, although its reminiscences of *Lycidas* invite a comparison which it cannot sustain. The influence of French literature presides over his imaginative prose works: the very titles of the satiric *Persian Letters*, written in his youth, and the more mature but less sprightly *Dialogues of the Dead*, are copied from Montesquieu and Fénelon, their contents suffering from the usual inferiority of imitations. The graver tone of his later work, as distinguished from his licence of thought and expression in the letters of the Persian Selim from England to Mirza and Ibrahim Mollac at Ispahan, is due to his change of opinion from deism to Christianity. He flattered himself that his *Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St Paul*, which took the form of a letter to Gilbert West, translator of Pindar, brought about the conversion of Thomson on his death-bed. However this may have been, the mutual attachment between himself and Thomson calls for some mention of him in this place. He is said to have supplied the stanza which characterises the poet in *The Castle of Indolence*²; he wrote the prologue, recited by Quin, to the posthumous *Coriolanus*, and, as we have seen, he put a liberal interpretation upon his duties as Thomson's executor. In this connection, it is interesting to

¹ *Ipsæ, cava solans*, etc. (*Georgic iv*, 464—6).

² *The Castle of Indolence*, canto 1, st. 68. The first line, 'A bard here dwelt, more fat than bard be seems,' is Thomson's own.

remember the criticism of Thomson which Lyttelton introduced in the most valuable of the *Dialogues of the Dead*. In answer to a question by Boileau, Pope says:

Your description points out Thomson. He painted nature exactly, and with great strength of pencil. His imagination was rich, extensive, and sublime: his diction bold and glowing, but sometimes *obscure* and *affected*. Nor did he always know when to *stop*, or what to *reject*,... Not only in his plays, but all his other works, there is the purest *moral*ity, animated by *piety*, and rendered more touching by the fine and delicate sentiments of a most *tender* and *benevolent* heart¹.

Lyttelton's early poems show him to have followed in the footsteps of Pope, and the letters written to his father from France and Italy are mainly concerned with foreign politics; the only prolonged passage of description in them is a formal account in French of his journey across Mont-Cenis. In 1756, he wrote two letters to the historian Archibald Bower, describing a journey in north Wales. The master of Hagley, by this time, had developed a strong taste for scenery. His descriptions are excellent and accurate, and he visited the castles of Wales with the enthusiasm of a historian, although he fell into the error of imagining that the ruins of Rhuddlan were those of a castle built by Henry II. The beauty of the valleys charmed him; the situation of Powis castle, the vales of Festiniog and Clwyd, the wooded shores of the Menai straits and the view of the Dee valley from Wynnstay, excited him to enthusiasm. Bala seemed to him an oasis in the desert of Merionethshire, 'a solitude fit for Despair to inhabit.' Snowdon filled him with 'religious awe' rather than admiration, and its rocks excited 'the idea of Burnet, of their being the fragment of a demolished world.' It is characteristic of the taste of his day that the magnificent prospect of the Carnarvonshire mountains from Baron hill above Beaumaris, on which Suckling had looked more than a century before, seemed to Lyttelton inferior to the view of Plymouth sound and Dartmoor from mount Edgcumbe. The love of nature in her wilder moods was not yet part of English literature. 'Nature,' said Lyttelton of the Berwyn mountains, 'is in all her majesty there; but it is the majesty of a tyrant, frowning over the ruins and desolation of a country.'

¹ *Dialogues of the Dead*, xiv.

CHAPTER VI

GRAY

THOMAS GRAY; a poet whose influence upon subsequent literature was largely in excess of the volume of his published works, was born in Cornhill, 26 December 1716. His father, Philip Gray, was an exchange broker, but seems to have combined with this other and more hazardous pursuits. He was a selfish, despotic, ill-tempered man, passionate even to the verge of lunacy. He owned the house in which the poet was born, and, about the year 1706, let it, and the shop connected with it, to two sisters, Mary and Dorothy Antrobus, milliners. At the same date, approximately, he married Dorothy and came to live with her and Mary. Thomas Gray was the fifth and only surviving child of this marriage; the rest, to the number of seven, died in infancy; and his own life was saved by the prompt courage of his mother, who opened one of his veins with her own hand.

Dorothy Gray had two brothers, Robert and William Antrobus. Robert was a fellow of Peterhouse, and had a considerable reputation at Cambridge. He was Gray's first teacher, not only in classical knowledge, but, also, in the study of natural history, especially botany, and imbued his nephew with a life-long passion for scientific observation of the minutest kind in almost every department of vegetable and animal life. Robert Antrobus was sometime assistant master at Eton, but had probably resigned before Gray entered the school in 1727. The poet's tutor there was William, Robert's younger brother.

During the earlier part of his stay at Eton, Gray, probably, was housed with his uncle Robert, then residing in retirement either in the town or in the college precincts. As an oppidan, the delicate boy had not to endure the hardships of the collegier, and the horrors of Long Chamber. His chief friend there, in the first instance, was Horace, son of Sir Robert Walpole, the prime

minister, of whose wife his cousin Dorothy was a humble intimate. Another of his Eton contemporaries was Richard West, son of the lord chancellor of Ireland, and grandson of bishop Burnet. At Eton, West was accounted the most brilliant of the little coterie formed by the three and Ashton, afterwards fellow of King's and of Eton, and called the quadruple alliance. A scholar, with a thin vein of poetry, West was absent-minded, with a tendency to melancholy, to some extent resembling Gray's own, and he died prematurely in 1742.

The year 1734 brought a dislocation of the alliance. Gray went for a time to Pembroke college, Cambridge¹, pending his admission to Peterhouse in July. In March 1735, West went to Christ Church, Oxford, whence he wrote to Gray, 14 November 1735 :

Consider me very seriously here in a strange country inhabited by things that call themselves doctors and masters of arts; a country flowing with syllogisms and ale, where Horace and Virgil are equally unknown.

But, as a matter of fact, all these young Etonians exhibit a petulance for which youth is the only excuse ; and Gray himself writes 'It is very possible that two and two make four, but I would not give four farthings to demonstrate this ever so clearly.' Then follows the splenetic outburst :

Surely it was of this place, now Cambridge, but formerly known as Babylon, that the prophet spoke when he said 'the wild beasts of the desert shall dwell there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall build there, and satyrs shall dance there; their forts and towers shall be a den for ever, a joy of wild asses; there shall the great owl make her nest, and lay and hatch and gather under her shadow; it shall be a court of dragons; the screech owl also shall nest there, and find for herself a place of rest.'

But he was saved from the temptation to dilettantism, which beset his friends, by the scientific bias which his uncle Robert had given him, and which would have found quick recognition and encouragement in the Cambridge of another day. Late in life, he regretted his early neglect of mathematics, and dreamt even then of pursuing it, while he lamented that it was generally laid aside at Cambridge so soon as it had served to get men a degree.

His vacations were chiefly spent at Burnham, where, at Cant's hall, he stayed with his uncle Rogers, his mother's brother-in-law, a solicitor fond of sport, or of the habits of sport. Gray, however, had some little literary companionship :

¹ From this brief sojourn we may probably date the beginning of his friendship with Thomas Wharton ('dear, dear' Wharton).

We have old Mr Southern, at a gentleman's house a little way off, who often comes to see us; he is now seventy-seven years old, and has almost wholly lost his memory; but is as agreeable as an old man can be, at least I persuade myself so when I look at him, and think of *Isabella* and *Oroonoko*.

This interesting letter serves also to explain to us the lines towards the conclusion of the *Elegy*. He writes:

My comfort amidst all this is that I have at the distance of half-a-mile, through a green lane, a forest (the vulgar call it a common) all my own, at least as good as so, for I spy no human thing in it but myself. It is a little chaos of mountains and precipices; mountains, it is true, that do not ascend much above the clouds, nor are the declivities quite so amazing as Dover cliff; but just such hills as people who love their necks as well as I do may venture to climb, and craggs that give the eye as much pleasure as if they were dangerous: Both vale and hill are covered with the most venerable beeches, and other very reverend vegetables, that, like most other ancient people, are always dreaming out their old stories to the winds,

And as they bow their hoary tops relate,
In murmuring sounds, the dark decrees of fate;
While visions, as poetic eyes avow,
Cling to each leaf, and swarm on every bow¹.

At the foot of one of these squats Me I (*il penseroso*) and there grow to the trunk for a whole morning.

It seems that Gray's first destination, so far as it was definite, was the law (as was also West's); for, so early as December 1736, he writes to his friend: 'You must know that I do not take degrees².' He lingered at Cambridge, somewhat aimlessly. However, this inertia was dispelled by a journey abroad which he undertook in company with Walpole. His first extant letter from Amiens is written to his mother and tells how, on 29 March N.S. 1739, the friends left Dover. At Paris, Walpole goes out to supper with his cousin Lord Conway; but Gray, though invited too, stops at home and writes to West. He was, however, delighted to dine 'at my Lord Holderness's' with the abbé Prévost, whom he knows as the author of *L'Histoire de M. Cleveland, fils naturel de Cromwel*, while omitting to mention *Manon Lescaut*. He saw in tragedy MacGaussin who had been Voltaire's Zaire; saw, also, with Walpole, Racine's *Britannicus*, and, in 1747, reminded him of the grand simplicity of diction and the undercurrent of design

¹ If Gray's own, these are the earliest of his original English verses which we possess. The last two lines are frequently quoted by Hazlitt.

² In June 1738, he begins a sapphic ode to West (*Favonius*)

*Barbaras aedes aditure mecum,
Quas Eris semper sovet iniquita,
Lis ubi latè sonat, et togatum
Æstuat agmen.*

which they had admired in the work. His own fragmentary *Agrippina* (1747 c.) is, structurally, borrowed from this tragedy¹.

From Paris, the travellers went to Rheims. Gray's grand tour is illustrated by him in a double set of notes, sometimes 'bones exceeding dry' of quotations from Caesar in France, or Livy on the Alps; he draws less frequently than Addison from Latin poets, but still frequently enough; and records his impressions of architecture, and especially of painting; and we note among other evidences of his independence of judgment that he finds Andrea del Sarto anything but 'the *faultless* painter.' In this adverse judgment, he is seconded by Walpole, who comes nearer to Gray in artistic than in any other tastes.

On their way into Piedmont, Gray received, from his first view of mountain scenery, impressions which, on his return to England, remained for a while dormant, but had been wakened again when he wrote in *The Progress of Poesy* of scenes

Where each old poetic mountain
Inspiration breath'd around.

On 24 April 1741, the pair set out from Florence, intending to go together to Venice, there to see the doge wed the Adriatic on ascension day. At Reggio, they quarrelled. It would seem that the discrepancy in their tastes became more and more a trial to both; and they were alike open in their comments on one another to their common friend Ashton, who disclosed Gray's to Walpole. Ashton did not display any particular displeasure with Gray at the time, but was put up by Walpole, in the interview at which a reconciliation was at last brought about, to affect that Gray's letter had roused his anger. Walpole was left at Reggio, and would have died there of quinsy but for the kind aid of Spence, the friend of Pope. Gray went with two new friends, made at Florence, to Venice, and thence took his homeward way. He paid a second visit to the Grande Chartreuse, and it was probably on this occasion that he left in the album of the fathers the beautiful alcaic ode *O tu severi Religio loci*, of which a fine English version has been composed by R. E. E. Warburton².

¹ Compare, with the union of Junia and Britannicus (Racine), that of Otho and Poppaea (Gray), Nero's passion being the obstacle in both cases. Nero overhears a conversation in both Racine and Gray; the place of Burrhus is taken by Seneca; the false Narcissus reappears in Anicetus, Agrippina's confidante Albina in Acevonia.

² The later story of Gray's alcaics is curious. Mitford sought the original in vain at the monastery. He says that collectors who followed in the wake of the French revolutionary armies made away with it. But we find that a certain Mrs Bigg, when resident in France, was arrested in the reign of terror, and a copy of Gray was found in her possession. The opening line, *O tu severi Religio loci*, suggested to the Jacobin investigators the comment: *Apparemment ce livre est quelque chose de fanatique*.

On 7 September 1741, we find Gray in London, causing a sensation among the street boys 'by the depth of his Ruffles, the immensity of his Baggs, and the length of his sword.' He was still in town in April 1742, maintaining a correspondence with West, then ruralising in quest of health at Pope's house near Hatfield in Hertfordshire, on Tacitus and on the fourth *Dunciad*, which had just appeared. The yawn of Dulness at the end Gray describes as among the finest things Pope has written; and this young unknown critic here sounds the first note of discriminating praise, which has since been repeated by all good judges, from Johnson to Thackeray. In the same letter, he enclosed the first example of English verse which we certainly know to be his, a fragment of *Agrippina*, a tragedy never completed, of which Mason discovered the general design among Gray's papers. As has been already seen, it is manifest that, in *Agrippina*, Racine's *Britannicus* was to have been copied with almost Chinese exactness, just as Gray's details, like Racine's, are often Tacitus versified. The dignity of style to be discovered in these *disiecta membra* still impresses us. But, more important than any question of their merits, is the friendly criticism which they occasioned. Few known passages in critical literature furnish more instructive details as to English poetic diction than these unpretending sentences in a letter to West of April 1742:

As to matter of stile, I have this to say: *The language of the age is never the language of poetry* except among the French, whose verse, where the thought or image does not support it, differs in nothing from prose. Our poetry, on the contrary, has a language peculiar to itself; to which almost every one, that has written, has added something by enriching it with foreign idioms and derivatives: nay sometimes words of their own composition or invention. Shakespear and Milton have been great creators in this way: and *no one more licentious than Pope or Dryden*, who perpetually borrow expressions from the former. Let me give you some instances from Dryden, whom every body reckons a great master of our poetic tongue.—Full of *museful mopeings*—unlike the *trim* of love—a pleasant *beverage*—a *roundelay* of love—stood silent in his *mood*—with knots and *knares* deformed—his *ireful mood*—in proud *array*—his *boon* was granted—and *disarray* and shameful rout—*wayward* but wise—*furbished* for the field—the *foiled doddered oaks*—*disherited*—*smouldering flames*—*retchless*¹ of laws—*crones* old and ugly—the *beldam* at his side—the *grandam-hag*—*villanize* his Father's fame.

Gray goes on to admit that expressions in his play—'*silken son of dalliance*,' '*drowsier pretensions*,' '*wrinkled beldam*,' '*arched the hearer's brow and riveted his eyes in fearful extasie*'—may be faulty; though why they should be thought so, in view of his own theory, must remain a mystery. To take but two examples, he has compounded '*silken son of dalliance*' from that '*New Dunciad*'

¹ *Palamon and Arcite*. The form traces back to *Piers Plowman*.

which he has just been reading, and from Shakespeare's *Henry V*¹; and he gets his 'arched brow' from Pope². More generally, it is a testimony to the great transformation of literary tastes which Gray ultimately helped to bring about, that words so familiar even in our everyday speech as 'mood,' 'smouldering,' 'beverage,' 'array,' 'boon' and 'wayward' were, in 1742, thought by some to be too fantastic even for poetry. While this correspondence, sometimes little more than a pretty dilettantism and strenuous idleness, was passing between them, Gray was lulled into a false security about his friend West. In April, he writes: 'I trust to the country, and that easy indolence you say you enjoy there, to restore your health and spirits.' On the 8th, he has received a poem on the tardy spring and 'rejoices to see you (West) putting up your prayers to the May: she cannot choose but come at such a call.' Pretty verses enough³; but chiefly interesting because they are the last poetic effort of that young and sorrow-stricken spirit to whom Gray sent the *Ode on the Spring*, which he first called 'Noon-tide, an ode,' and has left transcribed in his commonplace-book with the note 'at Stoke, the beginning of June 1742, sent to Fav[-onius, West]: not knowing he was then Dead.' In fact, West died on the first of June. It was strange that the same theme of the opening year should have been respectively the first and the last efforts of the devoted friends, and that the month which silenced one young voice for ever should have wakened the survivor into an unwonted luxuriance of song.

A very brief period of efflorescence in verse preceded Gray's return to Cambridge. From Stoke, to which, after the death of his father in 1741, his mother and his aunt Mary Antrobus had gone to live with their widowed sister Mrs Rogers, he had sent (early in June 1742) the *Ode on the Spring*; he wrote there in August his *Sonnet on the Death of Richard West*, his cento the *Hymn to Adversity*, his *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* and a very splenetic *Hymn to Ignorance* (which, happily, remains a fragment), on his projected return to Cambridge. But

¹ 'And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies.'

Henry V, II, chor. 1, 2.

² 'To where the Seine, obsequious as she runs
Pours at great Bourbon's feet her silken sons.'

Dunciad iv.

³ 'Whom have I hurt? has poet yet, or peer
Lost the arch'd eyebrow, or Parnassian sneer?'

Ep. to Arbuthnot, 1735.

⁴ They may be read in the volume *Gray and his Friends* (Cambridge, 1890), in which all West's remains are collected.

we must refer to the same date the most touching of all his tributes to the memory of West, in which the sad thoughts of his English poems on the same theme are combined and concealed in a Latin dress. His ambitious fragment *De Principiis Cogitandi*, begun at Florence in 1740, and dubbed by him 'Tommy Lucretius' is, after all, so far as it goes, only a *résumé* of Locke; but, in June, so soon as he heard of his loss, he added, apparently without effort, a lament prompted by the keen stimulus of grief, which seems to be more spontaneous than his sonnet or the Eton *Ode*, and is, in fact, the first source of these familiar verses. It will bear comparison with Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*—Charles Diodati, the friendship between whom and Milton, in many ways, is an exact counterpart to that between West and Gray. Nor can it be denied that Gray's effort is without a certain artificiality, which, *pace* Masson, renders Milton's poem more passionless, and more self-centred and discursive¹.

From his letters, we see that, for the first two years after his return to Cambridge, now as a fellow-commoner of his college, Gray was idle, so far as he could be for one still *in statu pupillari*. He must have had arrears of lectures and disputations to make up, in order to qualify for the degree of LL.B., an easy task for him, though he writes ironically to Wharton,

by my own indefatigable Application for these ten years past and by the Care and Vigilance of that worthy magistrate The Man-in-Blew², (who I'll assure you has not spared his Labour, nor could have done more for his own Son) I am got half-way to the Top of Jurisprudence.

But he had previously spoken of his allegiance to 'our sovereign Lady and Mistress the President of Presidents, and Head of Heads (if I may be permitted to pronounce her name, that ineffable Octogrammaton) the power of *Laziness*.' Nevertheless, though the poetic impulse of 1742 had spent its force, his interest in current literature is as keen as ever. He criticises Akenside's *Pleasures of Imagination* and at once put his finger on that young poet's chief blemish; it is infected, he says, with the jargon of Hutcheson, the disciple of Shaftesbury. It is the fault which he noted later in certain verses of Mason; there was a craze for Shaftesbury among the young men of his time, and beauty and morality were as identical for them as truth and beauty were to Keats at a later date.

¹ For the rest, a close comparison between Milton's Latin poems and Gray's would show how much Gray owed to Milton in this department alone.

² The vice-chancellor's servant.

An Elegy in a Country Churchyard 123

* In 1745, Gray and Walpole were reconciled. Of this consummation, Gray wrote a satirical account to Wharton, in which his contempt for Ashton was clearly enough expressed. After this strange pronouncement, the irony of fate brought it about that Gray's next poetic effort was his *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat*, which has been discussed with a solemnity worthy of an epic. Walpole had two favourite cats; and has not told Gray which of these was drowned. One of them was a tortoiseshell, the other a tabby.

During the whole of the next four years, Gray seems to have relapsed into his normal state of facile and amusing gossip and criticism. He is 'a chiel taking notes,' but with no intention of printing them: yet we also discover that he is a real power in the society that he pretends to despise, using his influence to get fellowships for his friends, including Mason; interesting himself in the wild and reckless Christopher Smart, then a fellow of Pembroke, and deploring the loss of the veteran Middleton, with whose views he was in sympathy, and whose house was the only one in which he felt at his ease. At the same time, his studies were remarkably various, and his curiosity about foreign, and especially French, literature, intense, as is particularly illustrated by his welcome of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois*, which forestalled some of the best thoughts in the fragmentary *Alliance of Education and Government* (1748). At length, 12 June 1750, he sends from Stoke to Walpole 'a thing with an end to it'—a merit that most of his writings have wanted—and one whose beginning Walpole has seen long ago¹. This is the famous *Elegy*, and Walpole appears to have circulated it somewhat freely in manuscript, with the result that the magazines got hold of it; and Gray, to protect himself, makes Walpole send it to Dodsley for immediate printing. Between *The Magazine of Magazines* and Dodsley, the *Elegy*, on its first publication, fared but badly: 'Nurse Dodsley,' Gray says, 'has given it a pinch or two in its cradle that I doubt it will bear the marks of as long as it lives'; and, together, these publishers, licensed and unlicensed, achieved some curious readings. The moping owl complained of those who wandered near her 'sacred bow'r': the young man went 'frowning,' not 'smiling' as in scorn: the rustic's 'harrow' oft the stubborn glebe had broke; and his frail memorial was decked with uncouth rhymes and shapeless 'culture.' And the mangled poet writes, 'I humbly purpose for the benefit of

¹ Probably in 1745 or 1746. See *Gray's Poems* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 130. Mason's statement that the *Elegy* was begun in 1742 is possibly true of the epitaph at the end.

Mr Dodsley and his matrons, that take *awake* for a verb, that they should read *asleep*, and all will be right¹.

In contrast with this *incuria*, so far as the public is concerned, was the pains which he took, as evidenced by the MS preserved at the lodge at Pembroke college, to set down what he *did* write beyond the possibility of mistake.

The quatrain of ten syllables in which the *Elegy* was written had been used before, but never, perhaps, with conspicuous success, except in Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*. In Gray's hands, it acquired a new beauty, and a music of its own. It does not appear that either the form or the diction of the poem struck the general reader as novel. The prevalent taste was for a sort of gentle melancholy and the mild and tranquil surroundings which minister to the reflective spirit. There is a little truth under the gross exaggeration with which the poet declared that he would have been just as successful if he had written in the prose of Hervey's *Meditations among the tombs*. Certain it is that Young's *Night Thoughts*, completed five years before the *Elegy*, was, for the time being, almost as popular. In Young's work, the sentiment is everything; hence, perhaps, its vogue on the continent, where discriminating judgments on our literature were few and far between.

The *Elegy* seems to us simple in expression, and by no means abstruse, and we have said that there was in it nothing that struck even Gray's contemporaries as revolutionary. Perhaps it was Johnson who first scented the battle from afar. He parodied, in a version of a chorus of *Medea*, the style, as he conceived it, of the *Elegy*, in which adjectives follow their substantives, old words are revived, epithets are doubled and hyphenated, while subject and object are inverted. Contrasted with this was Johnson's own serious rendering of the same passage, in which the language was the current language of the day, with scarcely a word in it that was distinctly poetical². The eccentricities which he noted still remain pitfalls. In the line 'And all the air a solemn stillness holds,' stillness, in spite of commentators, is the nominative, and we almost invariably quote, with so careful a reader as Conington,

Await alike the inevitable hour,

although Gray wrote 'Awaits,' and 'hour' is subject not object. (The thought is that of Horace, 'One night awaits us all'; we should

¹

'the voice of Nature cries

Awake, and faithful to her wonted fires.'

(As if 'awake' were an imperative.)

² Cf. Gray to West, April 1742, quoted *supra*.

be less absorbed in our ambitions if we kept death in mind.) Again, Gray wrote 'The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the lea,' where not only is the plural suggestive of a line of cattle, but some of these are pictured as returning from the pasture and others from the plough. Once more, he wrote

The paths of glory lead but to the grave

meaning that whatever the path chosen, the terminus is the same¹.

The *Elegy* may be looked upon as the climax of a whole series of poems, dating from 1745, which had evening for their theme. In his 17th year, Thomas Warton, in his *Pleasures of Melancholy*, had all the accessories of the scene which Gray describes; there is a 'sacred silence,' as in a rejected but very beautiful stanza of the *Elegy* there was a 'sacred calm'; there is the 'owl,' and the 'ivy' that 'with mantle green Invests some wasted tower.' But the young poet, in his character of devotee of melancholy, takes us too far, when, with that gruesome enjoyment of horrors which is the prerogative of youth, he leads us at midnight to the 'hollow charnel' to 'watch the flame of taper dim shedding a livid glare.' We are at once conscious of the artificial and ambitious character of the effort, precocious as an essay in literature, but without genuine feeling, without the correspondence between man and nature, which alone can create a mood. And it was the power to create a mood which was the distinctive merit of the best poems of this class and at this date.

Joseph Warton, with the same environment, and, still more, Collins, in his magical *Ode to Evening*², achieved this success. Contrast these with the conventional beings of *The Seasons*, and we become aware that we are nearing an epoch where description is subordinated to the real emotions of humanity, and the country bumpkin no longer chases the rainbow, or 'unfolds,' with Akenside, 'the form of beauty smiling at his heart.'

The *Elegy* in its MS forms brings another noteworthy fact into prominence. These show how pitilessly the poet excised every stanza which did not minister to the congruity of his masterpiece. We feel for instance that Wordsworth, apt to believe that his most trivial fancies were inspirations, would never have parted, for any considerations of structure, with such lines as

¹ The true readings were all recognised and translated by the late H. A. J. Munro, who, in his striking Latin version of the poem, is often its best interpreter.

² Friendship and compassion did not reconcile Johnson to the poetry of Collins, who is nearest to Gray in the diction which their critic loathed. See Johnson's *Life of Collins*, *ad fin.*

Hark how the sacred Calm, that broods around
 Bids ev'ry fierce tumultuous Passion cease,
 In still small accents whispering from the Ground
 A grateful Earnest of eternal Peace.

Gray himself seems in one instance to have repented of his infanticide, and writes in the Pembroke MS the marginal note 'insert' over the stanza (evidently adapted but compressed from Collins's *Dirge in Cymbeline*) about the violets scattered on the tomb and the little footsteps of the redbreast which lightly print the ground there. Memory and affection have something to do with the epitaph, which sounds the personal note of which Gray was fond, but is, unquestionably, the weakest part of the poem, and was, perhaps, written about 1742, and inserted in the *Elegy* by afterthought. In general, no poet better understood, or more strictly followed, the Popian maxim 'survey the whole,' that golden rule which a later generation seldom remembers or practices.

The *Elegy* had a curious sequel in *A Long Story*. After her husband's death, in 1749, Lady Cobham must have left the famous Stowe for the mansion house at Stoke Pogis; she had seen the *Elegy* when Walpole was circulating it in MS, and learnt that the author was in her neighbourhood. Accordingly, she caused her niece, Miss Speed, and Lady Schaub, the wife of Sir Luke Schaub, to visit him, at the house of Mrs Rogers, ostensibly to tell him that a Lady Brown, one of his friends, who kept open house in town for travellers young and old, was quite well. Gray was not at home, and this visit of fine ladies may have caused, as Gray pretends, some perturbation to his quiet aunt and mother. A graceful intimacy (nothing more) grew up between the poet and Miss Speed, though gossip declared they were to be married¹.

A Long Story, written with facile pen, goes far to bear out Walpole's statement that Gray never wrote anything easily except things of humour. His serious efforts are always the fruit of long delay and much labour. Next followed (1752) what remains a fragment, only because Mason found a corner of the sole MS copy torn, supplying, *more suo*, words of his own to complete it. It was entitled *Stanzas to Richard Bentley*, who made *Designs for six Poems by Mr T. Gray*. We cannot feel sure that Mason has given us the un mutilated part of the poem correctly. Gray knew Pope and Dryden too well to write

The energy of Pope they might efface
 And Dryden's harmony submit to mine.

¹ The lady died as comtesse de Viry in 1783.

A Long Story. The Progress of Poesy 127

It may be suspected that Mason has clumsily transposed these epithets. As evidence how Gray nursed his thoughts we may note that the line

And dazzle with a luxury of light

is a reminiscence of a version which he made in 1737 from Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, bk 14.

One other line in this brief poem lives in the memory—that in which he attributes to Shakespeare and Milton in contrast to 'this benighted age,' a diviner inspiration,

The pomp and prodigality of heaven.

He is, later, in February 1753, in a great fret about the title of the six poems, and, in his desire to seem unaffected, displays a great deal of affectation. It was quite absurd to imagine that the poems, including the *Elegy*, could be regarded as secondary to the designs. It was his foible to pose; but he indulged it with scanty success. In March 1753 died Gray's 'careful tender mother,' as he calls her in the inscription for the vault in which she was laid by the side of her sister Mary Antrobus. In July of the same year, he went to see his friend Wharton, who was living in Durham. Here, the author of the *Elegy* was made much of; but the visit was important in another way. It coincides with a change in Gray's poetic tendencies, and helped to encourage them. He now reverted to that love of the bold and majestic which appears in the alcaics on the Grande Chartreuse. In the neighbourhood of Durham, he found a faint image of those more august scenes.

I have (he writes) one of the most beautiful vales here in England to walk in, with prospects that change every ten steps, and open something new wherever I turn me, *all rude and romantic*; in short the sweetest spot to break your neck or drown yourself in that ever was beheld.

• On 26 December 1754 was completed the ode entitled *The Progress of Poesy*; it had been nearly finished two years before. It was not published until 1759, when Walpole secured it for the Strawberry hill press, together with *The Bard*; the motto *φαινάντα συνετοῖσι* from Pindar belongs to them both¹.

Gray did not attach any great value to the rule of strophe and antistrophe, but he strongly objected to the merely irregular stanzas which Cowley introduced. It was probably Congreve who first wrote a real pindaric ode; and, whatever the value of his *Ode to the Queen*, it did something, as Mason points out, to obviate

¹ Subsequently the words that follow in Pindar, *εἰ δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐμπνεύου*, were added, when Gray found explanatory notes were needed.

Gray's objection to this form. It was written in short stanzas, and the recurrence of the same metre was more recognisable to the ear than when it was separated by a long interval from its counterpart.

In Gray's time, the muse was always making the grand tour. If the title of Collins's *Ode to Simplicity* were not misleading, we should find in it an embryo *Progress of Poesy*, in which inspiration passes, as with Gray, from Greece to Italy and from Italy to England. The clue to the mystery of the title is found when we discover that, to Collins, 'simplicity' is 'nature,' as Pope understood the word—nature identified with Homer, and with all her great poetic interpreters, who idealise but do not distort her. These pilgrimages of the muse were started by Thomson, who, in his *Liberty*, chose her as his travelling companion, and brought her home intolerably dull, and, not long before Gray's death, by Goldsmith in his *Traveller*.

The most easy way of criticising *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard* is to start by criticising their critics, beginning with Francklin, regius professor of Greek at Cambridge, who mistook the 'Aeolian lyre' invoked in the first line of *The Progress* for the instrument invented by Oswald, and objected that 'such an instrument as the Aeolian harp, which is altogether uncertain and irregular must be very ill adapted to the dance which is one-continued regular movement.' Garrick, who spoke from professional knowledge, grasped the truth better, and said that Gray was the only poet who understood dancing. His original in the place which he has in mind is a line of Homer (*Odys.* bk VIII, l. 265); but he borrows without acknowledgment the word 'many-twinkling' from Thomson (*Spring*, l. 158) who uses it of the leaves of the aspen. The poem begins appropriately with an imitation of Horace's description of Pindar,

In profound, unmeasurable song
The deep-mouth'd Pindar, foaming, pours along.

This beautiful poem is marred by a personal reference at the end, as in the case, to which we have already referred, of the *Elegy*.

Between *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard* comes the Fragment of an Ode found in the MS at Pembroke. It is without a title; that which it now bears, *On the pleasure arising from Vicissitude*, is probably due to Mason, who attempted to complete the poem and excelled himself in infelicity, filling up the last stanza as we have it, thus:

To these, if Hebe's self should bring
The purest cup from Pleasure's spring,
Say, can they taste the flavour high
Of sober, simple, genuine Joy?¹

In *Vicissitude*, some critics have discovered an anticipation of Wordsworth, but we ought to distinguish. When Gray says that 'the meanest flouret of the vale' is 'opening paradise' to the convalescent, he describes the human being under limited and exceptional circumstances. But when Wordsworth, in robust health, derives from the meanest flower, thoughts that 'often lie too deep for tears,' and reproaches his Peter Bell for finding the primrose a yellow primrose and nothing more, he expects from humanity in general more than experience warrants².

Though this fragment probably comes chronologically between *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard*, we are not justified in interposing it between them. They are dissociable from it, not only on account of their being printed and published in juxtaposition, as Ode I and Ode II, and of the motto which clearly applies to both, but because together they herald a generic change. *Vicissitude*, with every promise of a beautiful poem, carries on the meditative spirit in which all Gray's serious work had been executed hitherto. But the two odes are conceived in an atmosphere rather intellectual than sentimental. They are a literary experiment. They idealise great facts, historic or legendary, out of which reflection may be generated—but mediately, not directly from the poet's mind. While they have this in common, there remains a point of contrast between them. *The Bard*, more clearly than the other ode, bears traces of those studies from the Norse which Gray had already made and which found expression in *The Fatal Sisters* and *The Descent of Odin*.

• It inaugurates the last stage of the poet's literary history. The design has been marred by many editors through heedlessness in printing. They have not observed that the bard sings his song at first as a solo, until, in the distance, he sees the ghosts of his slain brethren, and invites them to join the chant, while together they weave the winding sheet of Edward's race. That done, they vanish from the bard's sight, and he finishes his prophecy alone. The fault, perhaps inevitable, of the poem, lies in the conclusion, which smells too much of the lamp. The

¹ For another stanza he is indebted to a suggestion in Gray's pocket-book, but has made a poor use of it.

² Gray almost directly imitates here Gresset, a favourite poet with him (*Sur ma convalescence*).

salient characteristics of the great poets of the Elizabethan era are described with much skill, though with a certain vagueness proper to prophecy; and yet we cannot help asking, how he can know so much about these his very late successors, while he shows himself rather a discerning critic, than a mighty prophet who has just been foretelling tragic horrors and retribution. They ill suit the majestic form graphically described before his prophecy begins.

A curious evidence of the influence of Gray's *Bard* upon the *suveroi* is to be found in the history of the Ossianic imposture. In Cath-Loda Duan I of this so-called collection of reliques, we have the expression 'Thou kindlest thy hair into meteors,' and in the 'Songs of Selma' Ossian sings:

I behold my departed friends. Their gathering is on Iona, as in the days of other years. Fingall comes like a watery column of mist! his heroes are around: and see the bards of song, grey-haired Ullin; stately Ryno! Alpin with the tuneful voice! *the soft complaint of Minona!* How are ye changed, my friends, etc.

Gray, who had at first welcomed the frauds of Macpherson, because he discerned in them the romantic spirit, became more reticent as time went on, and as his common sense, against which he feebly struggled, gained the mastery. He either did not or would not observe that in them he was imitated or parodied. On the other hand, he repudiated for himself the suggestion that the opening of *The Bard* was modelled upon the prophecy of Nereus in Horace (*Carm.* I. 15). We cannot accept the repudiation, for the resemblance is unmistakable, although it makes but little against the real originality of his poem, and is on the same plane with his acknowledgment that the image of the bard was modelled on the picture by Raphael of the Supreme Being in the vision of Ezekiel, or that of Moses breaking the tables of the law by Parmegiano. *The Bard* still remains the best evidence we possess that Gray, imitative as he is, was, also, an inventive genius.

It might, after all, have come down to us as a colossal fragment, lacking the third antistrophe and epode, but for a stimulus of which Gray gives an account. He heard at Cambridge Parry, the blind Welsh harper, and his sensitive ear was so fascinated that 'Odikle' was put in motion again. So completely did he associate his verse with music, that he gave elaborate directions for its setting, and it is a very high compliment to Gray's taste that Villiers Stanford, though he knew nothing of these instructions, carried them out to the letter.

Before this, in 1756, occurred an event which Gray describes

only vaguely 'as a sort of aera in a life so barren of events as' his. The affair has been treated with so much difference of opinion that we can only summarise the conclusion at which we have arrived. Gray had been much tormented by some young men, of whom two were certainly fellow-commoners residing on his staircase, and he had a nervous dread of fire, upon which they probably played. He accordingly got Wharton to bespeak him a rope-ladder, a strong temptation to the young men to make him put it to the proof. It is possible that, before the outrage, they had begun kindling fires of shavings on his staircase. At last, an early hunting party caused the huntmen to shout 'fire' under his window, some of them, perhaps, before joining the party, having made the usual blaze on the stairs. The poet put his night-capped head out of the window and, discovering the hoax, drew it in again. This was all that was known to Sharp, fellow of Corpus, who wrote only six days after Gray's migration to Pembroke. The exaggerated form in which the story is still current was shaped in 1767 by a certain Archibald Campbell, a scribbler in a production called *The Sale of Authors*, who expressly confesses that he vouches for no details in what he describes as a harmless pleasantry. Suffice it to say that the master, Dr Law, to whom Gray complained, made light of this 'boyish frolic,' as he called it, and Gray, in consequence, changed his college.

The year 1759 was mainly spent in London, near the British museum, which was opened to the public in January. Gray revelled in MS treasures there, and made copious extracts from them; the most interesting, perhaps, to the general reader are letters from Richard III, and the defence of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet; both of which transcripts he made for Walpole, who used them in his *Miscellaneous Antiquities* and *Historic Doubts*. At this time, also, he probably composed the treatise called *Metrum*, and *Observations on the poems of Lydgate*, probably in view of a design for the history of English poetry which was never executed.

In 1762, Gray made a tour in Yorkshire and Derby, and saw Kirkstall abbey, the Peak, of which he thought but little, and Chatsworth. On his return to Cambridge, he found the professorship of modern history vacant, and caused his claim to be represented to Lord Bute. But the professorship was given to Lawrence Brockett, who had been tutor to Sir James Lowther, son-in-law of the favourite Bute. In 1764, possibly with Wharton as his companion, he made his first visit to Scotland, and, in 1765, he repeated this visit as the guest of Lord Strathmore, formerly

a fellow-commoner of Pembroke. On this second visit, he met Robertson and other *literati*. It is a proof of the remarkable catholicity of Gray's love of scenery that, in the earlier of these years, possessed though he was with the sublime grandeur of the mountains, he could also enjoy and describe graphically the charms of a gentler landscape, in a part of England (Winchester, Southampton, Netley abbey, etc.) dear to Collins.

In the following year, he once more visited Scotland and became acquainted with Beattie, author of *The Minstrel*, to the last an unfinished poem, the earliest part of which he helped to correct. His criticism is just but with two notable exceptions. He truly remarks that too much is given to descriptions and reflections; Beattie does not know what to do with his minstrel when he has made him. Yet Gray's remarks are in two particulars disappointing. In direct contrast to his doctrine as stated to West in April 1742, he says 'I think we should wholly adopt the language of Spenser's time or wholly renounce it. You say, you have done the latter; but, in effect, you retain *fared, forth, mead, wight, ween, gaude, shene, in sooth, aye, eschew*, etc.' And he objects to Beattie's use of alliteration: if he had confined himself to censuring one line in the part of the poem which was sent him

The long-robed minstrels wake the warbling lyre

it would have been well. As it is, Beattie had an easy retort upon him with

Nor cast one longing, lingering look behind

in the *Elegy*.

In 1768, Gray's poems were republished by Dodsley, and for *A Long Story* were substituted the two Norse odes, *The Fatal Sisters*, and *The Descent of Odin*. A similar edition came, at the same time, from the press of Foulis (the Glasgow Elzevir). When Gray wrote *The Bard*, he had already made some study of Scandinavian poetry. He had *The Fatal Sisters* in mind when he wrote

Weave the warp and weave the woof
The Winding sheet of Edward's race.

Perhaps, *The Descent of Odin*, in one passage of which¹ it is

1 'Right against the eastern gate
By the moss-grown pile he sate
Where long of yore to sleep was laid
The dust of the prophetic Maid,
Facing to the northern clime
Thrice he traced the runic rhyme;
Thrice pronounc'd, in accents dread,
The thrilling verse that wakes the dead.'

Impossible not to recognise an anticipation of Scott, is, in this respect, still more suggestive.

In 1768, Brockett, Cambridge professor of modern history, met with a fatal accident on returning from Hinchbrook. Stonehewer, who had been one of Gray's closest friends at Peterhouse and who acted as the duke of Grafton's secretary, pleaded Gray's claims to the professorship of history, and with success. The office was a sinecure; he had some intention of delivering lectures, but the form of his projected inaugural lecture is in Latin, and whatever his design was it fell through. In his new capacity, it was his task to write the installation ode when Grafton was made chancellor of the University. The work proved the one exception to the fact that he never wrote well unless spontaneously. He lingered long before he began. At last, he startled Nicholls by 'throwing open his door to his visitor and shouting 'Hence, avaunt! 'tis holy ground,' and the new ode was completed. A sort of heraldic splendour characterises this, his last great effort; in places, it seems to step out of a page of Froissart, and, notwithstanding the bile of Junius, the pomp and circumstance of the closing personal panegyric do not convey any impression of inappropriateness.

This business over, Gray went with Wharton towards the English Lakes, but his companion fell ill at Brough, and Gray pursued his journey alone. The fruit of it was a journal which he sent from time to time to Wharton, and of which, with a Porsonian delight in his own beautiful handwriting, there is reason to believe that he made more than one copy. The journal was never published until after his death, and the public did not know till then how exactly he had surveyed the scenery. Wordsworth, if he knew, ignored the fact that a poet whom he habitually depreciated was, as a minute admirer of the views of nature, not less enthusiastic than his censor. The credit of discovering the Lakes belongs really to neither of these. It belongs to poor crazy Brown, the author of *The Estimate*, who wrote of a night scene near Keswick:

Nor voice, nor sound broke on the deep serene;
But the soft murmur of soft-gushing rills
(Unheard till now, and now scarce heard), etc.

The whole of Gray's journal is precious, abounding in description, facts of natural history, historical detail, antique records, experiences gained with a persistent effort, very creditable to one

generally very nervous and timid, but careless of fatigue and risk in his fascinating quest¹.

At the beginning of 1770, Gray, through Nicholls, found a strange young friend, to beguile for a short time his solitary days, and give his waning life a sort of Martin's summer. Young Charles-Victor de Bonstetten came to him to fascinate, but, also, to perplex, him. The undergraduates puzzled the foreigner; he could not understand the young seigneurs travestied as monks in the university glorified by Newton. He knew so little of the real life of these neophytes as never to suspect that their conduct and character were far from ascetic. It was a secret Gray prudently withheld from him, jealously keeping his disciple for himself. Bonstetten spent most of his time in Gray's room, having, however, a young sizar to wake him in the morning and read Milton to him. He studied from morning to night and spent his evenings with Gray. His own experience was, in truth, already much wider than that of his now ageing friend. He had seen Rousseau, he had talked with Voltaire; he had even tried suicide, anticipating Werther under the spell of that *Weltschmerz* which the Briton imperfectly understood. All this, Gray never knew, or thought it best not to notice. He wrote to the young man, who relapsed for a time into melancholy on his return to Switzerland, as Fénelon's Mentor might talk to Telemachus; and epitomises for his benefit the sixth book of Plato's *Republic*. In the end, Bonstetten became an excellent magistrate, and served Switzerland well, until the revolution drove him into exile. He never forgot Gray, the old poet whose last days he had brightened, and who had parted from him with pathetic regret².

The scene had begun to close in when, in the company of Nicholls, he went through five of the western counties, descended the Wye forty miles in a boat, saw Tintern and, at Malvern, on receiving a copy of *The Deserted Village*, exclaimed emphatically 'this man is a poet.' But there was not, for the first part of 1771, much sign of any serious ailment; apart from some indications of failing vitality in his frame, his mind was as active as ever, till, in June, he became conscious of a new complaint, and, on 24 July, was taken suddenly ill in hall. On the 30th, he was dead.

A survey of Gray's work would include MSS of incredibly larger volume than the few poems published in his lifetime. Yet

¹ He travelled, of course, much on foot, but it is not probable that he always did so. It was not his way to record on all occasions how he travelled. The distances which he walked have been absurdly exaggerated.

² See the story told more at length in the second volume of *Gray's Letters* (1904).

no small part of his reputation rests, for us, upon copious MSS, carefully preserved by him, but never intended to be seen, except by an esoteric circle. To begin with, his invaluable letters are an index to his whole character, and to the humorous spirit that is often, as in the case of Hood, twin sister to melancholy. In his letters, his life lies spread out before us; they are the only absolutely trustworthy records for his biographers. Their interest lies in their infinite variety. Walpole was a better historian of social life; but his claims to erudition were slight, his obligations to Gray, acknowledged and unacknowledged, were great¹, and his scientific knowledge was *nil*; while, whatever the interest of his letters for political and social history, they contain nothing comparable to the depth and pathos of Gray's more limited memories and friendships². On the other hand, Gray's letters are an excellent guide as a survey of continental literature; the best French writers he literally devoured; his liking for inferior fiction he shared with the fashionable world, partly because it *was* fashionable, but such writers as Montesquieu, Buffon and the encyclopaedists he read with enthusiasm. With Rousseau, except his *Émile*, and with Voltaire, he is utterly out of sympathy. He plunges deep into the pages of Froissart, 'the Herodotus of a barbarous age,' of Sully's *Mémoires*, of Madame de Maintenon's letters, and the memoirs of that French Fanny Burney, Madame de Staal Delaunay. He knows, beside Froissart, all the old French chroniclers, and gives advice as to the order and method of their study. While, at times, like a market-gardener, he exchanges with Wharton notes as to the dates of the returns of the seasons and the state of the crops, he is also a man of science. He is in touch with Linnaeus, through his disciple at Upsala, and with the English naturalist Stillingfleet. Classical literature has, for him, no dry bones. He rises to enthusiasm on such subjects and expects Wharton to share his delight in the description of the retreat from Syracuse, which his friend has just reached in the seventh book of *Thucydides*.

In December 1757, he was offered the laureateship, but contemptuously declined it; the offer, nevertheless, was a tribute to him, as the first poet of his generation. And, indeed, in 1748, before he had written very much, he sat in scornful judgment upon his contemporaries. In Dodsley's collection of that year, the only living poets whom he can praise unreservedly are Shenstone

¹ See his *Anecdotes of Painting* and Gray's comments; also, Gray's criticisms on *Historical Doubts* (read between the lines).

² As to Walpole's letters, see chap. xi, *post*.

for *The Schoolmistress*, Johnson for *London* and *Verses* on the opening of Garrick's theatre, Dyer for *Grongar Hill*, and, of course, Walpole. But, he adds

What shall I say to Mr Lowth, Mr Bidley, Mr Rolfe, the Rev. Mr Brown ('Estimate Brown'), Seward, etc. etc. If I say Messieurs! this is not the thing; write prose, write sermons, write nothing at all: they will disdain me and my advice.

Of Gray's most persistent friend and correspondent, Mason, it is difficult to speak with justice or moderation. Gray has described him with kindliness and sincerity, and it is, perhaps, the one redeeming trait in Mason's edition of the correspondence that he has preserved this description with almost Boswellian self-sacrifice. According to Gray, he is a creature of childlike simplicity, but writes too much, and hopes to make money by it, reads very little, and is insatiable in the matter of preferment; the simplicity we may question, and it seems incompatible with the rest of the description. He garbled Gray's letters ruthlessly; in their un mutilated form, they would have disposed for ever of his claims to be his friend's *compère*. He may be excused for not wishing to figure before the public as 'dear Skroddler'; but, when he pleads the boyish levity of some of the letters as an excuse for his expurgations, he knows better, and is simply posing, often substituting his own bombast for Gray's plain speaking. Gray recognised merit in Mason's *Musæus*, a *Monody on the death of Pope*, spite of shells and coral floors; he liked, moderately, *Elfrida* and, immoderately, *Caractacus*, from which, in *The Bard*, he quotes an example of the sublime. His elegies and other verses it would be profitless to enumerate. They have no place in the history of our literature. He wrote political pasquinades of no great merit; but it may be reckoned to his credit that he was a consistent Whig, so that, on the accession of George III, he lost all chance of further preferment. He showed very little magnanimity in attacking, in his *Isis*, the university of Oxford, then (1746 sq.) out of favour with the court, the bulk of whose patronage went to Cambridge. He was answered in *The Triumph of Isis* by Thomas Warton, then a youth of twenty-one, with spirit and good temper; yet, such was his vanity that he believed he had inflicted a mortal wound, and, years after, congratulated himself on entering Oxford at night, without fear of a crowd of 'booing undergraduates.' His superficial resemblance to the manner of Gray did the greater poet some harm. Their contemporaries, and certain critics of a later

generation, did not see any difference between Mason's frosty glare and constant falsetto and the balanced eloquence of Gray.

If the project of a joint work with Mason on the history of English poetry had not fallen through, Gray must have found his associate a terrible incubus. No greater contrast existed at that date than Mason's slipshod, as compared with Gray's scholarly accuracy. Even the work of Warton was an inadequate substitute for that which Gray might have given us; the probability is that its only fault would have been too much, even as Warton has too little, method.

There was one of Gray's preferences that contributed greatly to the appreciation which, as the historian of our poetry, he would have shown of its earlier stages. In strong contrast to the elaborate and stately diction of his own verse, he loved best the poets who were almost models of simplicity: Matthew Green, and the French Gresset, and Dyer of *Grongar Hill*, and whatever Shenstone and even Tickell had written in the same vein. His mind was early ripe for the ballads of Percy's *Reliques*. He finds, accordingly, in *Gil Morrice*, all the rules of Aristotle observed by some unknown ballad-writer who had never read Aristotle. He derives from Macpherson's fragments and his Fingall evidence that 'without any respect of climates poetry reigns in all nascent societies of men.' The theory itself is intrinsically better than the support on which he chose to rest it. He was struggling in that portentous Ossianic mist which spread from Britain to the continent, a mist through which people of genius, the greatest as well as the least, wandered for a time, bewildered by their own shadows. The last efforts of his muse, dating from *The Bard*, are, in the history of our literature, incomparably the most important. From his Latin verse, which, if we except his jocular or satiric efforts, was alone fluent and spontaneous, and is still significant as marking the first stage in his poetic development, we pass to a meditative mood sufficiently conventional in form except in its extreme classicism, and transcendent only because impressed by genuine feeling, and thence to the scanty product by virtue of which we regard him as a pioneer, who seems, like Hesperus, to lead a starry host, but really moves with the rest in obedience to the same mysterious impulse. His fame, in this character, has obscured without effort that of many lesser bards whose course was in the same direction, until the magic was transmitted to Coleridge, and then to Scott, who used it with more persistent energy and more conspicuous effect.

CHAPTER VII

YOUNG, COLLINS AND LESSER POETS OF THE AGE OF JOHNSON

THE posthumous experience, if it may be so described, of most of the poets to be treated in the present chapter, like that of their predecessors, noticed in an earlier section of this *History*¹, illustrates certain doctrines, both of the less, and of the more, vulgar philosophy of life. For more than a century and a half, through the successive collections of Dodsley, Pearch, Johnson, Anderson and Chalmers, they have had opportunities of being generally known which can hardly be said to have been shared by the verse writers of any other period of English literary history. But, for the last century at any rate, this familiarity with their productions has, also, brought about its proverbial consequence. Collins, indeed, if not *nemine contradicente*, yet, by a strong body of the best critical judgment, has (putting range of kind and bulk of production out of the question) been allowed poetical quality of almost the rarest and purest sort. Young, despite the great volume of now imperfectly interesting matter comprehended in his poetical works, and the extreme inequality of his treatment of it, despite, too, the defects of his temper and other drawbacks, enjoyed, for a long time, great and almost European popularity; he possesses, for the literary historian, the attraction of having actually anticipated Pope in one of the most characteristic directions of Pope's satiric energy; and he can never be explored by any patient and unbiassed investigator without the recognition of flame under the ashes, flowers in the wilderness and fragments of no contemptible moulding among the ruins. Shenstone, Dyer, Green ('Spleen'-Green), Blair, Armstrong, Akenside, Beattie, Smart—there are associations with each of these names which ought not to be forgotten; and, even from the *numerus* which may be grouped with them, there remains something to be gathered as to the general state and

¹ See *ante*, vol. ix, chap. vi, sec. ii.

fortunes of literature and of poetry which ought not to be missing in such a work as the present.

An extensive notice of biographical data, not generally included in the plan of this *History*, would be altogether out of place in a collective chapter; but some references of the kind will be found to be occasionally indispensable. Young's long life, from the time when he entered Winchester in 1695, was exactly divided between residence at school and in three colleges at Oxford (New college, where he missed securing a place on the foundation, Corpus Christi, and, lastly, All Souls, of which he became a lay fellow in 1708) and tenure of the college living of Welwyn, to which, having given up plans of professional and parliamentary life and taken orders, he was presented in 1730. Throughout each of these long periods, he appears (except at the moment of his election at All Souls) as a disappointed man, baffled as to regular promotion at school; wandering from college to college; not, indeed, ever in apparent danger of the jail, but incessantly and fruitlessly courting the patron; an unsuccessful, or but once successful, dramatist; a beaten candidate for parliament; and, in his second stage, perpetually desiderating, but never, in the very slightest measure, receiving, that ecclesiastical promotion which, in some not quite comprehensible way, almost every eighteenth century divine seems to have thought his plain and incontestable right. In both parts of his career, moreover, there can be little doubt that Young suffered from that curious recoil or rebuff for which, perhaps, not enough allowance has been made in meting out praise or blame among the successive literary generations of the eighteenth century. Addison's administrative, and Prior's diplomatic, honours were not unmixed blessings to their possessors; but there cannot be any doubt that they made Grub street, or even places much more agreeable and less 'fabulous' than Grub street, all the more intolerable to the younger generation.

Before applying the light of this (of course not novel) consideration to Young's work, let us see what that work (most of it now utterly forgotten) actually was. He began with addresses and odes of various kinds (one on the queen's death) in the last two years of Anne, and produced the play *Busiris*, a paraphrase of *Job* and his *Letters to Tickell*, in 1719. In 1721 appeared his one famous play *The Revenge*, and, a little later, in parts (1725—8), the most important work of his younger, but not very young, years, *The Universal Passion*. During the years

1728 to 1730 were published the amazing pieces called *Ocean* and *Imperium Pelagi*, with others. *The Complaint, or Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality*, began to appear in 1744, when the author was nearly sixty-two. A third play, *The Brothers*, followed in 1753: and his last work of importance, *Resignation*, in 1762.

The immense and long enduring popularity of *Night Thoughts* hardly requires much comment, even now that it has utterly vanished and is never likely to return. This popularity was not, as it has been in some other cases, due to lack of insight on the part of the public that bestowed it; but, as perhaps nearly always happens, it was due to the fact that the merits of the work, in part, at least, were exactly such as that public could best appreciate, and the faults such as it was most disposed to pass over. *Night Thoughts* is hard reading, nowadays, even for the most catholic lover of poetry; and the rest of Young, even *The Universal Passion*, is harder. But he must be a very exceptional critic who can do Young justice, either without a complete reading of his poems, or at a first reading only. Two keys, perhaps, are wanted to unlock the cabinet. The first is an easy and wellknown key—the effect of personal disappointment. To this feeling, in various forms, poets are proverbially liable; but it is difficult to remember any poet who shows it so constantly and in such various forms as Young. It is not always very noisy in him: but it shows itself everywhere—in his satire as well as in his preachings and moralisings, in the innumerable passages, whether longer or shorter, of a form of flattery which sometimes carries with it a despairing sense that nothing, or nothing adequate, will, after all, come from the flattered; in the elegies over apparent triumphs such as Addison's, and apparent failures like that of Swift's 'little Harrison,' who was Young's intimate friend; last of all, but not least of all, and, perhaps, most pathetically, in the title and the substance alike of his swan-song *Resignation*. That his disappointment, on the whole, was rather unreasonable is a feeble, as well as a 'philistine,' way of dismissing the matter: unreasonable disappointments are apt to be the most, not the least, keenly felt.

But there was something else wrong with Young. Johnson, in one of that great majority of his judgments on which one cannot do better than fall back, pronounced that 'with all his defects he was a man of genius and a poet.' He was this; but, of almost all men of genius and almost all poets, he was the most singularly lacking in art; and he seems, to some extent, to have been aware

of it, if we may judge from the frequency with which he dismissed his own work as not worth republication. It is quite astonishing that had an artist Young is; for, whatever its deficiencies in other respects and whatever its limits in the domain of art, the eighteenth century did not usually, according to its lights, make default in questions concerning art. In gross and in detail, Young's art, even his mere craftsmanship, is absolutely untrustworthy. His rimes are the worst that we have from any English poet, except Mrs Browning. He constantly ventures, in narrative blank verse, upon the dramatic redundant syllable, which is always a blemish, and sometimes fatal, out of drama. The almost incredible absurdities of *Ocean*, *Imperium Pelagi* and other odes come partly from want of taste in selection of stanza, partly from infelicities of phrase which few schoolboys would commit.

In the greater matter (as some hold it) of construction, he is equally weak. He really did precede Pope in certain turns, as well as in a general atmosphere, of satire, which, it may be suspected, is the reason why some not illiterate persons are in the habit of attributing lines and passages in Young to his greater successor. But, in the earlier poet, the inequality, the awkwardness, the verbiage, are still constantly present.

It ought to be set down to the credit of public taste, which seldom receives, and does not often deserve, praise, that these defects (except the verbiage) are somewhat less perceptible in what was long held to be a masterpiece, and is Young's masterpiece still. Even the annoying and defacing redundant syllable may be excused, to some extent, on the plea that *The Complaint*, to all intents and purposes, is an enormous soliloquy—a lamentation in argumentative and reflective monologue, addressed by an actor of superhuman lung-power to an audience of still more superhuman endurance. It has, throughout, the character of the *epideictic*—the rhetorical exercise deliberately calculated and consciously accepted as a matter of display—which is frequent in more serious eighteenth century verse. What Shakespeare, in a few lines of *Hamlet* and of *Macbeth*, compressed and sublimed into immortal poetry, Young watered down or hammered out into rhetoric, with endless comments and 'uses' and applications. But, in passages which are still unforgotten, he allows himself a little concentration and something that is strangely like, if it is not actually, sincerity; and, then, he does become, in his day and in his place, 'a man of genius and a poet.' Indeed, if he were judged by single lines, both of the satiric and of the reflective kind, these titles could still less be

refused him. And it is only fair to say that such lines and passages occur not merely in *Night Thoughts*, not merely in *The Universal Passion*, but almost everywhere (except in the odes), from the early *Last Day* and *Job* to the final *Resignation*.

As we turn to William Collins, we come, perhaps, to the only name the inclusion of which in this chapter may raise a cavil. 'If Collins is to be classed with lesser poets,' it may be said, 'then who, in Collins's time, or in his century, is a greater?' There is no space here for detailed controversy on such points; yet, without some answer to the question, the literary history of the age would be obscured or left imperfect. In the opinion of the present writer, Collins, in part, and the chief part, of his work, was, undoubtedly, a 'greater poet,' and that not merely of his own time. There is no time—Elizabethan, Georgian or Victorian—at which the best things in the *Odes* would not have entitled their author to the verdict 'poetry *sans phrase*.' But there is another part of his work, small as it may be in bulk—the whole of it is but small, and, in the unhappy circumstances of his life, could hardly have been larger—which is not greater poetry, which, indeed, is very distinctly lesser; and this 'minority' occurs also, we must almost say constantly, in the *Odes* themselves. Further, this minority or inferiority is of a peculiar kind, hardly exemplified elsewhere. Many poets are unequal: it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that, in varying measure, every poet is unequal. The string, be it of bow or of lyre, cannot always be at full tension. Some—we have but just quoted an example in Young—are unequal with an inequality which cannot take any benefit from the old metaphor. But, at certain times, hardly any poet, and few poets at any time, exhibit the peculiar inequality which Collins displays; and, for historical and critical purposes, the analysis of the special character of this difference is, perhaps, of almost as much importance as that of the discovery and recognition of his poetic idiosyncrasy and merit when he is at his best; perhaps, it is of even greater importance than this.

For, here, the cross-valuation of man and time, easily abused down to mere glib futility, yet very significant when used rightly, becomes of the very first moment; in fact, it would not be an exaggeration to say that there is hardly another case where it counts for so much, and where it explains so much. Almost everything that is good in Collins belongs to the man; almost everything that is not good belongs to the time. And, consequently, there is, again, hardly a poet of whom it may be said, with less of this

facility, that even supposing his unhappy mental affliction to have remained the same (which, in the different circumstances, ~~it~~ ^{it} conceivably might not), his production, as a contemporary of Shakespeare or of Milton, of Coleridge or of Tennyson, would have been entirely different in all the features that are not its best. The Collins of the *Odes*, at his best, is the poet of all time in general and no time in particular; the Collins of the *Eclogues* is everywhere the poetaster of the eighteenth century. Nor is the distinction to be confined to this easy and sweeping separation; for, in the *Odes* themselves, it constantly, and, to the critical reader, not at all tiresomely, presents and represents itself. In two succeeding poems of the collection, in two stanzas of the same poem, in two successive lines, nay, in the very same line of the same stanza, two writers—the Collins of eternity and the Collins of his day—are continually manifesting themselves. The latter talks about a 'British shell' when he means 'English poetry'; intrudes the otiose and, in fact, ludicrous, detail of 'its southern site,' a sort of auctioneer's item, in his description of the temple of Pity; indulges in constant abuse of such words as 'scene.' And he sometimes intrudes upon, though he cannot quite spoil, the loftiest inspiration of the Collins who writes 'How sleep the brave' and the *Ode to Evening*.

When this is thoroughly understood, it not merely brings the usual reward—the fact of this understanding—but a distinct increase of enjoyment. On the full perception of the difference between the two Collinses, there follows, not merely pardon, as in the proverb, but a possibility of neglecting what would otherwise annoy. The 'British shell' no longer suggests artillery or oysters; the 'turtles' have no savour of the tureen; and nothing interferes with our appreciation of the dewy eyes of Pity and the golden hair of Peace, when the sense of incongruity is, as Coleridge says of the sense of disbelief, 'suspended.'

In regard, indeed, to the *Eclogues*, the critical is almost the only satisfaction. They occupy but little room—less than a score of pages, containing scarcely more than three hundred lines, form not a very severe tax upon the reader. But, in them, we certainly find the Collins of the hour almost unrelieved by a single exhibition of individual poetic quality. Eastern apologues in prose or verse had been patented for the whole eighteenth century by the authority of Addison; and Collins was merely following one of the various fashions beyond which it was reckoned improper, if not positively unlawful, to stray. The consecrated couplet

furnishes the metre; the *gradus* epithet—'radiant morn,' 'wanton gales,' 'tender passion'—lends its accustomed aid to swell and balance the line; and, though we sometimes come on a verse that shows forth the poet, such as

Cold is her breast like flowers that drink the dew,

unreasonable expectations of more instances of the same sort are promptly checked by such flatnesses as the statement that 'the virtues *came along*,' or such otiosities as

In *distant* view along the *level* green.

Had these attempts to compose something that might represent the poetry of Saadi and Hafiz and Omar Khayyam stood alone, Collins might certainly have justified the strictures¹ of *The Gentleman's Magazine* on his fellow-contributor to *Dodsley*. Fortunately, they do not stand alone, but are accompanied and effaced by the *Odes*. Besides the two pieces to which reference has already been made—the *Ode to Evening*, with its almost, if not quite, successful extension of the 'blank' principle to lyric, and the exquisite softness and restraint of 'How sleep the brave'—at least three others, in different degrees, have secured general admiration. These are the slightly 'time-marked,' but, surely, charming for all time, *Dirge in Cymbeline*, the splendid outburst of the *Liberty* ode and the posthumous *Superstitions of the Highlands*, of which the text may, perhaps, admit of dispute, but certainly not the spirit and the poetic quality. Hardly one of these, unless it be 'How sleep the brave,' is, as a whole poem, faultless; but Longinus would have made no mistake about the 'slips' and 'faults' of Collins, as compared with his sublimity—and why should we?

The other poets to be mentioned in the present chapter are inferior to these two; but, with rare exception, each has something that would make it improper to batch or group him with others, as was done on a former occasion; while hardly one is so distinctly eminent that, in his case, chronological order need be disregarded as it has been in that of Collins. We shall, therefore, observe it, with the very slight further liberty (possibly no liberty at all) of mentioning John Dyer, who was certainly not born within the eighteenth century, but whose exact birth-year is unknown, before Green and Blair, who can be positively claimed for the seventeenth.

For Dyer, though his real claims rest upon one short piece only, and that not belonging to the very highest style of poetry,

¹ Cf. *ante*, vol. ix, chap. vi, sec. ii, p. 191.

must be recognised as a poet, and as a very remarkable poet, from curiously different points of view. *The Fleece* and *The Ruins of Rome* are merely examples of the extraordinary mistakes as to subjects proper for poetry, and the ordinary infelicity in dealing with them, which have condemned eighteenth century verse as a whole to a lower place than it deserves. *The Cuntry Walk*, not disagreeable in itself, is either a vastly inferior first draft, or a still more surprisingly unsuccessful replica, of *Grongar Hill*. But *Grongar Hill* itself is one of those poems which occupy a place of their own, humble though it may be, as compared with the great epics and tragedies, simple and of little variety, as compared with the garlands or paradises of the essentially lyrical poets, but secure, distinguished and, practically, unique. That even Johnson, though he thought it 'not very accurately written,' allowed it to be 'pleasing,' and felt sure that 'when once read it would be read again,' is a striking testimony in its favour. For it deals almost wholly with 'prospects,' to which Johnson was contemptuously indifferent; and its 'inaccuracy' (which, in truth, is the highest accuracy) was to prove a very crowbar for loosening the foundations of the prosody that he thought accurate.

The poem is really a little wonder in subject and form alike. The devotees of 'the subject' cannot fail, if they know the facts, to recognise in it the first definite return to that fixing of the eye on the object in nature which, though not so absent from Dryden as Wordsworth thought, had been growing rarer and rarer (save in such obscure work as Lady Winchilsea's) for generation after generation, and which was to be the most powerful process in the revived poetry of the future. The student of form cannot fail to perceive in that inaccuracy which Johnson (for him) gently blamed something neither more nor less than a return to the peculiar form of the octosyllabic couplet which, after being developed by Shakespeare and Fletcher and the pastoral poets of the early seventeenth century, had been exquisitely employed by Milton in the twin masterpieces of his youth. The poem appeared, in 1726, in the *Miscellany* of that remarkable person Lewis¹. Even the first of *The Seasons* had but just been published; and, if there is a certain identity of spirit between this poem and Dyer's, the expression is wholly different. Even those who are free from any half-partisan, half-ignorant contempt for the age of Pope and the age of Johnson, must own how strange and sweet, amid the ordinary concert of those ages, is the sound of

¹ Cf. *ante*, vol. ix, p. 188.

Who in the purple evening lie
On the mountain's lonely van ...

or

A little rule, a little sway,
A sunbeam on a winter's day ...

or

Sometimes swift, sometimes slow,
Wave succeeding wave, they go
A various journey to the deep,
Like human life, to endless sleep.

That Dyer was a painter as well as a poet goes, no doubt, for something; that, at least, he liked to think he had married a collateral descendant of, in his own phrase, 'everybody's Shakespere,' may go for a great deal.

In Dyer—or, at least, in *Grongar Hill*—we see some of the first, and almost best, fruits of the romantic spirit and style. In Matthew Green, both style and spirit are of the other kind, but hardly less agreeable in their own way. He, also, so far as good verse goes, is a 'single-speech' poet; but he derives some advantage from the fact that he hardly tried to speak on any other occasion, though a few minor pieces usually accompany *The Spleen*, and a few more might, it seems, be added to them. Green was a quaker-freethinker (a curious evolution) and a clerk in the custom-house, where he amiably prevented a reform which would have disestablished, or, at least, dismilked, the cats. He seems, on the whole, to have been more like a French man of letters of the time than like an Englishman possessing a temperament which may, at once, have qualified and disqualified him for treating 'the English disease.' It must be admitted that his treatment is somewhat superficial, and more than a little desultory; but it certainly exhibits a condition completely opposite to that of the ailment, and even, for the time of reading, provides an antidote. The octosyllables, 'accurate,' as Johnson would say, without stiffness or limpness, and slipping lightly along without any Hudibrastic acrobaticism, frame a succession of thoughts that, if never very profound, are always expressed with a liveliness of which the well-known

Fling but a stone, the giant dies

is by no means too favourable a specimen. Sometimes, we have satiric glances at individuals, as that, near the beginning, at Gildon; sometimes, lively 'thumbnails' of contemporary manners; once or twice, more elaborate drawings, as of the often quoted

Farm some twenty miles from town.

The epicurean attitude of the lighter, but not the coarser, kind has seldom been better illustrated in verse.

Chronology could hardly have been more complacent in contrast-planning than by putting the author of *The Grave* next in order. Here, also, we have a poet of one poem; but the subject of that poem has at once greater possibilities and greater dangers. A poet who writes unpoetically on death at once proves himself to be no poet; and Blair has not failed to pass the test. But he has passed it with the qualification of his time; and, perhaps, so universal a subject ought to receive rather more universality of treatment. Even the fine *coda* (which did not form part of the original edition of the poem) dates itself a little too definitely; and the suicide passage, to name no other, is somewhat rhetorical, if not even melodramatic. But there is no doubt that it had a powerful influence. The very fact that contemporary critics thought the language lacking in 'dignity' offers the best testimony to its freedom, at least sometimes, from the always irksome, and sometimes intolerable, buckram which mars Young and Thomson, Armstrong and Akenside, and which is by no means absent from Collins or from Gray. The blank verse, like nearly all dating from this period, though not so badly as some of it, abuses the abrupt full-stopped middle pause, and is too much given to dramatic redundancy. But it has a certain almost rugged massiveness, and occasionally flings itself down with real *momentum*. The line

The great negotiators of the earth

possesses sarcastic force of meaning as well as prosodic force of structure. It would be hard to find two poets of more different schools than Blair and Blake. Yet it was not a mere association of contradictories when Blake illustrated Blair¹.

The peculiar 'tumid and gorgeous' style of the eighteenth century in blank verse, in which Johnson² professed to find the only excuse—and that inadequate—for the metre he detested, not unfrequently gives the wary critic a certain pause before he absolutely excludes the notion of conscious or half-conscious burlesque on the part of its practitioners. There had been no doubt about this burlesque in the case of *The Splendid Shilling*³, which,

¹ The close coincidence of *The Grave*, which was certainly written by 1742, though not published till the following year, and *Night Thoughts*, the first part of which appeared in the earlier year, has given occasion to the usual idle disputes about priority. The conception of each of these poems was, probably, quite independent.

² See *ante*, vol. ix, chap. x, p. 256.

undoubtedly, had led not a few of them to Milton. Even in Thomson, a later and much stronger influence—in fact, one which directly mastered most blank-verse writers after 1728—it is not certain whether the temper which avowedly exists in *The Castle of Indolence* may not sometimes lie concealed in *The Seasons*. And John Armstrong, Thomson's intimate friend and more than countryman—for their birthplaces, just inside the Border, were within a few miles of each other—one of the garrison invalids of the castle itself, was, by common consent of tradition, a remarkable specimen of that compound of saturnine, and even churlish, humour with real kindliness, which Scotsmen have not been indisposed to acknowledge as a national characteristic. He seems to have pleaded actual burlesque intent for his *péché de jeunesse* (as it would be called in French literary history), *The Economy of Love*. But it is difficult to discern much difference of style between this and the more respectable *Art of Preserving Health*. The preposterous latinising, which has made his 'gelid cistern' for 'cold bath' a stock quotation, and the buckram stiffness of style which usually goes with it, appear in both. His wellknown contribution to *The Castle of Indolence* itself is avowed burlesque, and not unhappy; while, though his imitations of Shakespeare are about as much like Shakespeare as they are like Walt Whitman, his *Epistle to Wilkes*, from the army in Germany to which he was attached, is not without good touches. He seems to have possessed literary, if not exactly poetical, power, but to have been the victim of personal bad taste, exaggerating a particular bad taste of the time.

Richard Glover, like Armstrong, belongs to the 'tumid and gorgeous' blank-verse division; but, unlike him, he offers not the slightest provocation to direct or indirect amusement, and, unlike him also, he has nothing of real vigour. His celebrated ballad, *Admiral Hosier's Ghost*, is a curious success; but it is not certain how much of its reproduction of the half-pathetic, half-bathetic style of the broadside is art and how much nature. Of his 'great' performances, *Leonidas* and *The Athenaid* (rash as literary prophecy is), it may, with little fear, be said that no age will ever resuscitate their popularity—a popularity which, even at the time, was not lasting and, perhaps, to some extent, had been politically engineered; while, almost certainly, the main cause of it was the already mentioned fancy for the newly resuscitated blank verse. Glover, perhaps, is not so absurd as is Blackmore: but he is equally dull in substance; and, in form, he pushes one mannerism to an

almost maddening length. The effect which Milton produces by occasional strong full-stops of sense coinciding with the metrical middle pause is well known and unquestionable. But Milton uses it carefully, and in combination with the utmost and most artful variety of other pauses, and of stopped or overrun lines. His imitators, from the first, were tempted to employ and overdo this obvious device; and Thomson himself is by no means impeccable in respect of it. Glover uses it on every possible occasion, not unfrequently in several successive lines, and not unfrequently, also, stopping where no stops should be, in order to achieve it. It is difficult to imagine, and would be hardly possible to find, even in the long list of mistaken 'long poem' writers of the past two centuries, more tedious stuff than his.

The immediate cause which places William Shenstone here next to Glover is merely chronological; but the sequence could hardly be better arranged for a reader of the two. As a relief from the probably vain attempt to read the London merchant, nothing could be better than the poems of the Worcestershire gentleman-farmer. Shenstone is not a great poet; but, perhaps, there has been a tendency, at all times, to treat him too lightly. Especially if his prose work on poetry be taken together with his poems, it may, not as a mere fancy, be found that very few of his contemporaries, perhaps none but Collins and Gray, had in them more of the root of the matter, though time and circumstance and a dawdling sentimental temperament intercepted and stunted fruit and flower. With his prose¹, we are here not directly concerned; but it is certainly surprising how, in a few aphoristic touches, he lays a finger on some of the chief faults of the poetry of his day. He did not quite practise what he preached: and there is no doubt that posterity has not been wholly unjust in associating the *rococo* decorations and the trivial artifices of the Leasowes with the poems which partly show direct connection with that estate. But artificial-pastoral was only a stage on the return to real nature; and the positive achievements of Shenstone's poetry have much less of the toyshop and the marionette theatre about them than it has been customary to think or say. It is almost a pity that he was of Pembroke, Oxford; for, had he not been there, Johnson's belittling would hardly have been accompanied by a sort of patronising endeavour to make the best of it—the most damaging form of disparagement.

¹ See, as to his letters, chap. XI, sec. II, post.

In fact, it is very easily possible to assign him far less than his real value in the return to nature itself. When Fanny Burney, many years after his death, saw Knowle for the first time, she ranked it next to Hagley as the finest park she had seen, acknowledging, however, with frankness the culpable or regrettable absence of improvement by temples and grottoes, obelisks and view-seats. We should, of course, exactly reverse the estimate. Yet Hagley and the (as some will have it) Naboth's vineyard which patterned Hagley's beautification were only schoolmasters to bring public attention, at any rate, from town to country—if to a country 'townishly' bedizened and interfered with. The proper study of mankind ceased to be man only, when he busied himself with nature at all; even though for a time he might officiously intrude his own works upon her. One may smile at

But oh! the transport most ally'd to song
In some fair *villa's* peaceful bound
To catch soft *hints* from Nature's tongue
And *bid* Arcadia bloom around—

but it is only fair to remember that the earlier part of the same poem had almost expressly condemned meddling with nature as contained in the lines

'Tis Nature only gives exclusive right
To relish her supreme delight,

and, as if with half-surprise at its own boldness, allowed 'pregnancy of [such] delight' to 'thrifless furze' and 'rough barren rock.'

It may indeed be admitted that, both in his grounds and in his poems, Shenstone allowed the charms of the villa to overpower those of furze and rock.

One of the censor's ironical anecdotes is that 'nothing roused Shenstone's indignation more than to ask if there were any fishes in his water.' The obvious innuendo has a certain justice; but it may, to some extent, be retorted that he did try to 'stock' some part of his poetical water—very unprofitably. His *Moral Pieces*, had they stood alone, would either have excluded him from notice here altogether, or have left him with a line of condemnation. *The Judgment of Hercules* has the smoothness, but also the insignificance, of the average eighteenth century couplet; *Economy*, *The Ruined Abbey* and *Love and Honour*, the frigid bombast and the occasional sheer 'measured prose' of its worst blank-verse. If *The Progress of Taste* deserves a less harsh judgment, it is because Shenstone, there, is writing autobiographically, and, consequently,

with his heart in the matter; while, as to form, he takes refuge in the easy 'Hudibrastics' which the age generally wrote well, and sometimes excellently. But, elsewhere, if the sense of *impar congressus* is too frequently with us, there are, also, frequent alleviations; while that other and consoling sense of reading one who, at least, is a seeker after true poetry is seldom absent. *The Schoolmistress* (which, we know, was undertaken irreverently and converted the author in the writing) has generally been admitted to be one of the happiest things of its kind, so far as its author intended (and he has defined his intention very strictly) to reach. Even the tea-garden 'inscriptions' are saved by the bestknown of them, 'Here in cool grot,' which, by the exclusion of some of the unlucky poetic lingo of the time, and the substitution for it of better phrase, could be made a really charming thing. Whether there are enough good things in *Levities* to save the others is a nicer question: but, some things are certainly good. And the same is the case with *Elegies*, which occupies the other wing of his array. But it has practically long been decided that Shenstone must be judged by *The Schoolmistress* and the *Miscellaneous Poems* conscientiously subtitled 'Odes, Songs, Ballads etc.' Of *The Schoolmistress* we have spoken; of the others we may now speak.

To anyone who has read much poetry, and has thought a little about it with due mixture of criticism and affection, some—relatively many—of these pieces have a strange attraction. The true and even profound notions as to poetical substance and form which are scattered about Shenstone's prose seem to have exercised some prompting, but no restraining, influence on his verse. A seldom quoted, and not in the least hackneyed, piece, *The Song of Valentine's Day*, illustrates this, perhaps, in a more striking fashion than any other. He appears, at first, to have caught that inestimable soar and sweep of the common measure which had seemed to be lost with the latest Carolines; and the charm of it, as it were, is in the distance throughout. But he never fully masters it. Some lines, beginning with the second—

'Tis said that under distant skies,
Nor you the fact deny—

are hopelessly prosaic. The fatal jargon of the time, 'swain' and 'grove' and the rest, pervades and mars the whole. The spell is never consummated; but the possibility is always there. Of the *Ode to Memory*, something the same may be said, and of others. His best known things, *The Dying Kid*, the *Jemmy Dawson* ballad and the four-parted *Pastoral*, are unequal, but only because they

condescend nearer to the fashion. The three-footed anapaests of the last are jingling enough, no doubt; and it is wonderful that Shenstone should not have anticipated the variations and ennoblings of the metre which, even then, though chiefly in light matter, had been sometimes hit upon, and which were perfected by Byron, Præd, and Swinburne. But there is a favour and a prettiness about them that still appeal to all but very superior persons; and not merely they, but many of their companions, show that Shenstone was certainly a 'called,' if he could not quite rise to be a 'chosen,' poet.

It may be desirable, and should certainly be permissible, to use once more the often misused comparison, and observe that, while Shenstone would probably have been a better poet, and would certainly have written better poetry, in the seventeenth or the nineteenth century, there is little probability that Mark Akenside would at any time have done better than he actually did, and small likelihood that he would ever have done so well. His only genuine appeal is to the intellect and to strictly conventionalised emotions; his method is by way of versified rhetoric; and his inspirations are political, ethical, social, or almost what you will, provided the purely poetical be excluded. It is, perhaps, not unconnected with this restricted appeal to the understanding, that hardly any poet known to us was so curiously addicted to remaking his poems. Poets of all degrees and kinds, poets as different from each other as Thomson and Tennyson, have revised their work largely; but the revision has always, or almost always, been confined to omissions, insertions and alterations for better or worse, of isolated phrase, line or passage. Akenside entirely rewrote his one long and famous poem, *The Pleasures of Imagination*¹, and did something similar with several of his not very numerous smaller pieces.

Since his actual intellectual endowment was not small, and his studies (though he was an active practising physician) were sufficient, he often showed fairly adequate stuff or substance of writing. But this stuff or substance is hardly ever of itself poetical; and the poetical or quasi-poetical ornament is invariably added, decorative and merely the clothes, not the body—to borrow the Coleridgean image—of such spirit as there is.

He, therefore, shows better in poems, different as they are from each other, like the *Hymn to the Naiads* and *An Epistle to Curio*, than in his diploma piece. *The Pleasures of Imagination*

¹ The title of the second edition (1757) runs: *The Pleasures of the Imagination*.

might, by a bold misnomer or liberty, be used as the title of a completed *Kubla Khan*, and so might designate a magnificent poem. But, applied strictly, and in the fashion congenial to Akenside and his century, it almost inevitably means a frigid catalogue, with the items decked out in rhetorical figures and developments. The earlier form is the better; but neither is really poetry. On the other hand, the *Hymn to the Naiads*, in blank verse, does, perhaps, deserve that praise of being 'the best example of the eighteenth century kind' which has been sometimes strangely given to *The Pleasures* themselves. More than one of the *Odes* and *Inscriptions*, in their formal decorative way, have a good deal of what has been called 'frozen grace.' But only once, perhaps, does Akenside really rise to poetic bloodheat: and that is in *An Epistle to Curio*. It may deserve, from the point of view of the practical man, the ridicule that Macaulay has applied to it. But, as an example of the nobler satiric couplet, fashioned in a manner between that of Dryden and that of Pope, animated by undoubtedly genuine feeling, and launched at its object with the pulse and quiver of a well-balanced and well-flung javelin, it really has notable merit.

Such a thing as this, and such other things as semi-classical bas-reliefs in description or sentiment, Akenside could accomplish; but, except in the political kind, he has no passion, and in no kind whatever has he magnificence, or the charm of life.

If Shenstone and Akenside present an interesting parallel contrast in one way, that presented to both of them by Christopher Smart is even more interesting; while, in another way, he approximates to Collins. Akenside, with all his learning, acuteness and vigour, never found the true spirit of poetry, and, perhaps, did not even look for it, or know where it was to be found. Shenstone, conscious of its existence, and always in a half-hearted way seeking it, sometimes came near it or, at least, saw it afar off. Smart found it once for all, and once only; but that once was when he was mad. Since *A Song to David* at last gained its true place (and sometimes, perhaps, a place rather higher than that), it has been the fashion rather to undervalue the positive worth of those other poems from which, by certainly one of the oddest tricks in literary history, fortune separated the *Song* in the original edition of Smart's work, leaving it for Chalmers to find in a review fragment only, and for the nineteenth century at last to recover completely. Smart's Latin poems, original and translated, are now quite out of

fashion; and they are not, as a rule, strikingly good. He had not, when sane, the power of serious poetry; but his lighter verse in a Hudibrastic or Swiftian vein is, sometimes, really capital; and neither in those great originals, nor in Barham, nor even in Thackeray, can be found a better piece of *burla* rhyme than

Tell me, 'thou son of great Cadwallader,
Hast thou that hare? or hast thou swallowed her?

But, in *A Song to David*, as it has been said, *furor vere poeticus* has seized and inspired his victim. It has been so much praised in the last half-century as to be, perhaps, to some extent, in the danger of Aristides; and it is anything rather than faultless. The ideas, and, indeed, much of the language, are taken at second-hand from the Bible; there is, as, in the circumstances, there almost must have been, divagation, repetition, verbiage, inequality, with other things not good in themselves. But the tide of poetry carries the poem right through, and the reader with it; the old romance-six or *rime couée*—a favourite measure with the eighteenth century, but often too suggestive of *Sir Thopas*—once more acquires soar and rush, and the blood and breath of life, so that the whole crowd of emotional thought and picturesque image sweeps through the page with irresistible force.

There is little for us that is irresistible in James Beattie or in William Falconer. But men not yet decrepit, who in their youth were fond of haunting bookstalls, may remember that few poems were commoner in 'elegant pocket editions,' as their own times would have said, than *The Minstrel* and *The Shipwreck*. We know that Byron was strongly influenced by Beattie in point of form; and it has been credibly asserted that his influence, at least in Scotland, on young readers of poetry, is not, or was not very recently, exhausted. It is difficult to think that this can have been the case with Falconer. The 'exquisite harmony of numbers' which Chalmers could discover has now completely vanished from such things as

With joyful eyes th' attentive master sees
Th' auspicious omens of an eastern breeze;

and scarcely will any breeze, of east or west, extract that harmony again from such a lyre. The technicalities are not only unlikely to interest, but, to a great extent, are, unluckily, obsolete. The few personal touches are of the faintest; and even Falconer's Greece is a Greece which, if it was ever living, has ceased to live now. His smaller poems are few and insignificant.

Beattie, on the other hand, retains at least a historic interest as a pioneer of romanticism, and as the most serious and extensive handler, up to his own time, of the Spenserian stanza. He was hampered in general effect inasmuch as, if he was possessed of any strictly poetic faculty, it was of a singularly small and weak one; and he hampered himself in a special way by failing to observe that, to make a Spenserian stanza, you need a Spenserian line and Spenserian line-groupings. As it was (and he taught the fault to Byron), the great merit of the form—its complex and yet absolutely fluent harmony—is broken up by suggestions, now of the couplet, now of the old dramatic blank-verse line, now, again, of the Miltonic or pseudo-Miltonic paragraph arrangement. Nor, though the matter might more than compensate contemporaries and immediate posterity for a defect in manner which they would hardly notice, is it such as can give much enjoyment either now, or ever again. That it is not only plotless and characterless but, also, unfinished, need not be fatal. It has hills and vales and other properties of romanticism *à la Rousseau*; suggestions of knights and witches and so forth in the manner of romanticism *à la Percy*. But the drawing is all in watered-out sepia; the melody is a hurdy-gurdy strum.

His minor poems are more numerous than Falconer's and intend much more greatly: but they have little more significance. He tries Gray's ode manner, and he tries his elegy manner: and he fails in both. A tolerable opening, such as that of *Retirement*:

When in the crimson cloud of even,
The lingering light decays,
And Hesper on the front of Heaven
His glistening gem displays

is followed by some twenty times the number of lines mostly rubbish. The *Pastorals*, if less silly, are not much better than pastorals usually are; and the most that can be said for *The Judgment of Paris*, wherein Beattie employs the elegiac quatrain, is that it is rather less bad than one would expect—a fact which may account for its unpopularity at the time as well as for its omission from his collected poems¹.

The poets—for, in a few cases, they most certainly deserve that name—and the verse-writers—an indefeasible title—who have been mentioned in this and in an earlier chapter² do not require

¹ As to Beattie's once celebrated *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth*, cf. *ch&p. mrv, post.*

² *Ante*, vol. ix, chap. vi, sec. ii.

any peroration with much circumstance. But it would not only be uncivil to give them none; it would amount to a sort of petty treason in failing to make good their claims to the place they have here received. This place is, perhaps, justified in one case only—that of Collins—by the possession of intrinsic genius of the strictly poetical kind, in quality if not in quantity, sufficient to have made its way in any age; though, undoubtedly, in some ages, it would have been more fertile than in this. Yet Collins acquires not only interest but intelligibility when he is considered in company with those who have been associated with him here. ‘Why was he not as they?’ ‘What was it that weighed on him as on them?’ These are questions which those who disdain the historic estimate—who wish to ‘like grossly,’ as Dryden put it—may disdain likewise. They add to the delight as much, at least, as they satisfy the intelligence of better exercised tastes. So, again, in various ways, Garth and Watts, Young and Dyer and Green, Shenstone and Akenside and Smart, have special attractions—sometimes, if not always, strictly poetical; always, perhaps, strictly literary—in one way or another, sufficient to satisfy fit readers, if they cannot abide the same test as Collins. And so, in their turn, have even the *numerus*, the crowd of what some harshly call poetasters, whom we have also included. They, also, in their day and way, obeyed the irresistible seduction which urges a man to desert prose and to follow the call of poetry. They did not go far or do much; but they went as far and did as much as they could.

CHAPTER VIII

JOHNSON AND BOSWELL

It was a supreme fortune that gave Johnson the friendship of Reynolds and Boswell. His great personality is still an active and familiar force. We know him as well as if he had lived among us. But the first of Reynolds's portraits was painted when Johnson had completed *The Rambler* and was already 'the great moralist,' and Boswell did not meet him till after he had obtained his pension. The Johnson that we know is the Johnson 'who loves to fold his legs and have his talk out.' The years in which he fought poverty and gained his place in the world of letters are obscure to us, in comparison with those in which he enjoyed his hard-won leisure. He never cared, in later life, to speak about his early struggles; he never spoke much about himself at any time. Even when he wrote the lives of authors whom he had known and might have told his own experiences without disturbing the unity of his picture, he offered little more than the reflection of his feelings. Sir John Hawkins did not make full use of his great opportunity. He alone, of all Johnson's biographers, had known him almost from the start of their work in London, but he drew on his recollections fitfully and lazily. He has given enough to show how much more he might have given. Boswell, with all his pertinacious curiosity, found that he had to rely mainly on his own researches. There were in these early years subjects 'too delicate to question Johnson upon.' Much remained, and still remains, for others to discover.

New letters, anecdotes or facts will not disturb our idea of Johnson¹. They will, at most, fill gaps and settle doubts. The man himself is known. Yet the very greatness of his personality has tended to interfere with the recognition of his greatness as a

¹ A large amount of new material on Johnson's family and early life has recently been made accessible in *The Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr Johnson's Ancestry* (1906) by Meade, A. L., and in his *Johnsonian Gleanings* (1909 etc.). New material on his later life is given in Broadley and Seecombe's *Doctor Johnson and Mrs Thrale* (1910).

man of letters. No other author whose profession was literature seems to owe so little of his fame to his books. Many writers, Dryden and Scott among others, give the impression that they were greater than anything that they have written. It has been the unique fate of Johnson to be dissociated from his works. He would have welcomed the knowledge that he was to be remembered as a man, for he had no delusions about authorship. But he is to be found in his works as he wished to be known, and as he was. If the greatest of biographies catches him at moments which he would not have recorded, it is also true that his writings give us his more intimate thoughts, and take us into regions which were denied to his conversation.

He was born at Lichfield on 18 September 1709, in the year in which his father, one of the chief booksellers of the midlands, was sheriff of the city. As a schoolboy, he seems to have been already distinguished by his ease in learning, his tenacity of memory, his lack of application, and delays adjusted to his power of rapid work. But the best part of his instruction he acquired for himself in his father's shop. There, he prowled about at leisure, and read as his fancy directed. He was never a laborious reader. The progress which the understanding makes through a book, he said, has more pain than pleasure in it. 'Sir; do you read books through?' he once asked. There may have been few books that he read through himself. His defective eyesight had probably some bearing on what came to be an intellectual habit. But he had in a supreme degree the gift of discovering the matter and quality of a book, almost on opening its pages. The extent of his knowledge was the wonder of all his friends: Adam Smith declared that Johnson knew more books than any man alive. He had begun this knowledge by sampling his father's store. And in these days, before he had left school, he was already a good enough Latinist to be diverted from a search for apples by the discovery of a folio of Petrarch.

He was intended to follow his father's business. Hawkins and Mrs Piozzi both say that he could bind a book. But, after two years at home, he contrived to proceed to Oxford. He entered Pembroke college as a commoner on 31 October 1728, and remained there continuously, with, at most, one week's break in the long vacation, till December 1729. Thereafter, his residence was irregular, and he left the university without taking a degree¹.

¹ Boswell says he left 'in autumn, 1731.' There is much support for this date in Hawkins. But Croker argued that he never returned after December 1729, though his

The outstanding fact of his college career was the translation of Pope's *Messiah* into Latin verse, as a Christmas exercise. This was the first of his works that was printed, being included in *A Miscellany of Poems by Several Hands* (1731), collected by J. Husbands, fellow of Pembroke college. Latin was already almost as familiar a language to him as his own. Late in life, during his tour in France, he was 'resolute in speaking Latin,' though he had a command of French idiom that enabled him to supply the first paragraph to Baretti's translation of *Rasselas*¹. 'Though he is a great critic in French,' said Baretti, 'and knows almost as much Italian as I do, he cannot speak either language, but he talks Latin with all Cicero's fury².' His knowledge of the renaissance poets was unusually wide. He regretted that they were not generally known, and that Pope's attempt to rescue them from neglect by his *Selecta Poemata Italorum* had been fruitless. The first book which he himself designed was an edition of Politian, with a history of Latin poetry in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Proposals for printing it by subscription were issued in August 1734; but nothing came of the scheme, and the Latin poems of Politian still await an editor.

Of his five and a half years in the midlands after his residence in Oxford, the records are fragmentary. His earliest extant letter (30 October 1731) has reference to an unsuccessful application for the post of usher in the grammar school of Stourbridge. He acted in this capacity for some time, in 1732, at Market Bosworth, in Leicestershire. Later in the same year, he paid a visit to his lifelong friend Edmund Hector, then settled as a surgeon in Birmingham; and it would appear that Birmingham was his home for the next three years³. What is certain is that his hopes had now turned to writing. He contributed to *The Birmingham Journal* a number of essays, all of which are lost; he planned his edition of Politian; he offered to write for *The Gentleman's Magazine*; and he completed his first book, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*,

name remained on the books till October 1781; and this view has been commonly adopted. The arguments for residence till 1781 remain the stronger.

¹ See Prior's *Life of Malone* (1860), p. 161.

² See Giuseppe Baretti, Collison-Morley, L. (1909), p. 85.

³ The issue of the Politian proposals at Lichfield in August 1734 appears to be the only evidence for the common statement that he then returned to Lichfield. It was to be expected that the subscriptions should be received by his brother Nathanael, who, with his mother, had carried on the family business from the death of his father in 1731. *A Voyage to Abyssinia* was all written at Birmingham. If it was completed before August 1734, there must have been a delay of six months in publication. The letter to *The Gentleman's Magazine* was written from Birmingham on 25 November 1734.

by Father Jerome Lobo. With a Continuation of the History of Abyssinia, and Fifteen Dissertations, by Mr Le Grand. From the French. The volume was printed in Birmingham and published in London, anonymously, in January 1735.

In this translation, there is much more of Le Grand than of Lobo. In parts, Johnson condensed freely; where he allowed himself least liberty was in the sixteen (not fifteen) dissertations, which occupy more than half the volume and deal with such subjects as the Nile, Prester John, the queen of Sheba and the religious customs of the Abyssinians. He was always an eager reader of books of travel; and it was fitting that the passion for whatever afforded views of human nature, which led him to describe his own experiences of another country and to urge others to describe theirs, should be shown in his first work. But the main interest of the volume now lies in the short preface. In the translation, he is content to convey the meaning of the original, and, while he follows in haste another's thought and language, we fail to find the qualities of his own style. But they are unmistakable in such a passage as this:

The Reader will here find no Regions cursed with irremediable Barrenness, or bless'd with Spontaneous Fecundity, no perpetual Gloom or unceasing Sunshine; nor are the Nations here described either devoid of all Sense of Humanity, or consummate in all private and social Virtues, here are no Hottentots without Religion, Polity, or Articulate Language, no Chinese perfectly Polite, and compleatly skill'd in all Sciences: He will discover, what will always be discover'd by a diligent and impartial Enquirer, that wherever Human Nature is to be found, there is a mixture of Vice and Virtue, a contest of Passion and Reason, and that the Creator doth not appear Partial in his Distributions, but has balanced in most Countries their particular Inconveniences by particular Favours.

He who writes much, Johnson said, will not easily escape a manner. But here is Johnson's manner in his first book. And here, too, is a forecast of the philosophy of *The Rambler* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*. There are no distinct periods in Johnson's literary development, no sudden access of power, no change in his outlook, no novelties in his methods. He continued as he had begun. He grew in confidence and facility; he perfected his command of expression; but there was not any change in the spirit of his expression or in what he wished to express.

His experience of letters at Birmingham had not promised success, and, on his marriage in July 1735 with Mrs Elizabeth Porter, the widow of one of his Birmingham friends, he set up a school at Edial, near Lichfield. His first reference to the new

enterprise is found in a letter of 25 June 1735, recently published for the first time¹.

'I am going,' he writes, 'to furnish a House in the Country and keep a private Boarding-house for Young Gentlemen whom I shall endeavour to instruct in a method somewhat more rational than those commonly practised.'

His 'scheme for the classes of a grammar school,' as given by Hawkins and Boswell, illustrates what he was to say about teaching in his *Life of Milton*. The school failed, and, on 2 March 1737, he set out for London with one of his pupils, David Garrick. Henceforward, London was to be his home. Having no profession, he became by necessity an author.

He had no promise of work, but he looked to find employment on *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and he had hopes in the drama. He had written at Edial three acts of his tragedy *Irene*². He worked at it during his first months in London, and finished it on his visit to Lichfield to settle his affairs, in the summer of 1737. But there remained for him 'the labour of introducing it on the stage, an undertaking which to an ingenuous mind was in a very high degree vexatious and disgusting'—as he wrote of another's experience while his own tragedy was still unacted. The goodwill of Garrick, whom he placed under a heavy debt by the great prologue which heralded his managership of Drury lane in 1747, at last brought it on the stage in February 1749³, and protracted its run to nine nights, so that there might be three third-night benefits. With all his knowledge of human nature, Johnson was unable to exhibit dramatically the shades which distinguish one character from another. *Irene* is only a moral poem in a succession of dialogues on the theme that 'Peace from innocence must flow' and 'none are happy but the wise and virtuous.' And the thought struggles with the metre. He could not divest his blank verse of the qualities of the couplet. The same faults are to be found in his translation, made many years later, of a short passage of Metastasio. We expect the rime at the end of the line; and, when we come on it in the couplets with which each act

¹ *Bi-Centenary of the Birth of Johnson. Commemoration Festival Reports*, edited by Baby, J. T. (1909), pp. 26—7.

² It was founded on a story in Knolles's *History of the Turks*, previously treated in *The Tragedy of The Unhappy Fair Irene*, by Gilbert Swinhoe, 1658; *Irena, a Tragedy*, of unknown authorship, 1664; and *Irene, or the Fair Greek*, by Charles Goring, 1708. Before Knolles, the same subject had been treated in Peele's lost play *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin the fair Greek* (see Peele, ed. Bullen, A. H., vol. 1, p. xxxvii, and vol. II, p. 394).

³ The title on the play-bills was *Mahomet and Irene*. See *An Essay on Tragedy*, 1749, p. 12 note, and Genest, *English Stage*, 1832, vol. IV, pp. 265—6.

closes, instead of feeling that they are tags, as we do in our great tragedies, we find the verse bound forward with unwonted ease. Johnson had too massive and too logical an intellect to adapt himself readily to the drama. He came to perceive this, but not till long after he had described the qualifications of a dramatist in his *Life of Savage*, and had proceeded with a second play, *Charles of Sweden*, of which the only record is an ambiguous allusion in a letter (10 June 1742). The labour he spent on *Irene* led him to think well of it for a time; but, late in life, when he returned to it afresh, he agreed with the common verdict. He 'thought it had been better.' He could speak from his own experience when, in the passage on tediousness in his *Life of Prior*, he said that 'unhappily this pernicious failure is that which an author is least able to discover.'

It was *The Gentleman's Magazine* that gave Johnson his real start as a man of letters. Founded by Edward Cave, under the name Sylvanus Urban, in January 1731, it had been growing steadily from small beginnings. Its original purpose was to reprint, from month to month, a selection of the more interesting matter that had appeared in the journals; and the name 'magazine' was, in this its first application to a periodical, intended as a modest title for a collection which made small claim to originality. The idea was not altogether new. *The Grub-street Journal* contains a section of 'domestic news' extracted from other papers, and sometimes so treated as to suggest to the modern reader the more urbane comments in the pages of *Punch*. But, as the editors of *The Grub-street Journal* complained in the preface to *Memoirs of the Society of Grub-street* (1737), their rival of *The Gentleman's Magazine* took anything he fancied—news, letters, essays or verses—and printed as much or as little of them as he pleased. The success of the *Magazine* was never in doubt. The first number went into a fifth edition; and with success came ambition. In the number for January 1739, a correspondent, who evidently was Johnson, observes that the extracts from the weekly journalists have 'shrunk at length into a very few columns and made way for original letters and dissertations.' The *Magazine* now included parliamentary reports, poetical essays, serial stories, mathematical papers, maps, songs with music, and a register of publications. Most of the devices of modern journalism were anticipated in these early numbers. Cave had the luck and the skill to hit on what the public wanted. If we may trust the preface to the collected numbers for 1738, there were immediately 'almost twenty imitations.' Yet *The Gentleman's*

Magazine had many features in common with *The Gentleman's Journal*; or the *Monthly Miscellany*, which Peter Motteux had started in January 1692 and carried on with flagging zeal to 1694. The earlier periodical had begun on a much higher literary level and remains a work of very great interest; but its fortunes were not watched over by a man of business. It had been modelled partly on *Le Mercure Galant*. *The Gentleman's Magazine* was, in its origin, independent of both its French and its English forerunners.

In the letter which Johnson sent to Cave from Birmingham in 1734, besides offering to contribute, he suggested several improvements. For 'the low jests, awkward buffoonery, or the dull scurrilities of either party,' which were to procure for it or its imitators a place in *The Dunciad*, might be substituted, he thought, 'short literary dissertations in Latin or English, critical remarks on authors ancient or modern, or loose pieces worth preserving.' Nothing came of the letter; but the suggestion that the *Magazine* should take itself more seriously accorded with Cave's business instincts, and the changes gradually introduced were in accordance with Johnson's wishes. His first contribution, the Latin alcaics beginning *Urbane, nullis fesse laboribus*, did not appear till March 1738. From that time, he was regularly employed; and he at once asserted some sort of literary control. There cannot be any doubt that the subsequent steady rise in the character of the *Magazine* was largely due to him. He also helped to guide its fortunes through a grave crisis. Reports of the proceedings and debates in parliament had been given in the *Magazine* since 1732; but, on 13 April 1738, the House of Commons declared such reports to be 'a notorious breach of the Privilege of this House.' The *Magazine* could not easily omit a section on which much of its popularity depended, and, in June 1738, there appeared 'debates in the Senate of Magna Lilliputia.' If, as Hawkins says, the device was Cave's, it had Johnson's approval; and his hand is unmistakable in the passage in which the device is explained. He began by editing the reports, which continued to be written by William Guthrie, the first of his many Scottish friends. He was their sole author only for the thirty-six numbers and supplements from July 1741 to March 1744, and author rather than reporter. According to Hawkins, he had never entered either House; according to Murphy, he had once found his way into the House of Commons. He expanded in Cave's printing office, long after the actual debates, the scanty notes supplied to him, and invested them with his own argumentative skill and eloquence. Some of

the speeches are said to represent what was said by more than one speaker; others he described as the mere coinage of his imagination. His reports are, in fact, original work, and a very great work. To us who know the secret of their authorship, it is surprising that they should not have been recognised as the work of a man of letters. They are on a high level of literary excellence, and there is an-obvious uniformity in the style. Even when they succeed in suggesting the idiosyncrasies of the different speakers, they show one cast of mind and texture of language. They are Johnson's own debates on the political questions of the day, based—and based only—on the debates in parliament. He said, within a few days of his death, that he wrote them 'with more velocity' than any other work—often three columns of the *Magazine* within the hour, and, once, ten pages between noon and early evening. The wonder is, not so much that debates thus written could have been so good, as that debates so good could have been accepted as giving the words of the speakers. Johnson had not expected this; and, when he recognised it, he determined not to be any longer 'accessory to the propagation of falsehood.' This is the explanation given for his sudden abandonment of them in 1744. But the secret was long kept, and they continued to be regarded as genuine. There is more of Johnson than of Pitt in the famous speech about 'the atrocious crime of being a young man.' And two speeches entirely written by him appeared, to his amusement, in the collected works of Chesterfield.

The extent of his other contributions cannot easily be determined. We have often only the evidence of style to guide us, and his editorial privileges make it difficult to apply. It is very doubtful, for instance, if the short notice, in November 1739, of the poems of Joseph Warton and Collins printed in the previous number is, as Wooll states in his *Memoirs of Warton*, the work of Johnson. Our best authority is Boswell, but his list is only tentative. We know that he wrote the biographies of Sarpi, Boerhaave, Blake, Drake, Barretier, Lewis Morin, Burmann and Sydenham; and there are other articles about which there can be no reasonable doubt. The amount of his writing varies greatly from month to month. In the number for December 1740, which contains his *Essay on Epitaphs*, most of the original contributions are his; in other numbers, we cannot safely ascribe to him more than the debates. The question of authorship has never been examined thoroughly; but, even with the help of Cave's office books, there would be serious obstacles to a

conclusive finding. In addition to his work for Cave, he had brought out, with other publishers, *Marmor Norfolciense* (April 1739), an ironical discussion, with a political bearing, on the supposed discovery of a prophecy in 'monkish rhyme,' and *A Compleat Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage* (May 1739), an ironical attack on the rejection of Brooke's *Gustavus Vasa*. Continued irony is rarely successful. Johnson did not try it again.

The early series of biographies was followed by the elaborate life of a poet whom Johnson had known intimately, and whose character required protection from the insults and calumnies which it invited. Richard Savage died in the prison of Bristol at the beginning of August 1743; and, in the number of *The Gentleman's Magazine* for the same month, Johnson announced, in an unsigned letter, that a biography of him was in preparation. • He wrote it with his usual speed—once he wrote as much as forty-eight printed pages at a sitting—and had it published in February 1744. It is a work of remarkable and varied interest, and throws light on a period of Johnson's career of which we know too little. They had suffered poverty together and forgotten it in their companionship; they had spent whole nights in the streets when their combined resources could not find them a shelter; and the description of Savage's fortunes reflects what Johnson had himself endured, and might have still to endure. He was attracted to Savage by the story of his life, on which research had not yet cast any doubt, by his shrewd knowledge of human nature, by his social skill and experience and by his talent as a writer. Savage was eleven years older than Johnson, and in his varied life had much to tell. But the chief attraction was Savage's own character. His great capacities could not save him from his undoing. He was self-indulgent, petulant, aggressive and ungrateful; there was excuse for the indifference or resentment of those who had once been benefactors. All this Johnson brings out clearly in a narrative which, when it leans from impartiality, leans to the side of friendship. He related everything as he knew it, with no suggestion of censure, but with generous sympathy. *The Life of Savage* is one of those rare biographies which, by their perfect sincerity, tell us as much of the character of the author as of the man described. He included it, later, with only slight alterations, in *The Lives of the Poets*. It had been an adequate expression of his feelings when it was written, and he wisely decided to let well alone. But it is a different *Life* from the other *Lives*, and differs from them in more than scale and method. It is the study of a personality

rather than of a poet, though at no time would Johnson have tried to make such a distinction. The criticism of Savage's works is the least part of it, and has not yet all the writer's easy mastery. The style, too, which, at its best, is as good as it ever was to be, sometimes lacks its later certainty and precision. And the frequent repetition of the same ideas, though always in different language, shows a desire to give in full the content of a full mind rather than to represent it by selection. The new setting of *The Life of Savage* invites a comparison which proves that Johnson's abilities were strengthening and maturing to his seventieth year. Yet he never revealed himself more fully than in this early tribute to the memory of a difficult friend.

Johnson's contributions to *The Gentleman's Magazine* had become less frequent in 1743, and they ceased in the following year. He was meditating larger schemes. And he had latterly been doing much other work. Since the end of 1742, he had been engaged with William Oldys in cataloguing the printed books in the library of the earl of Oxford, then newly purchased by Thomas Osborne, the bookseller. The *Proposals* for printing the catalogue by subscription were written by Johnson and issued in December 1742, and the *Account of the Harleian Library*, which they contained, was afterwards made to serve as preface to the first of the four volumes of the catalogue—*Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, 1743—4. While the catalogue was in progress, the bookseller, who had remarkable luck in having secured the services of one of the greatest of English literary antiquaries and one of the most scholarly of English critics, was persuaded to publish a collection of the more scarce and valuable tracts or pamphlets in his possession, under the title *The Harleian Miscellany*. The bulk of the selective and editorial work fell to Oldys; but it was Johnson who, again, wrote the *Proposals*, and contributed the introduction (1744), which, when reprinted separately, he entitled *An Essay on the Origin and Importance of Small Tracts and Fugitive Pieces*. In this, his first attempt at literary history, he gives a short sketch of English pamphlets from the reformation to the reign of Charles II, and follows in the tracks of such works as *The Phenix* (1707) and *The Phoenix Britannicus* (1731), *The Critical History of Pamphlets* (1716) of Myles Davies, and the *Dissertation on Pamphlets* (1731) of his collaborator Oldys. There is no evidence of Johnson's hand in the *Harleian Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1745).

On the completion of this congenial experience in bibliography,

Johnson proposed to edit Shakespeare. The work was not to be undertaken for many years yet ; but it was the first of the larger schemes planned by him. *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth*¹ (April 1745) was intended to prepare the way. There was still room for a new edition, as Hanmer had given most thought to regularised metre and sumptuous printing, and Warburton seemed to have abandoned what he had announced as early as 1740. But, after the death of Pope and the completion of Hanmer's edition in 1744, Warburton set to work in earnest, and the prospect of early publication compelled Johnson to lay aside his scheme, which could not have had an equal chance of success, inasmuch as, like most of his work up to this time, it was anonymous. When Warburton's edition appeared, in 1747, Johnson had the meagre satisfaction of finding his *Miscellaneous Observations* singled out for praise in the vituperative preface. It was now that he turned to the *Dictionary*. He had 'long thought of it,' he said ; 'it had grown up in his mind insensibly.' The *Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language* was issued in 1747, and, at the desire of Dodsley, was addressed to the earl of Chesterfield. This year—which is, also, the year of the Drury lane prologue—marks the turn in Johnson's fortunes, though the fitful struggle with poverty was not yet over. But what was Johnson doing in 1745 and 1746 ? Here again the records are deficient. Of more than a thousand letters of his that are known, there is not one to throw light on either of these years.

Johnson did not confine himself to the labours of the *Dictionary*. During the eight years of its preparation he wrote his greatest poem, and gave new life to the periodical essay.

His school verses, which were preserved by the pride of a teacher and the admiration of a friend, and printed by Boswell, are of little interest except in relation to his later work. They show the study of *The Rape of the Lock* and the translation of Homer, and they occasionally indulge in the liberties of Dryden's triple rime and alexandrine—liberties from which Johnson afterwards refrained, though he came to say that the art of concluding the sense in couplets 'has perhaps been with rather too much constancy pursued'. The piece entitled 'The Young Authour' is a first study for the great passage in *The Vanity of Human Wishes*

¹ The title continues :—*To which is affix'd, Proposals for a New Edition of Shakespeare, with a Specimen*. No copy is known to contain the *Proposals*. They were, however, issued separately. The Bodleian library possesses the rare folio sheet, MS Bodl. Add. C. 244 (387).

² *Life of Denham*.

on the scholar's life, and, in the music of the metre, and in the turn and balance of the expression, already discovers the quality of his mature verse. He acquired a reputation for ease in writing and for readiness to help a friend in need. His verses *Written at the request of a gentleman to whom a lady had given a sprig of myrtle* were remembered as having been made in five minutes, and those *To Miss Hickman, playing on the Spinnet*, or others like them, led the girl's father to opine that their author could write about anything. What he called 'the endearing elegance of female friendship' had been, long before he met Mrs Thrale, an effective spur to his facility. Some of the pieces written while he was still in search of occupation in the midlands afterwards found their way into *The Gentleman's Magazine* and Mrs Williams's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1766). None of them is more characteristic than *Friendship, An Ode*. On the other hand, the collected editions include several pieces clearly not his. He could not have written *To Lyce, an elderly Lady*. It is no less certain that, though he did write some verses *To Stella*, the chance that a piece is addressed to Stella is not, as his editors seem to have believed, an argument of his authorship. His early poems have still to be discriminated¹; but their chief interest will always be that they were written by the author of *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*.

London: a poem, in imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal was published in May 1738, on the same day as Pope's *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-Eight, a Dialogue something like Horace*, and thus, accidentally, invited a comparison which appears to have gone in Johnson's favour. Here was a new author who concealed his name, rivalling Pope in the very kind of verse which, after an undisputed career, he had found best suited to his genius. The poem went into a second edition within a week; and Pope himself, who was always generous in his recognition of excellence, and had said of Johnson's youthful translation of his *Messiah* that posterity would have to decide which form of the poem was the original, declared that the unknown author of *London* could not be long concealed. The method of 'imitation' adopted in this poem was described by Johnson in his *Life of Pope* as 'a kind of middle composition between translation and original design, which pleases when the thoughts are unexpectedly applicable and

¹ Boswell promised an edition of the poems, in which he would 'with the utmost care ascertain their authenticity, and illustrate them with notes and various readings.' Such an edition has not yet appeared.

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the parallels lucky.' Brought into *vogue* by Boileau, it had been practised in English by Rochester, Oldham and Dryden (in his revision of Soames's translation of Boileau's *Art Poétique*), and many others; and it had recently been perfected by Pope, who had so written that a knowledge of the original might enhance the appreciation, but should not be indispensable to it. Juvenal's *Third Satire* lent itself to imitation and had already been copied by Boileau and Oldham. The chief criticism to be urged against Johnson's poem is that it does not show Pope's art in escaping from its model. He was still timid enough to wish to show himself scholar as well as poet. When he wrote that 'falling houses thunder on your head,' or that the midnight murderer 'leaves unseen a dagger in your breast,' he thought more of Juvenal than of modern fact. The need of a parallel forces him to say, 'I cannot bear a French metropolis'; but this was not the London described in Voltaire's *Lettres Anglaises*. He himself admitted (in a manuscript note) that the description of Orgilio was 'no picture of modern manners, though it might be true at Rome.' His own opinion on the advantages of country life we shall find, not here, but in the passage on scenes of flowery felicity and the melody of the nightingale in *The Life of Savage*. His political views are more truly represented: the references to excise and pensions, as well as to patrons, anticipate the definitions in the *Dictionary*. But it is when Juvenal leads him to speak of poverty that he expresses his own feelings in his own person.

None of these objections can be urged against *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, written in imitation of Juvenal's *Tenth Satire* and published, with Johnson's name, in January 1749. There is nothing in this poem to suggest to those unacquainted with the model that it is an imitation; it is, indeed, not so much an imitation as a companion study by one who, amid different circumstances, took a very similar view of life. Instead of the Roman illustrations, we have modern instances of hopes that lay in power, and learning, and war, and long life and beauty. The pictures of Wolsey and Charles of Sweden, and the description of the lot of the scholar, are distinct studies of human ambition, each complete in itself and easily taken from its setting, but all viewed in the same light, and united by the one lesson of inevitable disappointment. The poem is completely satisfying as a statement of its theme. It is not less valuable as a personal document. There is nothing in it but what Johnson consistently thought and felt. He was wont to say that there is more to be endured than

enjoyed in the general condition of human life; and he had found that human happiness, if it ever comes, must come by our own effort. The concluding lines which he supplied many years later to Goldsmith's *Traveller* state his invariable experience. In *The Life of Savage* he had said that happiness is to be placed only in virtue, which is always to be obtained; and he had said much the same in *Irene*. But there were times when he doubted even this. 'Where then shall hope and fear their objects find?' In his simple piety, he gave himself to the earnest exercise of religion. His *Prayers*, which were made public after his death, will win the admiration alike of idle curiosity and of doubting reason. And so, with his habitual sincerity, he gave to *The Vanity of Human Wishes* a religious conclusion which reflected his own practice. He was no pessimist. The sense of vanity may keep us from thinking that things are better than they are, but it need not make us think that they are worse. He would maintain in talk that the world was not half so wicked as it was represented to be, that there was very little gross wickedness in it, and very little extraordinary virtue. This we are told explicitly by Mrs Piozzi, and we may learn it for ourselves from his writings.

Shortly before he wrote *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, he had aided Dodsley in planning *The Preceptor* (April 1748), a substantial work containing 'a general course of education,' and had contributed to it the preface and *The Vision of Theodore, the Hermit of Teneriffe*. He told Percy that he thought this fable the best thing he ever wrote. It states the part which he assigned to religion in the conduct of life, and should be read as a supplement to *The Vanity of Human Wishes*. It may, also, be regarded as a prelude to *The Rambler*.

This paper began on Tuesday, 20 March 1750, and ended, with its 208th number, on Saturday, 14 March 1752, three days before the death of Johnson's wife.

~~He~~ He that condemns himself to compose on a stated day, will often bring to his task, an attention dissipated, a memory overwhelmed, an imagination embarrassed, a mind distracted with anxieties, and a body languishing with disease.

So he wrote in the last number, reviewing his experiences.

But the paper appeared regularly every Tuesday and Saturday, though the printer might complain of the late hour of receiving the copy. The very title was chosen in haste. Johnson meant it to announce that he would pass in each essay from subject to subject. But it was not suited to his majestic deliberations. There

is nothing of the rambler in any single essay. Each pursues its way in a steady, unswerving march¹.

The conditions amid which Johnson revived the periodical essay differed widely from those amid which it originally flourished. In the interval of forty years, there had been a development of journalistic enterprise which was not paralleled in any other country. More than 150 periodicals, of one kind or another, had been meeting the needs of the reading public, and contributing to its steady growth in size and power. Some of these were on the model of *The Spectator*, while others, written with a different purpose, or planned to include a greater variety of matter, showed its influence. The periodical essay no longer offered any of the attractions of novelty. In its strict form, it was a type of journalism that was being crushed out of favour by politics and news. By 1750, *The Gentleman's Magazine* enjoyed a secure popularity, and had its rivals; and, in the previous year, *The Monthly Review* had been established. The time was not auspicious for beginning a paper devoted exclusively to meditations on matters of no immediate interest, without the assistance of any item of news, or of a single advertisement. But, in *The Rambler*, the periodical essay reasserted itself, and entered on the second of its two great decades, that of *The Rambler*, *The Adventurer*, *The World*, *The Connoisseur*, *The Idler* and *The Citizen of the World*.

The effect of *The Rambler* was the more remarkable, in that Johnson was deficient in the qualifications of a periodical writer. The maxim that 'the drama's laws the drama's patrons give' is equally true of the essay. It was not in Johnson's nature to bow to the public, however much he believed in its ultimate verdict. He spoke in his first number as if success depended on the choice of subject. But, in the treatment of his choice, he lacked the art of going to meet his readers; and they never came in great numbers. The circulation of *The Rambler* was only about 500 copies. But it raised the literary level of the periodical essay and set a standard of excellence to such papers as *The World*, whose sale was numbered in thousands.

It found a larger public on being reprinted in volume form, and came to be the only periodical of the century to vie with *The*

¹ Such slight assistance as he received is scrupulously acknowledged in the last number. Four papers were written by others: no. 80 by Mrs Catharine Talbot, nos. 44 and 100 by Mrs Elizabeth Carter, and no. 97 by Samuel Richardson; and six letters were contributed, the four in no. 10 by Hester Mulso, afterwards Mrs Chapone; the second in no. 15 and the second in no. 107, both of unknown authorship.

Spectator in popularity. Johnson revised it for the collected edition with unusual care¹. It had been his most ambitious work; and he knew that it was best suited to a leisurely perusal. Yet there is little in *The Rambler* that is now well known. Much of its literary criticism was superseded by the preface to his *Shakespeare* and by his *Lives of the Poets*. The allegories and stories have not the reputation of their models in *The Spectator*. Nor are Johnson's characters familiar as Addison's are. The explanation lies mainly in his inability to visualise. He did not number the streaks of the tulip because, in effect, he did not see them; but he remarked general properties and large appearances because he had the gift, which he assiduously developed, of viewing things in their moral aspects and human relationships. The real interest of the famous passage in *Rasselas* on the aims of the poet—a passage which, it must be remembered, leads to the humorous conclusion that 'no human being can ever be a poet'—lies in its personal basis. The best poets of his century, and the poets of all time whom he most admired, numbered the streaks when they wished. But he did not number them, because they did not enter into his experience. We do not give a face or figure to any of his characters in *The Rambler*, because he did not see either clearly himself. Polyphilus, the quick wit without purpose; Suspirius, the fault-finder; Quisquilius, the virtuoso; Venustulus, the effeminate beau—are, each of them, bundles of habits, or a predominant habit. Even Prospero, who might have been drawn from Garrick, represents only the social failings of the rich man who has risen in life. Johnson reverted to the methods of the character-studies of the seventeenth century. Addison had set out by continuing them, but he was at war with them at heart, and he adapted them to his purpose. The superiority of Addison in this respect will never be denied. But Johnson shows a deeper knowledge of human nature 'in all its gradations,' and, while he lacks the familiar elegance which alone can play with foibles and frivolities, he offers a richer harvest of deep observation.

¹ According to Alexander Chalmers, 'the alterations made by Dr Johnson in the second and third editions of *The Rambler* far exceed six thousand.' Cf. Drake, Nathan, *Essays illustrative of the Rambler*, 1809, vol. 1, pp. 273—280. Johnson created an impression that his care for his works ceased at their publication; but, to adopt his phrase about Pope, his parental fondness did not immediately abandon them. Boswell says that, in 1781, Johnson had not looked at *Rasselas* since it was first published; but he does not add that a comparison of the editions of 1759 and 1788 shows a considerable number of alterations. The poems were revised: James Boswell the younger transcribed into his copy of the edition of 1789 the 'notes and various readings' in 'Johnson's own handwriting on a copy of the fifth edition' of *London*.

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And Johnson had not the desire, even had he possessed the ability, to disguise his purpose. Addison, too, had been frankly didactic; he had said that he meant to bring philosophy to dwell on tea-tables and in coffeehouses. But he kept his readers from suspecting that they were being taught or reformed. Johnson's lessons are obvious. His aim was 'only the propagation of truth'; it was always his 'principal design to inculcate wisdom or piety.' The great moralist lavishes the best instruction he can offer, the instruction of a man of the world who knows what the world cannot give; but he does not offer it in a way to attract unwilling attention. He recognised this himself and admitted that 'the severity of dictatorial instruction has been too seldom relieved.' His deep humour is present throughout, and is occasionally given scope, as in the essay on the advantages of living in a garret; but it is always controlled by the serious purpose.

In concluding *The Rambler*, he stated that he had laboured 'to refine our language to grammatical purity, and to clear it from colloquial barbarisms, licentious idioms, and irregular combinations.' At this time he was in the midst of a similar and greater task in his *Dictionary of the English Language*. Most of the earlier English dictionaries, to the beginning of the eighteenth century, had been dictionaries of 'hard words.' Then, Nathan Bailey, in his *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721), had aimed at a record of all English words, irrespective of their *vogue* or *repute*. Johnson purposely omitted 'many terms appropriated to particular occupations,' and thought not so much of the reader as of the writer and the purity of the language. His *Plan* clearly states his objects, and it is cleverly supplemented in Chesterfield's two papers in *The World*¹. He set out to perform, singlehanded, for the English language what the French Academy, a century before, had undertaken for French². It was to be 'a dictionary by which the pronunciation of our language may be fixed, and its attainment facilitated; by which its purity may be preserved, its use ascertained, and its duration lengthened.' So Johnson hoped; and Chesterfield was ready to acknowledge him as a dictator who would free the language from its anarchy. But,

¹ Nos. 100, 101.

² Cf. the verses in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1755, ending

And Johnson, well arm'd, like a hero of yore,
Has beat forty French, and will beat forty more.

Cf., also, the review in *Maty's Journal Britannique*, 1755, xvii, p. 219: *Mr Johnson peut se glorifier...d'être en quelque sorte une Académie pour son île*. Adam Smith reviewed the *Dictionary* in the first number of *The Edinburgh Review* of 1755—4.

when he came to write the preface, he had found that 'no dictionary of a living tongue can ever be perfect, since, while, it is hastening to publication, some words are budding, and some falling away.' None the less, the mistaken hope gave the *Dictionary* its peculiar value. By aiming at fixing the language, he succeeded in giving the standard of reputable use.

Though there are many words in Bailey's dictionary which Johnson omitted, a hasty comparison will show that he added a large number. He held that the golden age of our language began with the reign of Elizabeth, and that the writers in the century before the restoration were 'the pure sources of genuine diction.' As his earliest authorities, he chose Sidney and Spenser. When he avowedly included obsolete words, they were to be found in wellknown authors, or appeared to deserve revival. 'Cant words,' as he called them, were occasionally admitted, because of their *vogue*; others were described as 'low.' But the most interesting departure from the rigid exclusiveness of an academic dictionary is his treatment of dialect. There is a much larger infusion of provincialisms than might have been expected. The great majority of these are Scottish, no doubt because five of his six amanuenses, as Boswell has proudly recorded, were 'natives of North Britain'; but he was also affectionately disposed to words with which he had been familiar in his native county. With all his care for current reputable use, he had too great respect for the native stock to ignore its humbler members, and his selection and description of these have a clear historical value. His main fear for the language was that it would be corrupted by French. It seemed to him to have been, since the restoration, 'deviating towards a Gallick structure and phraseology,' and to be threatening to 'reduce us to babble a dialect of France.' So he set himself to denounce 'the folly of naturalising useless foreigners to the injury of the natives.' It was no vain boast that the book was devoted to the honour of his country. 'We have long preserved our constitution, let us make some struggles for our language.'

It appears from Spence's *Anecdotes* that Pope had discussed the plan of a dictionary, and had drawn up a list of authors, beginning with Hooker and Spenser, from whom words should be collected. The list is referred to in Johnson's *Plan*; and in terms which suggest a closer relationship than is now known to have existed. But there is nothing to show that Pope had favoured the inclusion of quotations. This was Johnson's most notable innovation in English lexicography. He had hoped that every quotation

would serve a further purpose than that of illustrating the use of a word; but he found, as he proceeded, that he had to abandon the idea of combining a dictionary with an anthology. The quotations were frequently from memory and are seldom accompanied with exact references; but, considering the slightness of the assistance which he received, they supply a remarkable proof of the range of his knowledge, and they have a different kind of interest from those in other dictionaries, which, based on more scientific principles, record the use of a word with no attention to the quality of the writer. But the chief worth of the *Dictionary* lies where it should. Johnson had a supreme talent for definition. When it is remembered that the definitions are his own, that he was the first to attempt a thorough distinction of the different meanings (such words as *come* and *go* being each subdivided into more than fifty sections), and that the highest praises he has received have been paid by his successors, the extent of his services to the survey of the language will readily be estimated. The few explanations in which he gave play to his prejudice or indulged his humour were only a remission of the continued exercise of his keen and muscular intellect. Occasionally, he obscured a simple meaning; and no better statement is to be found than in his preface, of the difficulties of defining the obvious. He had, like everyone in his century, little etymological knowledge to help him. But his common sense often kept him right in giving the original meaning of a word and distinguishing its later uses, where his successors, previously to the much later advance in philological science, by aiming at refinement introduced confusion and error¹.

The publication of the *Dictionary* in eight years was a remarkable achievement of industry, and the more remarkable in that he had been doing much other work. Apart from his duties to his own *Rambler*, he held himself ready to assist his friends. He contributed a paper about once a fortnight, from March 1753, to Hawkesworth's *Adventurer*. He helped Lauder, unsuspectingly, with a preface and postscript to his Miltonic hoax, and dictated his confession (1750—1); and he wrote the dedication for Mrs Lennox's *Female Quixote* (1752) and *Shakespeare Illustrated* (1753). He contributed the life of Cheynel to *The Student* (1751), and the life of Cave to *The Gentleman's Magazine*

¹ There were four editions of the *Dictionary* in folio during Johnson's lifetime. The first of them, 'revised by the author,' appeared in 1773. But Bailey's continued to hold the market. It was the popular English dictionary of the eighteenth century.

(1754). He composed Zachariah Williams's *Account of an Attempt to ascertain the Longitude at Sea* (1755). And he furnished the *Dictionary* with a 'History of the English Language' and a 'Grammar of the English Tongue,' including a section on prosody, as well as with its noble preface. And all this had been accomplished 'amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow.' He had so great a capacity for work, and when he had once started moved with so much ease, that he did not recognise his rapidity to be uncommon. The extreme concentration compelled periods of relaxation which he allowed to weigh on his conscience. He, too, was subject to the common delusion that his best was his normal. As he was, in all matters, a man of the most sensitive morality, it became a habit with him to be distressed at his idleness; and it has become a habit with us to speak of his constitutional indolence. He certainly had to make an effort to begin. But to the activity of the eight years from his thirty-eighth to his forty-sixth, it is not easy to find a parallel¹.

The *Dictionary* has the accidental interest of having occasioned the letter to the earl of Chesterfield, which is sometimes said to have given the death-blow to literary patronage. Though always an object of curiosity, the letter was first made public by Boswell in 1790. In refusing to dedicate the *Dictionary*, Johnson adhered to his regular practice, from which only motives of business had suggested a departure. The *Plan* was a letter 'addressed' to Chesterfield. Only once had he dedicated a work of his own—*The Voyage to Abyssinia*, and that was dedicated in the person of the Birmingham bookseller. But, though he made a rule for himself, he did not condemn the custom. He accepted dedications, and he continued to supply other writers with theirs. He told Boswell that he 'believed he had dedicated to all the Royal family round.' He excelled in dedications.

His next scheme was a journal that should record the progress of European studies, and he planned it while the zest that came from completing the *Dictionary* concealed how far he had drawn on his energies. Such periodicals as *The Present State of the Republic of Letters* (1728—36) and *The History of the Works of the Learned* (1737—43) had now long ceased, after having shown, at most, the possibility of success; and, since 1749, their place had been taken by *The Monthly Review*, of which, in its early years,

¹ The second volume, L—Z, was begun on 8 April 1758, and the printing was finished by March 1755. The introductory matter to vol. I also belongs to these two years.

Johnson had no reason to think highly. He now intended an English periodical that would rival those of Le Clerc and Bayle. But this scheme for 'the Annals of Literature, foreign as well as domestic,' was to yield to an older project. In June 1756, he issued new *Proposals* for an edition of Shakespeare, and he hoped to have the work completed by the end of the following year. The long strain, however, had begun to tell. He had difficulty in facing any continuous work, and he suffered gravely from the mental depression to which he was always liable. He has described his unhappy condition in his Latin verses entitled *Γνώθι σεαυτὸν post Lexicon Anglicanum auctum et emendatum*, which give a more intimate account of his feelings than he ever allowed himself in the publicity of English; and stronger evidence is to be found in his prayers, and in the reports of his friends. It was now that he confirmed himself in the habit of seeking relief in company, and, by encouraging the calls of anyone who wished for his help, established his personal authority in literature. Only the need of money made him write, and none of his work at this time required long effort. He brought out an abridgment of his *Dictionary* (January 1756), but he probably had assistance in this mechanical labour. Having abandoned the idea of a critical periodical of his own, he contributed to the early numbers of Kit Smart's *Universal Visiter* (1756), and then undertook the control of *The Literary Magazine* (May 1756—7). Here, he made his famous defence of tea; and, here, he exposed the shallow optimism of Soame Jenyns's *Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil*, in an essay which, written with the convincing ease that had come from the experience of much painful thought, is an unsurpassed example of his method and power in argument. Another piece of journalistic work, at this time, was the introductory column of Dodsley's evening paper, *The London Chronicle* (1 January 1757), which was to be distinguished from all other journals, probably on his advice, by its 'account of the labours and productions of the learned.' He also helped his friends with their books. He wrote a life of Sir Thomas Browne, with a criticism of Browne's style, for his own edition of *Christian Morals* (1756). With it may be grouped the later life of Ascham in the edition of Ascham's works nominally prepared by James Bennet (1761). The variety of his writings for some years after the completion of his *Dictionary* helps to explain how he found his memory unequal to producing a perfect catalogue of his works¹.

¹ *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Johnson* (1785), p. 38.

His assistance was, once again, sought to give weight and dignity to a new periodical, and the starting of *The Universal Chronicle, or Weekly Gazette* was the occasion of his second series of essays, *The Idler*. They began 15 April 1758, and appeared every Saturday till 5 April 1760. The fact that *The Idler* was not an independent publication, but merely a section of a journal, will account for most of the differences between it and the *Rambler*. The papers are much shorter and do not show the same sense of sole responsibility. In one respect, however, they have a clear superiority. Their lighter touch is better suited to portraiture. Dick Minim the critic, Johnson's only character that may still be said to live, is a perfect example of his art at its best; nor can there be any difference of opinion about the shorter sketches of Jack Whirlur and Tom Restless, or of Mr Sober, in which the author represented himself. That the characters should no longer bear Latin names indicates a wider change. The critical papers also show the growth of ease and confidence. There is an obvious interest in those on 'Hard Words,' 'Easy Writing' and 'The Sufficiency of the English Language.'

While *The Idler* was in progress, Johnson's mother died, and her death was the occasion both of his paper on the loss of a friend¹ and of his solemn novel on the choice of life, *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (April 1759)². No work of his has been more frequently translated or is better known by name; but none has met with more contradictory judgments, or is a stricter test of the reader's capacity to appreciate the peculiar qualities of Johnson's thought and manner. There is little or no story, no crisis, no conclusion; there is little more than a succession of discussions and disquisitions on the limitations of life. *Rasselas* may be called the prose *Vanity of Human Wishes*; and it is the fullest, gravest and most intimate statement of his common theme.

It has been said that Addison would have written a novel, could he have cast the Coverly papers in a different form. Johnson proposed to write a novel, and produced an expanded essay. There are five 'oriental tales' in *The Rambler*, and three were yet to appear in *The Idler*. They suited his purpose in their vagueness of background and their free scope for didactic fancies. *Rasselas* is another of these tales, elaborated to enforce his lesson by a greater

¹ No. 41.

² In all the editions published during Johnson's lifetime the title was simply *The Prince of Abissinia, a Tale*. He had thought of calling it *The Choice of Life* (see his letter of 20 January 1759).

range of observation. The first requirement of the story was a happy valley. Older writers would have placed it in Arcadia; Johnson takes us to the same undiscovered country, but calls it Abyssinia. He had not forgotten his early translation. The name 'Rasselas' was suggested by it, and other instances of recollection are equally certain. There were 'impassable forests and inaccessible cliffs' in the real Abyssinia¹, and why not a happy valley behind them? But one of the attractions of Lobo's narrative had been that the reader found in it no regions blessed with spontaneous fecundity or unceasing sunshine. Johnson knew, quite as well as the critics who stumble at local and ethnographical discrepancies, that there is no happy valley; but he asked its existence to be granted as a setting for a tale which would show that 'human life is every where a state in which much is to be endured, and little to be enjoyed.' The gloom is heavy, but, to those who can appreciate Johnson, it is never depressing. He had cleared his mind of cant, and he wrote to give his readers the strength that comes from the honesty of looking straight at things as they are. He pursues his way relentlessly through the different conditions that seem to offer happiness openhanded, and works to a climax in the story of the astronomer; 'Few can attain this man's knowledge, and few practise his virtues, but all may suffer his calamity. Of the uncertainties of our present state, the most dreadful and alarming is the uncertain continuance of reason.' This is one of the many passages which emphasise his perfect sincerity. The book ends in resignation to the futility of searching for happiness, and in resolution to pursue life as it is found. Stated in these words, the lesson may appear a commonplace. But so are the real things of human experience. And never was the lesson stated with more sympathetic knowledge, and enlivened with a greater wealth of aphoristic wisdom.

Meanwhile, the edition of Shakespeare was at a stand. Some of the plays—evidently, those in the first volume—had been printed by March 1758; but, during the next four years, there was no sign of progress. In addition to *The Idler* and *Rasselas* Johnson had been writing dedications, prefaces, introductions and reviews, engaging in unsuccessful controversy on the structure of the new bridge at Blackfriars, and helping to lay the Cock lane ghost. The discontent of his subscribers, roughly expressed in Churchill's *Ghost* (1762), at last roused him to complete his work;

¹ *Voyage to Abyssinia* (1765), p. 105. For other recollections in the first chapter of *Rasselas* cf. *ibid.* pp. 97, 102, 204 and 259.

and the financial ease that had come with his pension of £300 (1762) gave him what time he needed. The edition was published, in eight volumes, in October 1765¹.

There was nothing new in Johnson's methods as an editor. He aimed only at doing better what had been done already, and produced an edition of the old fashion at a time when the science of Shakespearean editing was about to make a distinct advance². But he had qualifications sometimes wanting in editors with more painful habits or more ostentatious equipment—a good knowledge of Elizabethan English, and imperturbable common sense. Like almost every text of Shakespeare that had yet appeared, or was to appear till our own day, it was based on the text of the most recent edition. What he sent to the printer was Warburton's text revised. But he worked on the 'settled principle that the reading of the ancient books is probably true,' and learned to distrust conjecture. His collation was never methodical; his weak eyesight was a serious hindrance to an exacting task. But he restored many of the readings of the first folio, and, carrying on the system of combination that had been started by Pope, was the first to detect and admit many of the readings of the quartos. He produced a text which, with all its shortcomings, was nearer the originals than any that had yet appeared. Some of his emendations, which are always modest and occasionally minute, find an unsuspected place in our modern editions. Though his text has long been superseded, the advance of scholarship will never impair the value of his notes. It was a proud boast that not a single passage in the whole work had appeared to him corrupt which he had not endeavoured to restore, or obscure which he had not endeavoured to illustrate; and it did not go beyond the truth. No edition, within its limits, is a safer guide to Shakespeare's meaning. The student who searches the commentators for help in difficulties, soon learns to go straight to Johnson's note as the firm land of common sense in a sea of ingenious fancies. The same robust honesty gives the preface a place by itself among critical pronouncements on Shakespeare. He did not hesitate to state what he believed to be Shakespeare's faults. Yet Shakespeare remained to him the greatest of English authors, and the only author worthy to be ranked with Homer. He, also, vindicated the liberties of the

¹ New facts about Johnson's receipts for his edition of Shakespeare are given in the *Bi-Centenary Festival Reports*, pp. 29—32. From the original agreement with Tonson, it would appear that Johnson received a much larger sum than was stated by Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v, p. 597.

² Cf. *ante*, vol. v, pp. 278 ff.

English stage. After conforming to the 'unities' in his own *Irene*, and then suggesting his doubts of them in *The Rambler*, he now proved that they are 'not essential to a just drama.' The guiding rule in his criticism was that 'there is always an appeal open from criticism to nature.' A generation later, the French 'romantics' found their case stated in his preface, and they did not better what they borrowed¹.

Hereafter, Johnson did not, on his own initiative, undertake any other large work. 'Composition is, for the most part,' he said, 'an effort of slow diligence and steady perseverance, to which the mind is dragged by necessity or resolution.' His pension had removed the necessity, and, for the next twelve years, his best work lay in talk. In 1763, he met Boswell; in 1764, he founded with Reynolds 'The Club'—not known till long after as 'The Literary Club'; in 1765, he gained the friendship of the Thrales. Companionship and elegant comforts provided the relief that was still needed to his recurring depressions. He wrote little, but he engaged in personal kindnesses, and talked his best, and exerted an influence which spread far beyond the circle of his conversation. He was still, as at all times, ready to contribute to the publications of his friends, and even dictated the arguments in some of Boswell's law cases; but he did not undertake any writing that required resolution or has added to his fame. His four political tracts—*The False Alarm* (1770), *Falkland's Islands* (1771), *The Patriot* (1774) and *Taxation no Tyranny* (1775)—are known, so far as they are known, because he was their author. Since his early work on the debates in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, he had always taken a keen interest in politics. Most of his essays in *The Literary Magazine* had been on political topics. Towards the end of 1765, he had undertaken to supply 'single-speech' Hamilton with his views on questions that were being discussed in parliament, and had written for him, in November 1766, *Considerations on the Corn Laws*². But now, he wrote as a pamphleteer. The most judicious of the four tracts is *Falkland's Islands*, which makes a just defence of the policy

¹ Johnson's examination of the 'unities' is translated word for word in Beyle, Henri, *Racine et Shakespeare* (1822). See *Johnson on Shakespeare* by Raleigh, Sir Walter (1908), and *Stendhal et l'Angleterre*, by Gunnell, Doris (1909).

² This was first published by Malone as an appendix to his edition of Hamilton's *Parliamentary Logick* (1808). Malone points out Boswell's error in deducing from the prayer entitled 'Engaging in Politics with H—n' that Johnson was 'seized with a temporary fit of ambition' and thought of 'becoming a politician.' See, also, *Boswell*, ed. Hill, G. B. vol. 1, pp. 518—20.

towards Spain and is notable for its picture of the horrors of war and for its reference to Junius. The best thing in *The False Alarm*, his thoughts on the present discontents, is the satirical picture of the progress of a petition. In *Taxation no Tyranny*, his 'answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress,' he asks 'how is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?'

The prejudice in *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* is of a different kind, and never displeasing. It is only the natural prejudice of John Bull as a tourist. He makes many acute observations which even the most perfervid Scot must have recognised to be just; but his impartiality is occasionally impeded by a want of knowledge which he himself was the first to admit. He had been conducted round Scotland by Boswell from August to November 1773, and the book—which was published in January 1775—is not so much a record of the ninety-four days of 'vigorous exertion' as a series of thoughts on a different civilisation. It had a different purpose from that of Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* (1771), which Johnson praised highly. He had taken the opportunity of enquiring into the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, and convinced himself that 'they never existed in any other form than that which we have seen.' This is the best known section of his book; but the reader may find more interest in the remarks on the superstitions of the Highlands, on American emigration and on the Scottish universities. In July and August 1774, he made a tour in north Wales with his friends the Thrales, and kept a diary which might have served as the groundwork of a companion volume to his *Scottish Journey*; but he did not make any use of it, and it remained in MS till 1816. The beauty of the Welsh scenery had greatly impressed him, and this diary must not be neglected in any estimate of his feeling for wild landscape. The fragmentary records of his tour in France with the Thrales in 1775 were left to be printed by Boswell. Johnson was content to pass the rest of his days in leisure, working only as the mood prompted, when, on Easter Eve 1777, a deputation of booksellers asked him to undertake, at the age of sixty-seven, what was to prove his masterpiece.

The Lives of the Poets arose out of a business venture. The London booksellers were anxious to drive out of the market an Edinburgh reprint of the English poets and to protect their own copyright; and, besides producing an edition superior in accuracy and elegance, they determined to add biographical prefaces by some writer of authority. The scheme took some time to mature, and

Percival Stockdale¹ had hopes of the editorship. But Johnson was given the first offer and at once accepted. Writing to Boswell, on 3 May 1777, he says he is engaged 'to write little Lives and little Prefaces, to a little edition of the English Poets.' The work proved so congenial that he wrote at greater length than he had intended; and, when the edition was completed, the prefaces were issued without the texts under the title *The Lives of the Poets* (1781). Their independent publication, and the title by which they are now known, were alike afterthoughts; in origin, *The Lives of the Poets* is only editorial matter. It is even more important to remember that this great body of critical opinion—perhaps the greatest in the English language—was written on invitation and in conformity with conditions controlled by others. When he found the complete series labelled 'Johnson's Poets,' he was moved to write on a scrap of paper which has happily been preserved: 'It is great impudence to put Johnson's Poets on the back of books which Johnson neither recommended nor revised.' Of the fifty-two poets, five, at most, were included on his suggestion. In the life of Watts, he says that the readers of the collection are to impute to him whatever pleasure or weariness they may find in the perusal of Blackmore, Watts, Pomfret and Yalden; but it would also appear from the letter to Boswell cited above that he 'persuaded the booksellers to insert something of Thomson.' There is no evidence that he advised any omission. For only one of the fifty-two lives was he indebted to another hand—the life of Young by Sir Herbert Croft. He included his early life of Savage, with insignificant changes, and worked up his article on Roscommon in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1748. The other lives he now wrote specially for the booksellers, availing himself here and there of what he had written already, such as the 'Dissertation on Pope's Epitaphs' in *The Universal Visiter* (1756), and the character of Collins in Fawkes and Woty's *Poetical Calendar* (1763).

The original plan had evidently been to include 'all the English poets of reputation from Chaucer to the present day.' It is no matter for regret that this scheme was curtailed. The poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, besides affording him ample scope for expounding his views on poetry, possessed for him the personal interest which was always a stimulus to his criticism. But, even could he be shown to have recommended Cowley as the starting point, it would be an error to infer that this was the limit to his knowledge and appreciation. Such an

¹ *Memoirs* (1809), vol. II, pp. 198—7.

inference would neglect his preface to Shakespeare, his work on the Elizabethans for the *Dictionary* and his statement in *The Idler*¹ that 'we consider the whole succession from Spenser to Pope as superior to any names which the Continent can boast.' Of the earlier writers, he had not the knowledge possessed by Thomas Warton and other of his friends. But he wrote on Ascham, and corresponded on the manuscripts of Sir Thomas More, and devoted to him a considerable section of the introductory matter of his *Dictionary*; and he was always alert to any investigation, whether in modern English, or Old English, or northern antiquities. His comprehensive knowledge of English literature may be described as beginning with the reign of Henry VIII. In an interview with George III, he was enjoined to add Spenser to *The Lives of the Poets*; and he would readily have complied, could he have obtained new material².

In the earlier interview which Boswell has recorded, many years before *The Lives of the Poets* was thought of, George III proposed that Johnson should undertake the literary biography of his country. It was a happy courtesy, for, though there had been good lives of individual poets since Sprat's *Life of Cowley*, the collections that had yet appeared had shown that much remained to be accomplished, and Johnson was specially fitted to write the lives of authors. Even had he not said so, we should have suspected that the biographical part of literature was what he loved most. The best of these collections had been *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland* (1753), nominally by 'Mr Cibber' (Theophilus), but really by Robert Shiels³, *The Royal and Noble Authors* (1758), of Horace Walpole, which is a 'catalogue,' and the literary articles in the very unequal *Biographia Britannica*⁴. It was left to Johnson to impart a sustained excellence to this kind of writing, and, by engaging in what had not yet occupied an author of his authority, to raise it to a new level as an English literary form.

The most obvious features of *The Lives of the Poets* is the equipoise of biography and criticism. Johnson states the facts simply, but connects them with his impression of the writer, and,

¹ No. 91.

² This interview appears to have been unknown to Boswell. The authority for it is a sentence in the *Memoirs of Hannah More* (1834, vol. i, p. 174), and an obvious allusion in the conversation with John Nichols given towards the end of Boswell's *Life*.

³ The evidence on the authorship is given in Sir Walter Raleigh's *Six Essays on Johnson* (1910), pp. 120—5, note.

⁴ Johnson was asked to undertake the second edition of this work and regretted his refusal. See Boswell, ed. Hill, G. B. vol. iii, p. 174.

when he passes to the examination of poems, he is still thinking of their relation to the writer's personality. He finds the man behind the work. The truth is that he was much more interested in the man than in that part of him which is the author. Of 'mere poets,' he thought little; and, though he championed the dignity of authorship, he claimed for it no exclusive privileges, nor held that the poet was a man apart to be measured by standards inapplicable to other men. If the enduring freshness of *The Lives of the Poets* is due to any one quality more than to another, it is to Johnson's inexhaustible interest in the varieties of human nature. As detailed biographies, they have been superseded, though they remain our only authority for many facts and anecdotes, and include much that had been inaccessible. He made researches; but they were limited to his immediate needs. It is often easy to trace the sources of his information. He criticised Congreve's plays without having read them for many years, and he refused for a time to hear Lord Marchmont's recollections of Pope. Though, in general, he welcomed new details, his aim was to know enough to describe the man and to bring out his individuality in the estimate of his work.

The common result of this method in criticism is that the critic is at his best when he is in sympathy with the writer. Johnson meant to be scrupulously judicial; but he showed personal feelings. He disliked the acrimonious politics of Milton, the querulous sensitiveness of Swift and the timid foppery of Gray. This personal antipathy underlies his criticisms, though it is qualified, at times, even generously. Had Gray written often as in the *Elegy*, he says 'it had been vain to blame and useless to praise him'; and *Paradise Lost* 'is not the greatest of heroic poems only because it is not the first.' Of Dryden and Pope he wrote in friendship, and there exists no finer criticism of them. But no critic has been severer on Dryden's negligences, or spoken more ruthlessly of the *Essay on Man*.

The passage on *Lycidas* is generally regarded as an error of judgment which marks Johnson's limitations as a critic. With his usual courage, he stated a deliberate opinion. He gave his reasons—the artificiality of the pastoral convention, the confusion of the allegory with actual fact and sacred truth, and the absence of the feeling of real sorrow. But there is the further explanation that he was opposed to some recent tendencies in English poetry. That he had more than *Lycidas* in his mind is shown by the emphasis of his statement. The same ideas

reappear in his criticism of Collins and Gray. He objected to the habit of inverting the common order of words, and, on one occasion, cited Thomas Warton's 'evening gray'; he might also have cited 'mantle blue.' It was Warton who occasioned his extempore verses beginning—

Whereso'er I turn my view,
All is strange, yet nothing new;

and Warton imitated, as well as edited, the early poems of Milton. Warton was one of many in whom he found faults which he traced to Milton as their original. In criticising *Lycidas*, he had in mind his own contemporaries. When the new tendencies had prevailed, he was said to have judged by a rigorous code of criticism. This code would have been difficult to reconcile with the preface to his edition of Shakespeare; with the praise given by him to Homer's heroes, that they are not described but develop themselves¹; with his statement that 'real criticism' shows 'the beauty of thought as formed on the workings of the human heart²'; and with his condemnation of 'the cant of those who judge by principles rather than perception³.'

His views on the matter of poetry are shown in his criticism of Gray's *Bard*: 'To select a singular event, and swell it to a giant's bulk by fabulous appendages of spectres and predictions, has little difficulty, for he that forsakes the probable may always find the marvellous.' The common growth of mother earth sufficed for him as for Wordsworth. The distinction which he draws between the *Elegy* and *The Bard* was that which ultimately divided Wordsworth and Coleridge. There was enough for him in life as he knew it. And there was a personal reason why, more than the other great writers of his century, he should tend to limit nature to human experience. The tumult in his mind was allowed no direct expression in his writings; but it made him look upon the world as the battle ground of thought, and passion, and will.

With the revision of *The Lives of the Poets*, Johnson's career as an author closed. In the three years of failing health which were left to him, he lived his accustomed life, honoured for the authority of his opinion, generous in his help to younger writers, and active in domestic benevolence. He revised Crabbe's *Village*, and dictated much to Boswell. Death removed some who had played a great part in his later life—Thrale, whose house at Streatham had been a second home, and two of the pensioners in

¹ Boswell, ed. Hill, G. B. vol. v, p. 79^o

² *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 88.

³ *Life of Pope.*

his own house at Bolt-court, Levett and Mrs Williams. The tribute to Levett, noble in its restrained emotion, is the most tender of his poems. The sadness of loss was embittered by Mrs Thrale's marriage to Piozzi and the irreparable break in the long and happy friendship. He had so far recovered from a paralytic seizure as to be able, at the close of 1783, to found the Essex-Head club. By its ease of access, the old man sought to supply the need of new company. He dined at The Club, for the last time, in June 1784. Next month, he set out for his native city, and returned by Birmingham and Oxford, the cities of his youth. His health had not found any relief, and, when he reached London in November, was rapidly declining. He died 13 December, and, on the 20th, was buried in Westminster abbey. Shortly before his death, he had destroyed his papers.

His long career had been uniform in its aim and methods, and the distinctions between his earlier and later writings are those which come from experience and confidence. The author of the preface to *A Voyage to Abyssinia* is unmistakably the author of *The Rambler* and *The Lives of the Poets*, with the same tastes and habits of thought, but younger, with a shorter reach and less precision in his skill. There had been no discipleship, and no time of searching where his strength lay; and no new influences had modified his purpose. The changes to be found in his work of forty-five years are those of a natural and undisturbed development, so steady that its stages cannot be minutely marked by us, and were probably imperceptible to himself. As he grew older, he related all art more and more to life. Though careful to give his thoughts their best expression, and severe on improprieties in others, he became impatient of mere proficiency in technique; and, though a scholar, he recognised the insufficiency of scholarship and the barrenness of academic pursuits. He had the 'purposes of life' ever and increasingly before him, and his criticisms of the English poets are the richest of his works in worldly wisdom.

At the same time, his style became more easy. The Latin element is at its greatest in *The Rambler*. He was then engaged on his *Dictionary*. But he always tended to use long words most when he wrote in haste; and his revision was towards simplicity¹. He used them in conversation, where alone he allowed himself the liberty of a daring coinage. They were in no sense an

¹ See, in addition to the alterations in *The Rambler*, the corrections in *The Lives of the Poets* as given in Boswell's lists.

embroidery, but part of the very texture of his thought. 'Difference of thoughts,' he said, 'will produce difference of language. He that thinks with more extent than another will want words of larger meaning; he that thinks with subtlety will seek for terms of more nice discrimination¹.' As we read him and accustom our minds to move with his, we cease to notice the diction. The strength of his thought carries the weight of his words. His meaning is never mistaken, though it may not be fully grasped at a glance; for he puts much in small compass, and the precision of his language requires careful reading for its just appreciation. 'Familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious'; 'vanity produced a grotto where necessity enforced a passage'—could the thought be put more pointedly, or adequately, or shortly? When Latin diction cannot be changed without loss, or without affecting the tenor of the thought, it has made good its right. His humour and irony found an aid in the dignified phraseology. But he also used simple words. Wit is 'that which he that never found it wonders how he missed'; 'what he does best he soon ceases to do'; 'a rage for saying something when there is nothing to be said'—these, also, are typical of his style. The letter to Chesterfield reaches its climax in the homeliest of English: 'till I am known, and do not want it.'

His parodists have been peculiarly unsuccessful. We lose their meaning in a jumble of pedantries; and we do not lose Johnson's. They inflate their phraseology; but Johnson is not tumid. And they forget that his balance is a balance of thought. His own explanation still holds good: 'the imitators of my style have not hit it. Miss Aikin has done it the best; for she has imitated the sentiment as well as the diction.' This was said in 1777. But better than Miss Aikin's essay 'On Romances'² in the style of *The Rambler*, and the best of all the parodies, is *A Criticism on the Elegy written in a Country Church-yard* (1783), composed by John Young, the versatile professor of Greek at Glasgow, and designed as a continuation of *The Life of Gray*. The long list of his serious imitators begins with Hawkesworth and extends to Jeffrey³, who started by training himself in the school of the periodical essayists. Others, who did not take him as a model, profited by the example of a style in which nothing is negligent and nothing superfluous. He was the dominating influence in

¹ *Idler*, no. 70.

² *Miscellaneous Pieces, in Prose*, by J. Aikin and A. L. Aikin (Mrs Barbauld), 1778.

³ See Cockburn, *Life of Jeffrey*, vol. 1, pp. 81 etc.

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English prose throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. The lesson of discipline required to be taught, and it was learned from him by many whose best work shows no traces of his manner.

His death, says Murphy, 'kept the public mind in agitation beyond all former example. No literary character ever excited so much attention.' Collections of stories about him had begun to appear in his lifetime, and now his friends competed in serious biography. When Mrs Piozzi wrote her account, she had heard of nine others already written or in preparation. Her *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson* (1786) has a place by itself. It preserves much that would have been lost; but its importance lies chiefly in its picture of Johnson's character, and in its illustration of the qualities by which he was attracted. She writes with amiable pride in the ties that bound him to the hospitality of Streatham, and with an honest effort to rise above their quarrel. If her detractors can find evidence of artfulness, no one can deny the clearness of her vision; and, if, at times, her little vanities prevented her from seeing the true bearing of Johnson's remarks, she must, at least, be admitted to have been happy in the selection of what she has recorded. There is no work of the same size as her *Anecdotes* that gives a better portrait of Johnson. In strong contrast is the *Life* (1787) by Sir John Hawkins. It is the solid book of an 'unclubbable' magistrate and antiquary, who has much knowledge and little intuition. He had known Johnson for over forty years and, on many points, is our chief authority. Much of the value of his book lies in the lengthy digressions on contemporary literature. His lack of sympathy made him unsuited for biography; but we are under a debt to him for the facts which he threw together.

The merits of Mrs Piozzi and Hawkins were united and augmented by Boswell. He had been collecting material since his first interview in 1763. He had told Johnson his purpose by 1772, and he had spoken definitely of his *Life* in a letter of 1775. After Johnson's death, he set to work in earnest and spared himself no trouble.

'You cannot imagine,' he wrote in 1789, 'what labour, what perplexity, what vexation I have endured in arranging a prodigious multiplicity of materials, in supplying omissions, in searching for papers buried in different masses, and all this besides the exertion of composing and polishing: many a time have I thought of giving it up.'

But he was confident in the result. It was to be not merely the best biography of Johnson, but the best biography ever written.

‘I am absolutely certain,’ he said, ‘that my mode of biography, which gives not only a *History* of Johnson’s *visible* progress through the world, and of his publications, but a *view* of his mind in his letters and conversations, is the most perfect that can be conceived, and will be more of a Life than any work that has ever yet appeared.’

When the book at last came out, in May 1791, the same confidence was expressed in the opening paragraphs. There, he admits that the idea of interspersing letters had been taken from Mason’s life of Gray. He had made a careful study of the art of biography; and the *Anecdotes* of Mrs Piozzi, which had shown the necessity of a careful handling of intimate material, and the facts of Hawkins, which had proved the inadequacy of simple narrative, had reassured him that he was engaged on the real life of his friend.

Johnson owes much to Boswell; but it was Johnson who gave us Boswell. His life is the story of failure turned to success by an irresistible devotion. He had always been attracted by whatever won the public attention, partly from scientific curiosity, as when he visited Mrs Rudd, and partly with a view to his own advancement. In the first of his letters, he says that Hume ‘is a very proper person for a young man to cultivate an acquaintance with.’ He comes to know Wilkes, but doubts ‘if it would be proper to keep a correspondence with a gentleman in his present capacity.’ The chief pleasure that he foresaw in his continental tour was his meeting with Voltaire and Rousseau. Then, he proceeded to Corsica and became the friend and enthusiastic champion of Paoli. Having received a communication on Corsican affairs from the earl of Chatham, he asks: ‘Could your lordship find time to honour me now and then with a letter?’ Again, he is found thinking of a life of lord Kames and satisfying himself that ‘he has eminence enough to merit this.’ There was cause for the sturdy laird of Auchinleck to complain, according to Sir Walter Scott’s anecdote, that his irresponsible son was always pinning himself to the tail of somebody or other. But, of all his heroes, Johnson alone brought out the best qualities in his volatile character, and steadied him to the worthy use of his rare gifts. When Johnson is absent, his writings possess no remarkable merit, though they have always the interest of being the pellucid expression of his singular personality. The *Life* is the devoted and flawless recognition of an influence which he knew that his nature had required.

Born at Edinburgh in 1740, the son of a Scottish advocate who

took his title as a judge from his ancient estate of Auchinleck in Ayrshire, Boswell reluctantly adopted the family profession of law, and, after studying at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Utrecht, was called to the Scottish bar in 1766. His heart was never in a legal career, and, to the last, he had a fond belief in sudden and splendid success in literature or politics. His earliest work appeared in *The Scots Magazine*, but has not been identified. He wrote much verse and published *An Elegy on the death of an amiable young lady* (1761), *An Ode to Tragedy*, dedicated to himself (1761), and *The Cub at Newmarket*, a humorous description of his experiences as the guest of the Jockey club (1762). Several of his earliest pieces are printed in *A Collection of Original Poems, by the Rev. Mr Blacklock and other Scotch Gentlemen* (1760—2), the second volume of which he edited¹. He frequented the literary society of Edinburgh, founded the jovial 'Soaping Club' and engaged in regular correspondence with his friends. The *Letters between the Hon. Andrew Erskine and James Boswell Esq.*, in which, also, there is much verse, he published in 1763. 'They have made ourselves laugh,' says the advertisement; 'we hope they will have the same effect upon other people.' They were hardly worth publishing, though we should be sorry now not to have them. In the description of a long series of daydreams, given with the characteristic vanity which is always saved by its frankness, he says:

I am thinking of the perfect knowledge which I shall acquire of men and manners, of the intimacies which I shall have the honour to form with the learned and ingenious in every science, and of the many amusing literary anecdotes which I shall pick up.

This was published, from Flexney's shop in Holborn, in the very month that he met Johnson in Davies's parlour. Shortly before this, he had brought out, with Erskine and George Dempster, his two associates in much of his early work, the rare *Critical Strictures* on Mallet's *Elvira*. He returned to Edinburgh from his continental travels in 1766, and, being admitted to the bar in the midst of the excitement about the Douglas cause, found in it material for *Dorando* (June 1767), which recounts the points at issue under a Spanish disguise, and appeared immediately before the thirteen Scottish judges, by a majority of one, arrived at a decision contrary to his wishes. The little story went into three

¹ The manuscripts of many of Boswell's poems written between 1760 and 1768, several of them unprinted, are in the Bodleian library—MS Douce 193. The collection includes a 'Plan of a Volume of Poems to be published for me by Becket and Dehorde.'

editions within a fortnight, but it now disappoints the hopes excited by its rarity. As the case was sent up to the House of Lords, where the decision was ultimately reversed, Boswell continued to write about it and brought out the more serious *Essence of the Douglas Cause* (November 1767). He took an energetic part in the riotous controversy concerning the Edinburgh stage and supplied the prologue for the opening of the first licensed theatre in Scotland¹. At the same time, he was engaged on his Corsican experiences. *An Account of Corsica* had been read by Lord Hailes in manuscript in June 1767, and was issued in March 1768. It is Boswell's first considerable book, and, indeed, his only book, apart from those concerned with Johnson, that had a chance of being remembered on its merits. It won what he calls 'amazing celebrity'; he could boast that he was 'really the great man now.' His head was full of Corsica and was not to be emptied of it, even on Johnson's advice. He made a collection of twenty letters by himself and others, and published them under the title *British Essays in favour of the Brave Corsicans* (January 1769); and, in the following September, he appeared at the Shakespeare festival at Stratford in the dress of an armed Corsican chief and recited a poem that 'preserved the true Corsican character.' A description of the proceedings, an account of himself, and the poem were immediately contributed by him to *The London Magazine*. Two months later, he married, and then tried to settle to his legal practice. From this time, the influence of Johnson, already evident in *An Account of Corsica*, grew steadily stronger. He was not satisfied with Edinburgh after the splendour of London. 'The unpleasing tone, the rude familiarity, the barren conversation,' he complains, 'really hurt my feelings.' But he had to content himself with lengthy visits to London in vacation, which were the more indispensable when Johnson had procured his election to The Club, and he had become a proprietor of *The London Magazine*. He contributed to it, monthly, a series of seventy periodical essays called *The Hypochondriack* (1777—83), for which he found much material in himself. There is also much in them that was inspired by the dominating friendship. They take *The Rambler* as their model, and are the most Johnsonian of his writings. After the death of his father and his own

¹ The prologue was printed in *The Scots Magazine* for November 1767; see, also, *The European Magazine* for May 1791 and Dibdin, J. C., *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* (1888), pp. 148—8, and 498. The *Songs in the Justiciary Opera*, privately printed for Alexander Boswell in 1816, belong to this time.

succession to Auchinleck, in 1782, he turned to politics, and carried out his ambition of becoming a member of the English bar, but to no purpose. He stood for parliament, and published two letters 'to the people of Scotland'; one, *On the Present State of the Nation* (1783), and the other, *On the Alarming Attempt to infringe the Articles of the Union* (1785). All he obtained was the recordership of Carlisle, which he soon resigned. In his last years, which were saddened by the loss of his wife and troubled with financial difficulties, he is still found hoping that practice may come at any time and expecting 'a capital prize.' He confesses that he no longer lives with a view to have surprising incidents, though he is still desirous that his life 'should tell.' But he begins to waken from the long delusion and, in a melancholy moment, admits: 'I certainly am constitutionally unfit for any employment.' He was then on the point of achievement. His life was to tell better than he knew, and in another way than he had hoped. His friendship for Johnson was helping him in these years to do what he was unable to do for himself. Without Johnson, he relapses to the level of his early verse in *No Abolition of Slavery; or the Universal Empire of Love* (April 1791)¹. And, when the effort of producing the great work is over, there remains only the record of steady decline, varied by new schemes of matrimony, and cheered by large sales and the preparation of new editions. He died in London, 19 May 1795. From 1758 to within a few weeks of his death, he had corresponded regularly with William Johnson Temple, a fellow student in the Greek class at Edinburgh who became vicar of St Gluvias in Cornwall; and these letters, which had been sold by a hawker at Boulogne and were rescued to be published in 1857, give us his real autobiography². They tell us much more than the many descriptions of himself, from his *Ode to Tragedy* to the 'Memoirs' in the *European Magazine* of 1791³.

¹ A copy of this rare piece is now in the Bodleian library. It was for long doubtful if it had been published, but a review with copious extracts had been given in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1791.

² Boswell thought of an autobiography. 'My journal,' he says, 'will afford materials for a very curious narrative' (letter to Temple, 22 May 1789). The first record of a journal is in his letter to Temple of 16 December 1758. The journal was destroyed; but a portfolio of papers, each inscribed 'Boswelliana,' escaped. They are now in the possession of the marquess of Crewe, and were edited by Charles Rogers for the Grampian club in 1874. Boswell thought also of editions of Johnson's poems, Walton's *Lives*, and the autobiography of Sir Robert Sibbald; a work maintaining the merit of Addison's poetry; histories of Sweden, James IV, and the '45; a life of Thomas Buddiman; and an account of the Isle of Man. These, and others, are mentioned in the *Life of Johnson*; and yet other projects are mentioned elsewhere.

³ If he did not write these 'Memoirs,' he certainly supplied their material.

If they show why his descendants decided on a holocaust of his papers, they also explain the attraction which he exerted on those who took the trouble to try to understand him.

But, if Boswell without Johnson would have been forgotten, it was his own talent that gave the *Life* its surpassing excellence. Whenever he writes of Johnson, he succeeds in giving the impression that he saw things as they were, and not through the spectacles of his own personality. He never tried to conceal the part that he played; and yet, despite his vanities, and they were many, he knew how to make his readers think that they are looking at the facts for themselves. The very freedom from self-consciousness which was no help to his career was a great part of the secret of his skill in description. It also provided him with material denied to less sympathetic natures. 'No man,' he said, 'has been more successful in making acquaintance easily than I have been. I even bring people quickly on to a degree of cordiality.' Johnson, too, tells us that 'Mr Boswell's frankness and gaiety made every body communicative.' He never tired of arranging new situations, in order to see what they would bring forth; and his interpretations of what he found are strong testimony to his insight into character and to his judgment. Minute as his observations are, he never offers a meaningless detail. It is easy to understand why Johnson made him postpone the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, which was intended as a supplement to his own *Journey*. He had given 'notions rather than facts'; but Boswell had contrived to make the facts give Johnson. The reproduction of his sayings and experiences was too minute to be published during his lifetime, and was more decently delayed till the year after his death¹. The *Life* does not surpass the *Journal* in the sense of actuality; but it is a greater achievement. He had met Johnson only on some two hundred and seventy days, scattered over twenty-one years, and his material had to be gathered from many sources. He selects and arranges; he places his facts in the light and perspective that will create the situation; and Johnson lives in his pages. And he had the gift of the perfect style for his kind of biography—a style of no marked individuality, but easy, clear and flexible, which does its duty without attracting attention, and requires to be examined to have its excellence recognised.

¹ The *Journal* was revised by Malone while it was going through the press. Malone also revised the *Life*, and, on Boswell's death, completed the preparation of the third and final edition.

CHAPTER IX

OLIVER GOLDSMITH

‘No man,’ wrote that authoritative but autocratic biographer, John Forster, ‘ever put so much of himself into his books as Goldsmith, from the beginning to the very end of his career.’ To many authors, this saying is only partly applicable; but it is entirely applicable to the author of *The Vicar of Wakefield*. His life and his works are intimately connected. They accompany and interpret each other in such a way as to make them practically inseparable; and it is, therefore, appropriate, as well as convenient, to treat them, so to speak, in the piece, rather than to attempt any distribution of the subject into divisions and sub-divisions of history and criticism.

Concerning Goldsmith’s early years, there is much that is obscure, or that, in any case, cannot be accepted without rigorous investigation. He left his native island when he was three-and-twenty, and never returned to it. Those who, like Glover and Cooke, wrote accounts of him shortly after his death, were the humbler associates of his later and more famous years, while the professedly authentic ‘Memoir’ drawn up under the nominal superintendence of bishop Percy, and the much quoted letter of Annesley Streat in Mangin’s *Essay on Light Reading*, did not see the light until the first decade of the nineteenth century, when Goldsmith had long been dead. It follows that much of the information thus collected after date must have been imperfect and contradictory, often extracted from persons more familiar with his obscure beginnings than with his later eminence, and, possibly, in answer to those unsatisfactory leading questions which usually elicit not so much the truth as what the querist wishes to establish.

Goldsmith was born on 10 November 1728; and it is usually held that the place of his nativity was Pallas, or Pallasmore, a village near Ballymahon, in the county of Longford, Ireland.

But it has also been plausibly contended, though actual proof is not forthcoming, that his true birthplace was Smith-Hill house, Elphin, Roscommon, the residence of his mother's father, Oliver Jones, a clergyman and master of the Elphin diocesan school. His own father, Charles Goldsmith, was, likewise, a clergyman of the established church. When Oliver came into the world, Charles Goldsmith was acting as assistant to an uncle whose name was Green, the rector of Kilkenny West, and eking out a scanty subsistence by farming a few fields. In 1730, Green died; and Charles Goldsmith, succeeding to the vacant rectorate, transferred his residence to the hamlet of Lissoy, in Westmeath, a little to the right of the road from Ballymahon to Athlone. At this time, he had five children, two sons and three daughters, Oliver being the fifth child and second son. As already stated, the accounts of his earliest years are contradictory. By some, he was regarded as thick-witted and sullen; to others, he seemed alert and intelligent. That he was an adept at all boyish sports is admitted; and it is also recorded that he scribbled verses early. His first notable instructor was the village schoolmaster, Thomas, or 'Paddy,' Byrne, who had been a quartermaster in queen Anne's wars. Byrne was also a local rimer, and had even composed an Irish version of the *Georgics*. His endless stories of his continental adventures, and his inexhaustible legends of ghosts and banshees, held his pupils spellbound; and, by Goldsmith's family, were, later, made responsible for much of 'that wandering and unsettled turn which so much appeared in his future life.' When Goldsmith was seven or eight, he was attacked by confluent smallpox, which scarred him terribly and probably added not a little to the 'exquisite sensibility of contempt' with which he seems to have been born. With this, at all events, is connected one of the two most-repeated anecdotes of his childhood. A ne'er-do-well relation asked him heartlessly when he meant to grow handsome, to which, after an awkward silence, he replied, 'I mean to get better, sir, when you do.' The other story also illustrates an unexpected gift of repartee. At a party in his uncle's house, during the pause between two country-dances, little Oliver capered out, and executed an extempore hornpipe. His deeply-pitted face and ungainly figure caused much amusement; and the fiddler, a lad named Cumming, called out '*Æsop*.' To which the dancer promptly answered:

Heralds, proclaim aloud! all saying,
See *Æsop* dancing, and his *Monkey* playing,

at once transferring the laugh to his side. Whether improvised or remembered, the retort certainly shows intellectual alacrity.

From Byrne, Goldsmith passed to the school at Elphin, of which his grandfather had been master; thence to Athlone, and, finally, to Edgeworthstown, where his preceptor, Patrick Hughes, seems to have understood him better than his previous instructors. Hughes penetrated his superficial obtuseness, recognised his exceptionally sensitive temperament, and contrived, at any rate, to think better of him than some of his playmates who only succeeded in growing up blockheads. There were traditions at Edgeworthstown of his studies—his fondness for Ovid and Horace, his hatred of Cicero and his delight in Livy and Tacitus; of his prowess in boyish sports and the occasional robbing of orchards. It is to the close of his Edgeworthstown experiences that belongs one of the most popular of the incidents which exemplify the connection between his life and his work. Returning to school at the end of his last holiday, full of the youthful pride begotten of a borrowed mount and a guinea in his pocket, he lingered on his road, with the intention of putting up, like a gentleman, at some roadside inn. Night fell, and he found himself at Ardagh, where, with much importance, he enquired of a passer-by for 'the best house' (hostelry) in the neighbourhood. The person thus appealed to, a local wag named Cornelius Kelly, formerly fencing master to the marquis of Granby, amused by his boyish swagger, gravely directed him to the residence of the squire of the place, Mr Featherston. Hither Goldsmith straightway repaired, ordered supper, invited his host, according to custom, to drink with him, and, being by that humourist fooled to the top of his bent, retired to rest, after giving particular directions as to the preparation of a hot cake for his breakfast. Not until his departure next morning was it disclosed that he had been entertained in a private house. The story is too good to question; and accepted, as it has always been, supplies a conclusive answer to those after-critics of *She Stoops to Conquer* who regarded the central idea of that comedy—the mistaking of a gentleman's residence for an inn—as unjustifiably farfetched. Here, in Goldsmith's own life, was the proof of its probability.

At this date, he must have been between fourteen and fifteen; and, whatever his ability, it seems to have been decided that he should follow his elder brother Henry to Trinity college, Dublin, though not with the same advantages. Henry Goldsmith, who

was five or six years his brother's senior, had gone as a pensioner and obtained a scholarship. For Oliver, this was impracticable. His father, a poor man, had, from family pride, further crippled himself by undertaking to portion his second daughter, Catherine, who had clandestinely married the son of a rich neighbour. In these circumstances, nothing was open to Goldsmith but to obtain his university education as a poor scholar, a semi-menial condition which, to one already morbidly sensitive, could not fail to be distasteful. For a long time, he fought doggedly against his fate; but, at length, yielding to the persuasions of a friendly uncle Contarine, who had himself gone through the same ordeal, he was admitted to Trinity college as a sizar on 11 June 1744, taking up his abode in one of the garrets of what was then the eastern side of Parliament square.

The academic career thus inauspiciously begun was not worshipful. From the outset, he was dispirited and disappointed, and, consequently, without energy or enthusiasm. Moreover, he was unfortunate in his tutor, a clergyman named Theaker Wilder, who, though his bad qualities may have been exaggerated, was certainly harsh and unsympathetic. His *forte*, too, was mathematics, which Goldsmith, like Swift, like Gray, like Johnson, detested as cordially as he detested the arid logic of 'Dutch Burgersdyck' and Polish Smiglesius. According to Stubbs's *History of the University of Dublin*,

Oliver Goldsmith is recorded on one or two occasions as being remarkably diligent at Morning Lecture; again, as cautioned for bad answering at Morning and Greek Lectures; and finally, as put down into the next class for neglect of his studies.

To this, he added other enormities. He was noted, as was Johnson at Oxford, for much 'lounging about the college gate'; and for his skill on that solace to melancholy and *laborum dulce lenimen*, the German flute, of which, as readily as his own 'Man in Black,' he had apparently mastered the 'Ambusheer.' He became involved in various scrapes, notably a college riot, including that ducking of a bailiff afterwards referred to in the first version of *The Double Transformation*, on which occasion he was publicly admonished *quod seditioni favisset et tumultuantibus opem tulisset*. Recovering a little from the stigma of this disgrace by gaining a small (Smythe) exhibition, he was imprudent enough to celebrate his success by a mixed entertainment, in what only by courtesy could be called his 'apartments.' On these festivities, the exasperated Wilder made irruption, knocking down the

unfortunate host, who, after forthwith selling his books, ran away, vaguely bound, as on subsequent occasions, for America. But a reconciliation with his tutor was patched up by Oliver's brother Henry; and he returned to his college to enjoy the half-peace of the half-pardoned. His father was now dead; and he was miserably poor. He managed, however, to take his B.A. degree on 27 February 1749, and quitted the university without regret, leaving behind him a scratched signature on a window pane (still preserved), an old lexicon scored with 'promises to pay' and a reputation for supplementing his scanty means by the ballads (unluckily *not* preserved) which he was accustomed to write and afterwards sell for five shillings a head at the Reindeer in Mountrath court, stealing out at nightfall—so runs the tradition—to 'snatch the fearful joy' of hearing them sung. It must have been the memory of these things which, years after, at Sir William Chambers's, made him fling down his cards, and rush hurriedly into the street to succour a poor ballad-woman, who had apparently, like Rubini, *les larmes dans la voix*.

What was to happen next? For a Goldsmith of the Goldsmiths, there was no career but the church; and he was too young to be ordained. Thereupon ensued an easy, irresponsible time, which the new B.A. spent very much to his own satisfaction. He was supposed to be qualifying for orders; but he had never any great leaning that way. 'To be obliged to wear a long wig, when he liked a short one, or a black coat, when he generally dressed in brown,' observes one of his characters in *The Citizen of the World*, was 'a restraint upon his liberty.' Hence, as his biographer Prior sagaciously says, 'there is reason to believe that at this time he followed no systematic plan of study.' On the contrary, he passed his time wandering, like Addison's Will Wimble, from one relative to another, fishing and otter-hunting in the isleted river Inny, playing the flute to his cousin Jane Contarine's harpsichord, or presiding at the 'free and easys' held periodically at George Conway's inn at Ballymahon, where, for the benefit of posterity, he doubtless made acquaintance with Jack Slang the horse-doctor, Dick Muggins the exciseman and that other genteel and punctilious humourist who never 'danced his bear' except to Arne's 'Water parted' or the minuet in Handel's *Ariadne*. But these 'violent delights' could have only one sequel. When, in 1751, he presented himself to Dr Synge, bishop of Elphin, for ordination, he was rejected. Whether his college reputation had preceded him; whether, as on a later occasion, he was found 'not qualified,' or

whether (as legend has it) he pushed his aversion from clerical costume so far as to appear in flaming scarlet smallclothes—these questions are still debated. That another calling must be chosen was the only certain outcome of this mishap. He first turned to the next refuge of lettered unemployment, tuition. Having, in this way, accumulated some thirty pounds, he bought a horse, and once more started for America. Before six weeks were over, he had returned penniless, on an animal only fit for the knacker's yard, and seemed naïvely surprised that his friends were not rejoiced to see him. Law was next thought of; and, to this end, his uncle Contarine equipped him with fifty pounds. But he was cozened by a sharper on his way to London, and once more came back—in bitter self-abasement. In 1752, his longsuffering uncle for the last time fitted him out, this time to study physic at Edinburgh, which place, wonderful to relate, he safely reached. But he never saw Ireland, or his kind relative, again.

After two years' stay in the Scottish capital, where more memories survive of his social success than of his studies, he took his departure for Leyden, nominally to substitute the lectures of Albinus for the lectures of Monro. At Leyden, he arrived in 1754, not without some picturesque and, possibly, romanced adventures related in a letter to Contarine. The names of Gaubius and other Batavian professors figure glibly and sonorously in his future pages; but that he had much experimental knowledge of their instruction is doubtful. His name is not enrolled as a 'Stud. Litt.' in the Album Academicum of Leyden university, nor is it known where he received that 'commission to slay' which justified him in signing himself 'M.B.' It was certainly not at Padua¹; and enquiries at Leyden and Louvain were made by Prior without success. But the Louvain records were destroyed in the revolutionary wars. That, however, his stay at Leyden was neither prosperous nor prolonged is plain. He fell again among thieves; and, finally, like Holberg, or that earlier 'Peregrine of Odcombe,' Thomas Coryat of the *Crudities*, set out to make the grand tour on foot. '*Haud inexpertus loquor*,' he wrote, later, in praising this mode of locomotion; though, on second thoughts, he suppressed the quotation as an undignified admission. He went, first, to Flanders; then passed to France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy, supporting himself, much as George Primrose does in *The Vicar of Wakefield*, by playing the flute, and by occasional disputations at convents or universities. 'Sir,' said Boswell to

¹ *The Athenæum*, 21 July 1894.

Johnson (who seems to have sustained the pun without blenching), 'he *disputed* his passage through Europe.' At some period of his wanderings he must have sketched a part of *The Traveller*, specimens of which he sent from Switzerland to his brother Henry. After a year's wandering, he landed at Dover on 1 February 1756, 'his whole stock of cash,' says an early biographer, 'amounting to no more than a few half-pence.' By this time, he was seven-and-twenty.

His vocation was still as visionary as were his means of subsistence. He is supposed to have tried strolling, and was certainly anxious to play 'Scrub' in later years. For a season, he was an apothecary's assistant on Fish street hill. Hence, with some assistance from an Edinburgh friend, Dr Sleigh, he 'proceeded' a poor physician in the Bankside, Southwark—the region afterwards remembered in *An Elegy on Mrs Mary Blaize*. He is next found as corrector of the press to Richardson, at Salisbury court. Then, drifting insensibly towards literature, to which he seems never to have intentionally shaped his course, he is (again like his own George Primrose) an usher at the 'classical Academy' of Dr Milner of Peckham. He had already submitted a manuscript tragedy to the author of *Clarissa*; and, at Milner's table, he encountered the bookseller Ralph Griffiths, proprietor of *The Monthly Review*. Struck by some remark on the part of Milner's latest assistant, and seeking for new blood to aid him in his campaign against Hamilton's *Critical Review*, Griffiths asked Goldsmith whether he could furnish some 'specimens of criticism.' An arrangement followed under which, released from the drudgery of Peckham, Goldsmith was to receive, with bed and board, a salary which Percy calls 'handsome,' Prior 'adequate' and Forster 'small.' For this, he was to labour daily from nine till two (or later) on copy-of-all-work for his master's magazine.

This, in effect, was Goldsmith's turning-point; and he had reached it by accident rather than design. Divinity, law, physic—he had tried them all; but, at letters, he had never aimed. With his duties 'at the Sign of the Dunciad,' in Paternoster row, began his definite bondage to the '*antiqua Mater* of Grub Street'; and we may pause for a moment to examine his qualifications for his difficult career. They were more considerable than one would imagine from his vagrant, aimless past. He was a fair classical scholar, more advanced than might be supposed from his own modest admission to Malone, that he could 'turn an ode of Horace into English better than any of them'; and, as that sound critic

and Goldsmithian, the late Sidney Irwin, remarked, it is not necessary to make him responsible for the graceless Greek of Mr Ephraim Jenkinson. In English poetry, he was far seen, especially in Dryden, Swift, Prior, Johnson, Pope and Gay. He had a good knowledge of Shakespeare; and was familiar with the comic dramatists, particularly his compatriot Farquhar. French he had acquired before he left Ireland, and he had closely studied Molière, La Fontaine and the different collections of *ana*. For Voltaire, he had a sincere admiration; and, whether he actually met him abroad or not, it is probable his own native style, clear and perspicuous as it was from the first, had been developed and perfected by the example of the wonderful writer by whom the adjective was regarded as the enemy of the noun. Finally, he had enjoyed considerable experience of humanity, though mostly in the rough; and, albeit his standpoint as a pedestrian had, of necessity, limited his horizon, he had 'observed the face' of the countries through which he had travelled, making his own deductions. On what he had seen, he had reflected, and, when he sat down to the 'desk's dead wood' in Paternoster row, his initial equipment as a critic, apart from his individual genius, must have been superior, in variety and extent, at all events, to that of most of the literary gentlemen, not exclusively hacks, who did Griffiths's notices in *The Monthly Review*.

Even in his first paper, on *The Mythology of the Celtes*, by Mallet, the translator of the *Edda*, he opened with a statement which must have been out of the jog-trot of the *Dunciad* traditions.

'The learned on this side the Alps,' he said, 'have long laboured in the Antiquities of Greece and Rome, but almost totally neglected their own; like Conquerors who, while they have made inroads into the territories of their neighbours, have left their own natural dominions to desolation.'

It would be too much to trace the *Reliques of English Poetry* to this utterance; but, (as Forster says) 'it is wonderful what a word in season from a man of genius may do, even when the genius is hireling and obscure and only labouring for the bread it eats.' Meanwhile, the specimen review 'from the gentleman who signs, D,' although printed with certain omissions, secured Goldsmith's entry to Griffiths's periodical, and he criticised some notable books—Home's *Douglas*, Burke *On the Sublime*, Gray's *Odes*, the *Connoisseur*, Smollett's *History*—titles which at least prove that, utility man as he was, his competence was recognised from the first. The review of Gray, whose remoteness and 'obscurity' he regretted, and whom he advised to take counsel of Isocrates and

'study the people,' was, nevertheless, the last of his contributions to *The Monthly Review*. Whether the fault lay in his own restless nature, or whether he resented the vexatious editing of his work by the bookseller and his wife, the fact remains that, with September 1757, Goldsmith's permanent connection with Griffiths came to a close; and, for the next few months, he subsisted by contributing to *The Literary Magazine* and by other miscellaneous practice of the pen.

At this point, however, emerges his first prolonged literary effort, the remarkable rendering of the *Memoirs* of Jean Marteilhe of Bergerac, 'a Protestant condemned to the Galleys of France for his Religion,' which was published in February 1758. This translation, perhaps because it has been sometimes confused with that issued by the Religious Tract Society, has never received the attention it deserves. It is an exceedingly free and racy version of one of the most authentic records of the miseries ensuing on the revocation of the edict of Nantes; and Goldsmith, drudge as he was supposed to be, has treated his theme sympathetically. He may, indeed, have actually seen Marteilhe in Holland; but it is more reasonable to suppose that he was attracted to the subject by the advertisement, in *The Monthly Review* for May 1757, of the French original. The book is full of interest; and, as the fight of *The Nightingale* with the galleys, and the episode of Goujon, the young cadet of the Aubusson regiment, prove, by no means deficient in moving and romantic incident. Why, on this occasion, Goldsmith borrowed as his pseudonym the name of an old college-fellow, James Willington, it is idle to enquire. In his signed receipt, still extant, to Edward Dilly, for a third share in the volumes, they are expressly described as 'my translation,' and it is useful to note that the mode of sale, as will hereafter be seen, is exactly that subsequently adopted for the sale of *The Vicar of Wakefield*.

Anonymous or pseudonymous, Marteilhe's *Memoirs* had little effect on Goldsmith's fortunes; and the twenty pounds he received for the MS in January 1758, must have been quickly spent, for he was shortly at Peckham again, vaguely hoping that his old master would procure him a medical appointment on a foreign station. It was, no doubt, to obtain funds for his outfit that he began to plan his next book, *An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe*, for we find him in this year soliciting subscriptions from his friends in Ireland. When, at last, the nomination arrived, it was merely that of physician to

a Coromandel factory. What was worse, for some obscure reason, it came to nothing; and his next move was to present himself at Surgeons' hall—like Smollett's Roderick Random—as a ship's hospital mate, with the result that, in December, he was rejected as 'not qualified.' To put the seal on his embarrassments, this new effort involved him in fresh difficulties with his former employer, Griffiths, who had helped him to appear in decent guise before the examiners—difficulties from which he only extricated himself with much humiliation by engaging to write a life of Voltaire.

We next find him domiciled at 12 Green Arbour court, Little Old Bailey¹, where, in March 1759, Percy, who had recently made his acquaintance through Grainger of *The Sugar Cane*, one of the staff of *The Monthly Review*, paid him a visit. He discovered him in a miserable room, correcting the proofs of his *Enquiry*, which appeared in the following month. For a small duodecimo of two hundred pages, it is, beyond doubt, ambitiously labelled. The field was too wide for so brief a survey; and, although the author professed that his sketch was mostly 'taken upon the spot,' it was obvious that he was imperfectly equipped for his task. What he had himself seen he described freshly and forcibly; and what he knew of the conditions of letters in England he depicted with feeling. He might talk largely of the learning of 'Luitprandus' and the 'philological performances' of Constantinus Afer; but what touched him more nearly was the mercantile avidity and sordid standards of the London bookseller, the hungry rancour of the venal writers in his pay, the poverty of the poets, the slow rewards of genius. Perhaps the most interesting features of the *Enquiry* are, primarily, that it is Goldsmith's earliest original work; and, next, that it is wholly free from that empty orotundity, that 'didactic stiffness of wisdom,' which his French models had led him to regard as the crying sin of his English contemporaries. To be 'dull and dronish,' he held, was 'an encroachment on the prerogative of a folio.' 'The most diminutive son of fame, or of famine, has his *we* and his *us*, his *firstlys* and his *secondlys* as methodical as if bound in cowhide, and closed with clasps of brass.' On the whole, the little book was well received, notwithstanding its censure of the two leading *Reviews*, and the fact that the chapter 'Of the Stage,' enforcing, as it did, Ralph's earlier *Case of Authors by Profession*, gave Garrick lasting offence—a circumstance to

¹ These premises were subsequently occupied by Smith, Elder & Co., as *The Cornhill Magazine* printing office, to which Thackeray sent his proofs. (Cf. *Roundabout Paper*, 'De Finibus,' August 1862, at end.)

which may be traced not only some of Goldsmith's later dramatic difficulties, but that popular 'poor Poll' couplet of which the portable directness rather than the truth has done much wrong to Goldsmith's reputation. To be as easily remembered as a limerick is no small help to a malicious epigram.

At this date, beyond a few lines dated 'Edinburgh, 1753,' the instalment of *The Traveller* sent to Henry Goldsmith from Switzerland, and the *Description of an Author's Bedchamber* included in another letter to the same address, little had been heard of Goldsmith's verse, although he had written vaguely of himself as a 'poet.' In the *Enquiry*, however, he published his first metrical effort, a translation of a Latin prologue in that recondite Macrobius with a quotation from whom, after an uncommunicative silence, Johnson electrified the company on his first arrival at Oxford. In the little periodical called *The Bee*, with which Goldsmith followed up the *Enquiry*, he included several rimed contributions. Of these, only one, some 'topical' stanzas, *On the Death of Wolfe*, is absolutely original. But the rest anticipate some of his later excellences—and personal opinions. In the *Elegy on Mrs Mary Blaize*, he laughs at the fashion, set by Gray, of funereal verse, and, in the bright little quatrains entitled *The Gift*, successfully reproduces the levity of Prior. But, what is more, he begins to exhibit his powers as a critic and essayist, to write character sketches in the vein of Addison and Steele, to reveal his abilities as a stage critic and censor of manners. One of the papers, *A City Night-Piece*, still remains a most touching comment on the shame of cities; another, the Lucianic reverie known as *The Fame Machine* (that is, 'coach'), in which Johnson, rejected by Jehu as a passenger for his *Dictionary*, is accepted on the strength of his *Rambler*, may have served to introduce him to the great man who, ever after, loved him with a growling but genuine affection. *The Bee*, though brief-lived, with similar things in *The Busy Body* and *The Lady's Magazine*, also brought him to the notice of some others, who, pecuniarily, were more important than Johnson. Smollett enlisted him for the new venture, *The British Magazine*, and bustling John Newbery of St Paul's churchyard, for a new paper, *The Public Ledger*.

For Smollett, besides a number of minor efforts, Goldsmith wrote two of his best essays, *A Reverie in the Boar's Head Tavern at Eastcheap*, and the semi-autobiographic *Adventures of a Strolling Player*; for Newbery, the *Chinese Letters*, afterwards

collected as *The Citizen of the World*. This production was his first permanent success. With its assumed orientalism, as with what it borrows from Montesquieu or his imitators, we can dispense, although it may be noted that a summary of the vices of the contemporary novel, long supposed to be Goldsmith's own, is a literal transcript of Du Halde. What is most enduring in the correspondence of Lien Chi Altangi is the fuller revelation, already begun in *The Bee*, of Goldsmith as a critic, a humourist and a social historiographer. It is Goldsmith on quacks and connoisseurs, on travellers' tales and funeral pomp, on mad dogs, on letters and the theatre, on such graver themes as the penal laws and public morality, to whom we turn most eagerly now. And of even greater interest than their good sense and good humour, their graphic touches and kindly shrewdness, is the evidence which these passages afford of the coming creator of Dr Primrose and Tony Lumpkin. In the admirable portrait of 'the Man in Black,' with his reluctant benevolence and his Goldsmith family traits, there is a foretaste of some of the attractive peculiarities of the vicar of Wakefield, while, in the picture of the pinched and tarnished little beau, with his parrot chatter about the countess of All-Night and the duke of Piccadilly, set to the forlorn burden of 'Lend me Half-a-Crown,' he adds a character sketch, however lightly touched, to that imperishable and, happily, inalienable gallery which contains the finished full-lengths of Parson Adams and Squire Western, of Matthew Bramble and 'My Uncle Toby.'

The last Chinese letter appeared on 14 August 1761, and, in May of the following year, the collection was issued in two volumes as *The Citizen of the World*, a phrase first used in Letter xx, and, perhaps, suggested by Bacon's *Essays* (no. XIII). At this date, Goldsmith had moved from the Little Old Bailey to 6 Wine Office court, Fleet street, where, on 31 May, he had been visited by Johnson. He had been editing *The Lady's Magazine*, in which appeared the *Memoirs of Voltaire* composed by him for Griffiths. He wrote a pamphlet on the popular imposture, the Cock lane ghost, and he compiled or revised *A History of Mecklenburgh*, the native country of king George III's consort. He published an anecdotal *Life of Richard Nash*, the fantastic old king of Bath, and seven volumes of *Plutarch's Lives*. More important than these activities, however, was the preparation of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, on which, according to Miss Gausson¹, he was engaged as early as June 1761. Internal evidence shows that the book must have

¹ Percy: *Prelate and Poet*, 1908, p. 144.

been written in 1761—2; and it is certain that a third share of it was purchased in October 1762 by Benjamin Collins of Salisbury, who afterwards printed it for Newbery¹. It is to this date that must probably be referred the sale of the MS familiar to Boswell's readers, which, in that case, took place at Wine Office court, where the author would be close to Johnson's chambers in Inner Temple lane, on the opposite side of Fleet street. But, for obscure reasons, *The Vicar* was not issued until four years later, at which date it will be convenient to return to it.

Meanwhile, alternating incessant labour with fitful escapes to 'Bath or Tunbridge to careen,' and occasional residence at Islington, Goldsmith continued in bondage to 'book-building.' In 1764, he became one of the original members of the famous (and still existing) 'Club,' afterwards known as 'The Literary Club,' a proof of the eminence to which he had attained with the *literati*. This brought him at once into relations with Burke, Reynolds, Beauclerk, Langton and others of the Johnson circle. His next important work, *The History of England in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to his Son*, published in June, was, as had no doubt been intended, long attributed to Chesterfield and other patrician pens. Later, too, in the same year, Christopher Smart's *Hannah* moved him to the composition of *The Captivity*, an oratorio never set to music. Then, after the slow growth of months, was issued, on 19 December 1764, another of the efforts for his own hand with which he had diversified his hackwork—the poem entitled *The Traveller; or, a Prospect of Society*.

In a spirit of independence which distinguishes this performance from its author's workaday output, *The Traveller* was dedicated to his brother, Henry Goldsmith, to whom the first sketch had been forwarded from abroad, and who, in Goldsmith's words, 'despising Fame and Fortune, had retired early to Happiness and Obscurity, with an income of forty pounds a year'—the actual value of the curacy of Kilkeny West. The dedication further accentuates that distaste for blank verse which Goldsmith had already manifested in *An Enquiry*, as well as his antipathy, also revealed in *The Citizen of the World*, to the hectoring satires of Churchill; while the general purpose of the poem, anticipated by a passage in the forty-third letter of Lien Chi Altangi, is stated in the final words:

I have endeavoured to show, that there may be equal happiness in states, that are differently governed from our own, that every state has a particular

¹ This matter is discussed more fully in the bibliography.

principle of happiness, and that this principle in each may be carried to a mischievous excess.

• Whether these postulates of the 'philosophic Wanderer'—as Johnson would have called him—are unanswerable or not matters little to us now. The poetry has outlived the purpose. What remains in Goldsmith's couplets is the beauty of the descriptive passages, the 'curious' simplicity of the language, the sweetness and finish of the verse. Where, in his immediate predecessors, are we to find the tender charm of such lines as

Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
My heart untravell'd fondly turns to thee;
Still to my brother turns with ceaseless pain,
And drags at each remove a lengthening chain.

But me, not destin'd such delights to share,
My prime of life in wand'ring spent and care,
Impell'd, with steps unceasing, to pursue
Some fleeting good, that mocks me with the view;
That, like the circle bounding earth and skies,
Allures from far, yet, as I follow, flies;
My fortune leads to traverse realms alone,
And find no spot of all the world my own.

It is characteristic both of Goldsmith, and of the mosaic of memories which the poetic theories of his day made legitimate, that, even in these few lines, there are happy recollections, and recollections, moreover, that he had already employed in prose.

The Traveller was an immediate and enduring success; and Newbery, so far as can be ascertained, gave Goldsmith £21 for it. Second, third and fourth editions quickly followed until, in 1774, the year of the author's death, a ninth was reached. Johnson, who contributed nine of the lines, declared it to be the best poem since the death of Pope, a verdict which, without disparagement to Goldsmith, may also be accepted as evidence of the great man's lack of sympathy with Gray, whose *Elegy* had appeared in the interval. Perhaps the most marked result of *The Traveller* was to draw attention to 'Oliver Goldsmith, M.B.,' whose name, for the first time, appeared on the title-page of Newbery's thin eighteen-penny quarto. People began to enquire for his earlier works, and thereupon came a volume of *Essays by Mr Goldsmith*, which comprised some of the best of his contributions to *The Bee*, *The Public Ledger* and the rest, together with some fresh specimens of verse, *The Double Transformation* and *A new Simile*. This was in June 1765, after which it seems to have occurred to the joint proprietors of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, that the fitting moment

had then arrived for the production of what they apparently regarded as their bad bargain. The novel was accordingly printed at Salisbury by Collins for Francis Newbery, John Newbery's nephew, and it was published on 27 March 1766, in two duodecimo volumes.

There is no reason for supposing that there were any material alterations in the MS which, in October 1762, had been sold by Johnson. 'Had I made it ever so perfect or correct,' said Goldsmith to Dr Parr (as reported in the *Percy Memoir*), 'I should not have had a shilling more'; and the slight modifications in the second edition prove nothing to the contrary. But it is demonstrable that there was one addition of importance, the ballad *The Hermit or Edwin and Angelina*, which had only been written, in or before 1765, for the amusement of the countess of Northumberland, for whom, in that year, it was privately printed. It was probably added to fill up chapter VIII, where, perhaps, a blank had been left for it, a conjecture which is supported by the fact that other *lacunae* have been suspected. But these purely bibliographical considerations have little relation to the real unity of the book, which seems to follow naturally on the character sketches of *The Citizen of the World*, to the composition of which it succeeded. In *The Citizen*, there is naturally more of the essayist than of the novelist; in *The Vicar*, more of the novelist than of the essayist. But the strong point in each is Goldsmith himself—Goldsmith's own thoughts and Goldsmith's own experiences. Squire Thornhill might have been studied in the pit at Drury lane, and even Mr Burchell conceivably evolved from any record of remarkable eccentrics. But the Primrose family must have come straight from Goldsmith's heart, from his wistful memories of his father and his brother Henry and his kind uncle Contarine and all that half-forgotten family group at Lissoy, who, in the closing words of his first chapter were 'all equally generous, credulous, simple, and inoffensive.' He himself was his own 'Philosophic Vagabond pursuing Novelty, but losing Content,' as does George Primrose in chapter XX. One may smile at the artless inconsistencies of the plot, the lapses of the fable, the presence in the narrative of such makeweights as poetry, tales, political discourses and a sermon; but the author's genius and individuality rise superior to everything, and the little group of the Wakefield family are now veritable 'citizens of the world.' Only when some wholly new form has displaced or dispossessed the English novel will the Doctor and Mrs Primrose, Olivia and Sophia, Moses (with the green

until after the appearance at Drury lane of a vapid sentimental comedy by Kelly called *False Delicacy*, which, under Garrick's clever generalship, had an unmerited success. Six days later, on 29 January 1768, the ill-starred *Good-Natur'd Man* was brought out at Covent garden by a desponding manager, and a (for the most part) depressed cast. Nor did it derive much aid from a ponderous prologue by Johnson. Nevertheless, it was by no means ill received. Shuter made a hit with Croaker, and Woodward was excellent as Lofty, the two most important parts; and though, for a space, a 'genteel' audience could not suffer the 'low' scene of the bailiffs to come between the wind and its nobility, the success of the comedy, albeit incommensurate with its deserts and its author's expectations, was more than respectable. It ran for nine nights, three of which brought him £400; while the sale in book form, with the omitted scene, added £100 more. The worst thing was that it came after *False Delicacy*, instead of before it.

During its composition, Goldsmith had lived much at Islington, having a room in queen Elizabeth's old hunting lodge, Canonbury tower. In town, he had modest lodgings in the Temple. But £500 was too great a temptation; and, accordingly, leasing for three-fourths of that sum a set of rooms in Brick court, he proceeded to furnish them elegantly with Wilton carpets, moreen curtains and Pembroke tables. *Nil te quaesiveris extra*, Johnson had wisely said to him when he once apologised for his mean environment, and it would have been well if he had remembered the monition. But Goldsmith was Goldsmith—*qualis ab incepto*. The new expense meant new needs—and new embarrassments. Hence, we hear of *Roman and English Histories* for Davies and *A History of Animated Nature* for Griffin. The aggregate pay was more than £1500; but, for the writer of a unique novel, an excellent comedy and a deservedly successful poem, it was, assuredly, in his own words, 'to cut blocks with a razor.' All the same, he had not yet entirely lost his delight of life. He could still enjoy country excursions—'shoemakers' holidays' he called them—at Hampstead and Edgware; could still alternate 'The Club' in Gerrard street with the Crown at Islington and, occasionally, find pausing-places of memory and retrospect when, softening toward the home of his boyhood with a sadness made deeper by the death of his brother Henry in May 1768, he planned and perfected a new poem, *The Deserted Village*.

How far Auburn reproduced Lissoy, how far *The Deserted Village* was English or Irish—are surely matters for the seed-splitters of criticism; and decision either way in no wise affects

the enduring beauty of the work. The poem holds us by the humanity of its character pictures, by its delightful rural descriptions, by the tender melancholy of its metrical cadences. Listen to the 'Farewell' (and farewell it practically proved) to poetry :

Farewell, and O, where'er thy voice be tried,
On Torno's cliffs, or Pambamarca's side,
Whether where equinoctial fervours glow,
Or winter wraps the polar world in snow,
Still let thy voice prevailing over Time,
Redress the rigours of th' inclement clime;
Aid slighted Truth, with thy persuasive strain
Teach erring man to spurn the rage of gain;
Teach him, that states of native strength possess,
Though very poor, may still be very blest.

Here, Goldsmith ended, if we may rely on Boswell's attribution to Johnson of the last four lines. They certainly supply a rounded finish¹, and the internal evidence as to their authorship is not very apparent. But, if they are really Johnson's, it is an open question whether the more abrupt termination of Goldsmith, resting, in Dantesque fashion, on the word 'blest,' is not to be preferred.

Report says that Goldsmith's more critical contemporaries ranked *The Deserted Village* below *The Traveller*—a mistake perhaps to be explained by the intelligible, but often unreasoning, prejudice in favour of a first impression. He was certainly paid better for it, if it be true that he received a hundred guineas, which, although five times as much as he got for *The Traveller*, was still not more than Cadell paid six years later for Hannah More's forgotten *Sir Eldred of the Bower*. *The Deserted Village* was published on 26 May 1770, with an affectionate dedication to Reynolds, and ran through five editions in the year of issue. In the July following its appearance, Goldsmith paid a short visit to Paris with his Devonshire friends, Mrs and the Miss Hornecks, the younger of whom he had fitted with the pretty pet name 'the Jessamy Bride,' and who is supposed to have inspired him with more than friendly feelings. On his return, he fell again to the old desk work, a life of Bolingbroke, an abridgment of his *Roman History* and so forth. But he still found time for the exhibition of his more playful gifts, since it must have been about

¹ That trade's proud empire hastes to swift decay,
As ocean sweeps the laboured mole away;
While self-respecting power can Time defy,
As rocks resist the billows and the sky.

this date that, in the form of an epistle to his friend Lord Clare, he threw off that delightful medley of literary recollection and personal experience, the verses known as *The Haunch of Venison*, in which the ease and lightness of Prior are wedded to the best measure of Swift. If the *chef d'œuvre* be really the equal of the *chef d'œuvre*, there is little better in Goldsmith's work than this pleasant *jeu d'esprit*. But he had a yet greater triumph to come, for, by the end of 1771, he had completed his second and more successful comedy, *She Stoops to Conquer*.

At this date, the worries and vexations which had accompanied the production of *The Good-Natur'd Man* had been more or less forgotten by its author; and, as they faded, Goldsmith's old dreams of theatrical distinction returned. The sentimental snake, moreover, was not even scotched; and 'genteel comedy'—that 'mawkish drab of spurious breed,' as the opportunist Garrick came eventually to style it—had still its supporters: witness *The West Indian* of Cumberland, which had just been produced. Falling back on an earlier experience of his youth, the mistaking of squire Featherston's house for an inn, Goldsmith set to work on a new comedy; and, after much rueful wandering in the lanes of Hendon and Edgware, 'studying jests with the most tragical countenance,' Tony Lumpkin and his mother, Mr Hardcastle and his daughter, were gradually brought into being, 'to be tried in the manager's fire.' The ordeal was to the full as severe as before. Colman accepted the play, and then delayed to produce it. His tardiness embarrassed the author so much that, at last, in despair, he transferred the piece to Garrick. But, here, Johnson interposed, and, though he could not induce Colman to believe in it, by the exercise 'of a kind of force,' prevailed on him to bring it out. Finally, after it had been read to 'the Club,' in January 1773, under its first title *The Old House, a New Inn*, and, assisted to some extent by Foote's clever anti-sentimental puppet-show *Piety in Pattens; or, the Handsome Housemaid*, it was produced at Covent garden on 15 March 1773, as *She Stoops to Conquer; or, the Mistakes of a Night*. When on the boards, supported by the suffrages of the author's friends, and enthusiastically welcomed by the public, the play easily triumphed over a caballing manager and a lukewarm company, and, thus, one of the best modern comedies was at once lifted to an eminence from which it has never since been deposed. It brought the author four or five hundred pounds, and would have brought him more by its sale in book form, had he not, in a moment of depression, handed over the copyright to

Newbery, in discharge of a debt. But he inscribed the play to Johnson, in one of those dedications which, more, perhaps, than elsewhere, vindicate his claim to the praise of having touched nothing that he did not adorn.

Unhappily, by this time, his affairs had reached a stage of complication from which little short of a miracle could extricate him; and there is no doubt that his involved circumstances affected his health, as he had already been seriously ill in 1772. During the few months of life that remained to him, he did not publish anything, his hands being full of promised work. His last metrical effort was *Retaliation*, a series of epitaph-epigrams, left unfinished at his death, and prompted by some similar, though greatly inferior, efforts directed against him by Garrick and other friends. In March 1774, the combined effects of work and worry, added to a local disorder, brought on a nervous fever which he aggravated by the unwise use of a patent medicine, James's powder, on which, like many of his contemporaries, he placed too great a reliance. On the 10th, he had dined with Percy at the Turk's Head. Not many days after, when Percy called on him, he was ill. A week later, the sick man just recognised his visitor. On Monday, 4 April, he died; and he was buried on the 9th in the burial ground of the Temple church. Two years subsequently, a memorial was erected to him in Westminster abbey, with a Latin epitaph by Johnson, containing, among other things, the oft-quoted *affectuum potens, at lenis dominator*. An even more suitable farewell is, perhaps, to be found in the simpler 'valediction *cum osculo*' which his rugged old friend inserted in a letter to Langton: 'Let not his frailties be remembered; he was a very great man.'

Goldsmith's physical likeness must be sought between the idealised portrait painted by Reynolds early in 1770, and the semi-grotesque 'head' by Bunbury prefixed to the posthumous issue in 1776 of *The Haunch of Venison*. As to his character, it has suffered a little from the report of those to whom, like Walpole, Garrick, Hawkins and Boswell, his peculiarities were more apparent than his genius; though certain things must be admitted because he admits them himself. Both early and late, he confesses to a trick of blundering, a slow and hesitating utterance, an assumed pomposity which looked like self-importance. He had also a distinct brogue which he cultivated rather than corrected. But as to 'talking like poor Poll,' the dictum requires qualification. It is quite intelligible that, in the dominating presence of Johnson, whose magisterial manner overrode both

Burke and Gibbon, Goldsmith, who was twenty years younger, whose wit reached its flashing point but fitfully, and who was easily disconcerted in argument, should not have appeared at his best, though there were cases when, to use a colloquialism, he 'got home' even on the great man himself—witness the happy observation that Johnson would make the little fishes of fable-land talk like whales. But evidence is not wanting that Goldsmith could converse delightfully in more congenial companies. With respect to certain other imputed shortcomings—the love of fine clothes, for instance—the most charitable explanation is the desire to extenuate physical deficiencies, inseparable from a morbid self-consciousness; while, as regards his extravagance, something should be allowed for the accidents of his education, and for the canker of poverty which had eaten into his early years. And it must be remembered that he would give his last farthing to any plausible applicant, and that he had the kindest heart in the world.

As a literary man, what strikes one most is the individuality—the intellectual detachment of his genius. He is a standing illustration of Boswell's clever contention that the fowls running about the yard are better flavoured than those which are fed in coops. He belonged to no school; he formed none. If, in his verse, we find traces of Addison or Prior, of Lesage or Fielding in his novel, of Farquhar or Cibber in his comedies, those traces are in the pattern and not in the stuff. The stuff is Goldsmith—Goldsmith's philosophy, Goldsmith's heart, Goldsmith's untaught grace, simplicity, sweetness. He was but forty-six when he died; and he was maturing to the last. Whether his productive period had ceased, whether, with a longer span, he would have gone higher—may be doubted. But, notwithstanding a mass of hackwork which his faculty of lucid exposition almost raised to a fine art, he contrived, even in his short-life, to leave behind him some of the most finished didactic poetry in the language; some unsurpassed familiar verse; a series of essays ranking only below Lamb's; a unique and original novel; and a comedy which, besides being readable, is still acted to delighted audiences. He might have lived longer and done less; but at least he did not live long enough to fall below his best.

CHAPTER X

THE LITERARY INFLUENCE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

MACPHERSON'S OSSIAN. CHATTERTON.

PERCY AND THE WARTONS

It is scarcely a paradox to say that the Middle Ages have influenced modern literature more strongly through their architecture than through their poems. Gothic churches and old castles have exerted a medieval literary influence on many authors who have had no close acquaintance with old French and German poets, and not much curiosity about their ideals or their style. Even in writers better qualified by study of medieval literature, like Southey and Scott, it is generally the historical substance of the Middle Ages rather than anything in the imaginative form of old poetry or romance that attracts them. Even William Morris, who is much more affected by the manner of old poetry than Scott, is curiously unmedieval in much of his poetry ; there is nothing of the old fashion in the poem *The Defence of Guenevere*, and the old English rhythm of the song in *Sir Peter Harpdon's End* is in striking contrast, almost a discord, with the dramatic blank verse of the piece. Medieval verse has seldom been imitated or revived without the motive of parody, as, for instance, in Swinburne's *Masque of Queen Bersabe* ; the great exception is in the adoption of the old ballad measures, from which English poetry was abundantly refreshed through Wordsworth, Scott and Coleridge. And here, also, though the ballad measures live and thrive all through the nineteenth century so naturally that few people think of their debt to Percy's *Reliques*, yet, at the beginning, there is parody in the greatest of all that race, *The Ancient Mariner*—not quite so obvious in the established version as in the first editions (in the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798 and 1800), but still clear enough.

The Middle Ages did much to help literary fancy long before the time of Scott ; but the thrill of mystery and wonder came

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much more from Gothic buildings than from *Morte d'Arthur*, and it is found in writers who had paid little or no attention to old English romance, as well as in those who showed their interest in it. The famous passage in Congreve's *Mourning Bride* is romantic in spirit and intention, and its success is won from a Gothic cathedral, with no intermediary literature. So, also, the romantic ruin in the first version of Collins's *Ode to Evening*, 'whose walls more awful nod,' is pictorial, not literary, except in the conventional 'nod,' which is literary, indeed, but not at all medieval. This 'nod,' by the way, has been carefully studied in *Guesses at Truth*¹; it is a good criterion of the eighteenth century romantic style; Collins, happily, got rid of it, and saved his poem unblemished.

Medieval literary studies undoubtedly encouraged the taste for such romantic effects as are beheld when abbeys or ruined castles are visited by twilight or moonlight; but the literary Gothic terror or wonder could be exercised without any more knowledge of the Middle Ages than Victor Hugo possessed, whose *Notre Dame de Paris* owes hardly anything of its triumph to medieval books. On the other hand, there was much literature of the Middle Ages known and studied in the earlier part of the eighteenth century without any great effect upon the aims or sensibilities of practising men of letters. There seems to have been no such prejudice against medieval literature, as there undoubtedly was, for a long time, against Gothic architecture. 'Black letter' poetry and the books of chivalry were, naturally and rightly, believed to be old-fashioned, but they were not depreciated more emphatically than were the Elizabethans; and, perhaps, the very want of exact historical knowledge concerning the Middle Ages allowed reading men to judge impartially when medieval things came under their notice. Dryden's praise of Chaucer is, altogether and in every particular, far beyond the reach of his age in criticism; but it is not at variance with the common literary judgment of his time, or of Pope's. The principle is quite clear; in dealing with Chaucer, one must allow for his ignorance of true English verse and, of course, for his old English phrasing; but, then, he is to be taken on his merits, for his imagination and his narrative skill, and, so taken, he comes out a better example of sound poetical wit than Ovid himself, and more truly a follower of nature. Pope sees clearly and is not put off by literary prejudices; the theme of *Eloisa to Abelard* is neither better nor worse for dating back to the twelfth century, and he appropriates *The*

¹ Pp. 44 ff. Eversley Series edn. 1897.

Temple of Fame from Chaucer because he finds that its substance is good enough for him. Addison's estimate of *Chevy Chase* is made in nearly the same spirit; only, here something controversial comes in. He shows that the old English ballad has some of the qualities of classical epic; epic virtues are not exclusively Greek and Roman. Yet, curiously, there is an additional moral; the ballad is not used as an alternative to the modern taste for correct writing, but, on the contrary, as a reproof to the metaphysical school, an example of 'the essential and inherent perfection of simplicity of thought.' It is significant that the opposite manner, which is not simple, but broken up into epigram and points of wit, is called 'Gothick' by Addison; the imitators of Cowley are 'Gothick'; the medieval ballad, which many people would have reckoned 'Gothick,' is employed as an example of classical simplicity to refute them. 'Gothick' was so very generally used to denote what is now called 'medieval'—'the Gothick romances,' 'the Gothick mythology of elves and fairies'—that Addison's paradoxical application of the term in those two papers can hardly have been unintentional; it shows, at any rate, that the prejudice against Gothic art did not mislead him in his judgment of old-fashioned poetry. In his more limited measure, he agrees with Dryden and Pope. What is Gothic in date may be classical in spirit.

Medievalism was one of the minor eccentric fashions of the time, noted by Dryden in his reference to his 'old Saxon friends,' and by Pope with his 'mister wight'; but those shadows of 'The Upheaving of Ælfred' were not strong enough, for good or ill, either to make a romantic revival or to provoke a modern curse on paladins and troubadours. Rymer, indeed, who knew more than anyone else about old French and Provençal poetry, was the loudest champion of the unities and classical authority. Medieval studies, including the history of poetry, could be carried on without any particular bearing on modern productive art, with no glimmering of a medievalist romantic school and no threatening of insult or danger to the most precise and scrupulous modern taste. It would seem that the long 'battle of the books,' the debate of ancients and moderns in France and England, had greatly mitigated, if not altogether quenched, the old jealousy of the Middle Ages which is exemplified in Ben Jonson's tirade:

No Knights o' the Sun, nor Amadis de Gauls,
Primaleons, Pantagruels, public nothings,
Abortives of the fabulous dark cloister.

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This is the old scholarly contempt for the Middle Ages ; it is coming to be out of date in Jonson's time. The books of chivalry recovered some of their favour, as they ceased to be dangerous distractions ; those who laughed at *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* were not ashamed to read *The Seven Champions of Christendom*. There is a pleasant apology for the old romances by Chapelain in France, an author more determined than Ben Jonson in his obedience to literary rules. And it may be supposed that, later, when the extreme modern party had gone so far as to abuse Homer for his irregularities and barbarous want of taste, there would be less inclination among sensible men to find fault with medieval roughness ; cavilling at superfluities in romance might be all very well, but it was too like the scandalous treatment of Homer by Perrault and his party ; those, on the other hand, who stood up for Homer might be the less ready to censure *Amadis of Gaul*. There may be something of this motive in Addison's praise of *Chevy Chase* ; at any rate, he has sense to find the classical excellences where the pedantic moderns would not look for anything of the sort.

Modern literature and the minds of modern readers are so affected by different strains of medieval influence through various 'romantic' schools, through history, travel and the study of languages, that it is difficult to understand the temper of the students who broke into medieval antiquities in the seventeenth century and discovered much poetry by the way, though their chief business was with chronicles and state papers. It is safe to believe that everything which appeals to any reader as peculiarly medieval in the works of Tennyson or Rossetti was not apparent to Hickee or Hearne or Rymer, any more than it was to Leibniz (a great medieval antiquary), or, later, to Muratori, who makes poetry one of his many interests in the course of work resembling Rymer's, though marked by better taste and intelligence. The Middle Ages were studied, sometimes, with a view to modern applications ; but these were generally political or religious, not literary. And, in literary studies, it is long before anything like *Ivanhoe* or anything like *The Defence of Guenevere* is discernible. Before the spell of the grail was heard again, and before the vision of Dante was at all regarded, much had to be learned and many experiments to be made. The first attraction from the Middle Ages, coming as a discovery due to antiquarian research and not by way of tradition, was that of old northern heroic poetry, commonly called Icelandic—'Islandic,' as Percy spells it. Gray,

Temple, *The Death-Song of Ragnar Lodbrok* 221

when he composed *The Descent of Odin* and *The Fatal Sisters*, drew from sources which had been made known in England in the seventeenth century. These, in their effect on English readers, formed the first example of the literary influence of the Middle Ages, consciously recognised as such, and taken up with antiquarian literary interest.

Of course, the whole of modern literature is full of the Middle Ages; the most disdainful modern classicist owes, in France, his alexandrine verse to the twelfth century and, in England, his heroic verse to a tradition older still. The poet who stands for the perfection of the renaissance in Italy, Ariosto, derives his stanza from the lyric school of Provence, and is indebted for most of his matter to old romances. Through Chaucer and Spenser, through *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, through many chapbooks and through the unprinted living folklore of England, the Middle Ages formed the minds of Dryden and Pope and their contemporaries. But, for a distinct and deliberate notice of something medieval found by study and considered to be available in translation or adaptation, one must go to Sir William Temple's remarks about *The Death-Song of Ragnar Lodbrok*; it is hard to find anything of the same sort earlier. What marks it out is not so much the literary curiosity which selects it, but the literary estimate which judges this ancient northern piece to have a present value. Thereby, Sir William Temple begins the modern sort of literary study which looks for suggestion in old remote and foreign regions, and he sets a precedent for the explorations of various romantic schools, wandering through all the world in search of plots, scenery and local colour.

Here, it may be objected that this kind of exploration was nothing new; that the Middle Ages themselves had collected stories from all the ends of the earth; that Elizabethans range as far as Southey or Victor Hugo; that Racine, too, calculates the effect of what is distant and what is foreign, in his choice of subjects for tragedy, *Iphigénie* or *Bajazet*. What, then, is specially remarkable in the fact that Scandinavian legend was noted as interesting, and that Sir William Temple gave an hour of study to the death-song of Ragnar? The novelty is in the historical motive. *The Death-Song of Ragnar* is intelligible without much historical commentary; anyone can understand the emphatic phrases: 'we smote with swords' (*pugnāvimus ensibus*); 'laughing I die' (*ridens moriar*)—not to speak of the mistranslated lines

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which represent the heroes in Valhalla drinking ale out of the skulls of their enemies :

*Bibemus cerevisiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum.*

Those things¹ caught men's fancy ; and the honourable, courageous viking was launched to try his fortune in modern romantic literature. But there was the historical interest, besides ; and Temple, in his essay *Of Heroic Virtue*, notices the song of Ragnar because it explains something in the past, and contributes something to the experience of the human race. He takes up 'runic' literature again in his essay *Of Poetry* ; he is working on the same lines as Sidney and attending the progress of poesy from its early life among the barbarians. He vindicates, like Daniel, the right of the Gothic nations to a share in the humanities. And he proves, by particulars, what Sidney and Daniel had left vague ; he exhibits this specimen from a definite tract of country ; and his quotation has a double effect ; it touches those readers who may be looking for a new thrill and fresh sources of amazement ; it touches those also who, besides this craving, are curious about the past ; who are historically minded and who try to understand the various fashions of thought in different ages. Thus, one significance of this quotation from Ragnar's death-song is that it helps to alter the historical view of the world. Historical studies had suffered from the old prevalent opinion (still strong in the eighteenth century, if not later) that all ages of the world are very much alike. *The Death-Song of Ragnar* and other references to the heroic poetry of Norway were like distance marks which brought out the perspective.

Scandinavian suggestions did not lead immediately to any very large results in English poetry or fiction. Macpherson came in later and took their ground ; the profits all went to Ossian. Students of northern antiquities were too conscientious and not daring enough ; Percy's *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* came out humbly in the wake of Macpherson ; his book is like what the Icelanders, in a favourite contemptuous figure, call 'the little boat towed behind'¹. But the history of Scandinavian studies is worth some notice, though Odin and his friends achieved no such sweeping victories as the heroes of Morven.

Temple's authorities are Scandinavian, not English, scholars ; he conversed at Nimeguen on these subjects with count

¹ 'It would be as vain to deny, as it is perhaps impolitic to mention, that this attempt is owing to the success of the Erse fragments' (*Five Pieces*, 1763, Preface).

Omenstierna, and he quotes from Olaus Wormius. But northern studies were already flourishing in England by means of the Oxford press, to which Junius had given founts of type from which were printed his Gothic and Old English gospels, and where the founts are still preserved and ready for use. Junius's type was used in printing Hickes's Icelandic grammar, which was afterwards included in the magnificent *Thesaurus Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium*. It was used, also, for E. G.'s (Edmund Gibson's) Oxford edition of *Polemo-Middlinia* and of *Christis Kirk on the Grene* (1691), which was brought out as a philological joke, with no detriment to philological science. Gothic, Icelandic, Old English and the languages of Chaucer and Gawain Douglas are all employed in illustration of these two excellent comic poems, for the benefit of the 'joco-serious Commonwealth' to which the book is dedicated.

Hickes's *Thesaurus* is a great miscellaneous work on the antiquities of all the Teutonic languages. One page in it has now the authority of an original Old English document, for there he printed the heroic lay of *Finnsburh* from a manuscript at Lambeth which is not at present to be found. On the opposite page and immediately following is an Icelandic poem : Hervor at her father Angantyr's grave, calling upon him to give up the magic sword which had been buried with him. This poem is translated into English prose, and it had considerable effect on modern literature. It was thought good enough, and not too learned or recondite, to be reprinted in the new edition of Dryden's *Miscellany*, Part VI, in 1716, Icelandic text and all. It seems to have been an after-thought of the editor, or in compliance with a suggestion from outside which the editor was too idle to refuse—for the piece is printed with Hickes's heading, which refers to the preceding piece (*Finnsburh*) in the *Thesaurus* and compares the Icelandic with the Old English verse—quite unintelligible as it stands, abruptly, in the *Miscellany*¹. But, however it came about, the selection is a good one, and had as much success as is possible to those shadowy ancient things. It is repeated, under the title *The Incantation of Hervor* by Percy, as the first of his *Five Runic Pieces*; and, after this, it became a favourite subject for paraphrase; it did not escape 'Monk' Lewis; and it appears as *L'Épée d'Angantyr* in the *Poèmes barbares* of Leconte de Lisle.

Percy's second piece is *The Dying Ode of Ragnar Lodbrog*. This had not been left unnoticed after Temple's quotation from it. Thomas Warton the elder translated the two stanzas which Temple

¹ Part VI.

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took from his authority, the *Literatura Runica* of Olaus Wormius; they appeared as 'a Runic Ode' in the posthumous volume of his poems (1748). They counted for something in the education of Thomas the younger and Joseph Warton, together with the architecture of Winchester and Windsor, and the poetry of Spenser and Milton.

It will be observed that Old English poetry had none of this success—very slight success indeed, but still ascertainable—which attended *The Death-Song of Ragnar* and *The Incantation of Hervor*. Perhaps, if Hickes had translated *The Fight at Finnsburh*—but he did not, and so the Icelandic page was taken and the Old English left. Apart from that accident, there was good reason for the greater success of the 'runic' or 'Islandic' poems. They are much more compact and pointed than anything in Old English. The poem of Hervor is an intensely passionate lyrical drama; the song of Ragnar is an emphatic rendering of the heroic spirit of the north; the poem is itself the product of an early romantic movement which had learned the artistic use of heroic phrases, and makes the most of them in a loud metallic way. The literary artifice can be detected now; the difference from the older heroic style is as great as that between Burns and Barbour in their idea of the valiant king Robert and the eloquence of Bannockburn. But this calculated and brassy emphasis all went to establish *The Death-Song* as a remarkable proof of early poetical genius in the north, and a type of northern heroic virtue.

The other three pieces in Percy's volume had less *vogue* than Ragnar and the sword of Angantyr. One is *The Ransome of Egill the Scald*, taken from Olaus Wormius. It had been appreciated already by Temple, who calls the poet by the name of his father, but means Egil when he says 'Scallogrim.' The passage may be quoted; it follows immediately on *The Death-Song of Ragnar*:

I am deceived, if in this sonnet, and a following ode of Scallogrim (which was likewise made by him after he was condemned to die, and deserved his pardon for a reward) there be not a vein truly poetical, and in its kind Pindaric, taking it with the allowance of the different climates, fashions, opinions, and languages of such distant countries.

Unfortunately, the prose history of Egil Skallagrimsson was not printed as yet, and could not be used by Percy. There is a curious neglect of history in Percy's notes on the two poems that follow: *The Funeral Song of Hacon* and *The Complaint of Harold*. The selection of the poems is a good one; but it is clear that, with the editor, the mythological interest is stronger than the

historical. His principal guide is *Introduction à l'histoire du Danemarck* by Chevalier Mallet, as to which we read: 'A translation of this work is in great forwardness, and will shortly be published.' It is curious to see how the connection with the Oxford press and the tradition of Junius and Hickes is still maintained; Percy here (as also in the preface to his *Reliques*) acknowledges the help of Lye, whose edition of the Gothic Gospels was published at Oxford in 1750. The 'Islandic Originals,' added by Percy after his translations, were plainly intended as a reminder to Macpherson that the original Gaelic of *Fingal* was still unpublished. The *Five Pieces*, it should be observed, were issued without Percy's name.

Gray's two translations from the Icelandic¹ are far the finest result of those antiquarian studies, and they help to explain how comparatively small was the influence of the north upon English poetry. How much Gray knew of the language is doubtful; but he certainly knew something, and did not depend entirely on the Latin translations which he found in Bartholinus or Torfaeus. He must have caught something of the rhythm, in

*Vindum, vindum
Vef darradar,*

and have appreciated the sharpness and brilliance of certain among the phrases. His *Descent of Odin* and his *Fatal Sisters* are more than a mere exercise in a foreign language, or a record of romantic things discovered in little-known mythologies. The Icelandic poems were more to Gray than they were to any other scholar, because they exactly correspond to his own ideals of poetic style—concise, alert, unmuffled, never drawling or clumsy. Gray must have felt this. It meant that there was nothing more to be done with 'runic' poetry in English. It was all too finished, too classical. No modern artist could hope to improve upon the style of the northern poems; and the subjects of northern mythology, good as they were in themselves, would be difficult and dangerous if clothed in English narrative or dramatic forms. Gray uses what he can, out of his Icelandic studies, by transferring some of the motives and phrases to a British theme, in *The Bard*.

In Hickes's *Thesaurus* may be found many curious specimens of what is now called Middle English: he quotes *Poema Morale*, and he gives in full *The Land of Cockayne*. He discusses versification, and notes in Old English verse a greater regard for quantity than in modern English (giving examples from Cowley of short syllables lengthened and long shortened); while, in

¹ Cf. *ante*, chap. vii, pp. 129 ff.

discussing alliteration, he quotes from modern poets, Donne, Waller, Dryden. It might be said that the promise of the *History of English Poetry* is there; Hickes certainly does much in the ground later occupied by Warton. Gibson's little book may be mentioned again as part of the same work; and it had an effect more immediate than Hickes's 'semi-Saxon' quotations. There was an audience ready for *Christis Kirk on the Grene*, and E. G. ought to be honoured in Scotland as a founder of modern Scottish poetry and one of the ancestors of Burns¹. Allan Ramsay took up the poem, and, thus, E. G.'s new-year diversion (intended, as he says, for the Saturnalia) is related to the whole movement of that age in favour of ballads and popular songs, as well as specially to the new Scottish poetry of Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns.

If Percy's *Reliques* be taken as the chief result of this movement, then we may judge that there were in it two main interests—one, antiquarian; one, simply a liking for poetry, wherever found, with an inclination to find it in the 'silly sooth' of popular rimes. Thus, the search for ballads is only partially and accidentally medieval. But it has a likeness to all 'romantic' schools, in so far as it turns away from fashionable and conventional literature, and it was natural that lovers of ballads should also be fond of old English poetry in general—a combination of tastes well exhibited in the famous folio MS which was used by Percy and now bears his name.

Addison's essays on *Chevy Chace* and *The Children in the Wood* show how ballads were appreciated; and, in the last of these, he notes particularly how the late Lord Dorset 'had a numerous collection of old English ballads and took a particular pleasure in reading them.' Addison proceeds: 'I can affirm the same of Mr Dryden, and know several of the most refined writers of our present age who are of the same humour.' And then he speaks of Molière's thoughts on the subject, as he has expressed them in *Le Misanthrope*. Ballads, it is plain, had an audience ready for them, and they were provided in fair quantity long before Percy. The imitation of them began very early; Lady Wardlaw's *Hardyknute* was published in 1719 as an ancient poem; and again in Ramsay's *Evergreen* (1724).

Between ballads and Scottish songs, which seem to have been welcome everywhere, and ancient 'runic' pieces, which were praised occasionally by amateurs, it would seem as if old

¹ As to the publication of *Christis Kirk* in Watson's *Choice Collection* (1706-11) and Allan Ramsay's addition to the poem, cf. *ante*, vol. ix, pp. 366 and 367.

English poems, earlier than Chaucer, were neglected. But we know from Pope's scheme of a history of English poetry that they were not forgotten, though it was left for Warton to study them more minutely. Pope's liberality of judgment may be surprising to those who take their opinions ready made. He was not specially interested in the Middle Ages, but neither was he intolerant, whatever he might say about monks and 'the long Gothic night.' He never repudiated his debt to Spenser; and, in his praise of Shakespeare, he makes amends to the Middle Ages for anything he had said against them: Shakespeare, he says, is 'an ancient and majestick piece of Gothick architecture compared with a neat modern building.' But, before the mediæval poetry of England could be explored in accordance with the suggestions of Pope's historical scheme, there came the triumph of Ossian, which utterly overwhelmed the poor scrupulous experiments of 'runic' translators, and carried off the greatest men—Goethe, Bonaparte—in a common enthusiasm.

Ossian, like Ragnar Lodbrok, belongs to a time earlier than what is now generally reckoned the Middle Ages; it was not till after Macpherson that the chivalrous Middle Ages—the world of *Ivanhoe* or *The Talisman*, of *Lohengrin* or *Tannhäuser*—came to their own again. There was something in the earlier times which seems to have been more fascinating. But Ossian did not need to concern himself much about his date and origin; there was no serious rivalry to be feared either from *The Descent of Odin* or *The Castle of Otranto*. Only a few vestiges of mediæval literature contributed to the great victory, which was won, not unfairly, by rhythm, imagery and sentiment, historical and local associations helping in various degrees. The author or translator of Ossian won his great success fairly, by unfair means. To call him an impostor is true, but insufficient. When Ossian dethroned Homer in the soul of Werther, the historical and antiquarian fraud of Macpherson had very little to do with it. Werther and Charlotte mingle their tears over the 'Songs of Selma'; it would be an insult to Goethe to suppose that he translated and printed these 'Songs' merely as interesting philological specimens of the ancient life of Scotland, or that he was not really possessed and enchanted by the melancholy winds and the voices of the days of old. Blair's opinion about Ossian is stated in such terms as these:

The description of Fingal's airy hall, in the poem called *Berrathon*, and of the ascent of Malvina into it deserves particular notice, as remarkably noble and magnificent. But above all, the engagement of Fingal with the Spirit of

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Loda, in *Caric-thura*, cannot be mentioned without admiration. I forbear transcribing the passage, as it must have drawn the attention of every one who has read the works of Ossian. The undaunted courage of Fingal, opposed to all the terrors of the Scandinavian god; the appearance and the speech of the awful spirit; the wound which he receives, and the shriek which he sends forth, 'as rolled into himself, he rose upon the wind,' are full of the most amazing and terrible majesty, that *I know no passage more sublime in the writings of any uninspired author.*

Blair, as a doctor of divinity and professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres, was bound to be careful in his language, and, if it here seems extravagant, it is certainly not careless. His deliberate judgment as to the sublimity of Ossian must be taken as absolutely sincere, and it cannot be sincere if not founded on the text as it stands, if bribed or biassed in any measurable degree by antiquarian considerations. And the praise of Goethe and Blair was honestly won by Macpherson; his imagery, thoughts and sentences are estimated by these critics for the effect upon their minds. What they desire is beauty of imagination, thought and language; these, they find in Ossian, the published Ossian, the book in their hands; if Macpherson wrote it all, then their praise belongs to him. Nothing can alter the fact that sentences were written and published which were good enough to obtain this praise; all Macpherson's craft as a philological impostor would have been nothing without his literary skill. He was original enough, in a peculiar way, to touch and thrill the whole of Europe.

The glamour of Ossian is only very partially to be reckoned among the literary influences of the Middle Ages. It is romantic, in every acceptation of that too significant word. But 'romantic' and 'medieval' are not the same thing. The Middle Ages help the modern romantic authors in many ways, and some of these may be found in Ossian; the vague twilight of Ossian, and the persistent tones of lamentation, are in accordance with many passages of old Scandinavian poetry—of *The Lays of Helgi* and *The Lament of Gudrun*, in the elder *Edda*—with many old ballads, with much of the Arthurian legend. But those very likenesses may prove a warning not to take 'medieval' as meaning the exclusive possession of any of those qualities or modes. If certain fashions of sentiment are found both in the elder *Edda* and in *Morte d'Arthur*, it is probable that they will be found also in ancient Babylon and in the South Sea islands. And, if the scenery and sentiment of Ossian are not peculiarly medieval, though they are undoubtedly romantic, the spell of Ossian, as we

may fitly call it—that is, the phrases and rhythmical cadences—are obviously due to the inspired writings with which Blair, by a simple and wellknown device of rhetoric, was willing to compare them. The language of Ossian is copied from David and Isaiah. It is enough to quote from the passage whose sublimity no uninspired author has outdone—the debate of Fingal and the ‘spirit of dismal Loda’:

‘Dost thou force me from my place?’ replied the hollow voice. ‘The people bend before me. I turn the battle in the field of the brave. I look on the nations and they vanish; my nostrils pour the blast of death. I come abroad on the winds: the tempests are before my face. But my dwelling is calm, above the clouds; the fields of my rest are pleasant.’

Another quotation may be taken from the other place selected by Blair (which, by the way, is close to Werther’s last momentous quotation, following on ‘Selma’):

Malvina! where art thou, with thy songs, with the soft sound of thy steps? Son of Alpin, art thou near? where is the daughter of Toscar? ‘I passed, O son of Fingal, by Tor-lutha’s mossy walls. The smoke of the hall was ceased. Silence was among the trees of the hill. The voice of the chase was over. I saw the daughters of the bow. I asked about Malvina, but they answered not. They turned their faces away: thin darkness covered their beauty. They were like stars, on a rainy hill, by night, each looking faintly through her mist.’

The last sentence is in a different measure from the rest of the passage. Most of it, and almost the whole of Ossian, is in parallel phrases, resembling Hebrew poetry. This was observed by Malcolm Laing, and is practically acknowledged by Macpherson in the parallel passages which he gives in his notes; his admirers dwelt upon the ‘uninspired’ eloquence which reminded them of the Bible. It sometimes resembles the oriental manner satirised by Goldsmith in *The Citizen of the World*¹: ‘there is nothing like sense in the true Eastern style, where nothing more is required but sublimity.’

But Macpherson did not invent the whole of Ossian out of his own head: he knew a good deal of Gaelic poetry. If he had been more of a Celtic scholar, he might have treated Gaelic songs as Hickes did *The Incantation of Hervor*, printing the text with a prose translation, and not asking for any favour from ‘the reading public.’ But he wished to be popular, and he took the right way to that end—leaving Percy in the cold shade with his *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* and his philological compilations.

The life of Macpherson has the interest of an ironical fable.

¹ Letter xxxiii.

Nemesis came upon him with a humorous cruelty ; no detective romance ever worked out a more coherent plot. The end of the story is that Macpherson, long after his first successes, was compelled by the enthusiasm of his supporters to provide them with Gaelic originals. He laboured hard to compose the Gaelic Ossian, when he was weary of the whole affair. He would gladly have been allowed to pass with credit as the original composer of the English Ossian, which was all that he really cared for. But his ingenuity had brought him to this dilemma, that he could not claim what really belonged to him in the invention of Ossian without affronting his generous friends ; and so, twenty years after his triumph, he had to sit down in cold blood and make his ancient Gaelic poetry. He had begun with a piece of literary artifice, a practical joke ; he ended with deliberate forgery, which, the more it succeeded, would leave to him the less of what was really his due for the merits of the English Ossian.

James Macpherson was born in 1736 near Kingussie, the son of a small farmer. He did well at the university of Aberdeen and then, for some time, was schoolmaster in his native parish, Ruthven. His literary tastes and ambitions were keen, and, in 1758, he published a poem, *The Highlander*. About this date, he was made tutor to the son of Graham of Balgowan, and, in 1759, he went to Moffat with his pupil (Thomas Graham, the hero of Barrosa) ; from which occasion the *vogue* of Ossian began. At Moffat, Macpherson met John Home, the author of *Douglas*, who was full of the romantic interest in the Highlands which he passed on to Collins, and which was shared by Thomson. Macpherson really knew something about Gaelic poetry, and particularly the poems of Ossianic tradition which were generally popular in Badenoch. But his own literary taste was too decided to let him be content with what he knew ; he honestly thought that the traditional Gaelic poems were not very good ; he saw the chance for original exercises on Gaelic themes. His acquaintance Home, however, wanted to get at the true Celtic spirit, which, at the same time, ought to agree with what he expected of it. Macpherson supplied him with *The Death of Oscar*, a thoroughly romantic story, resembling in plot Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, but more tragical—it ended in the death of the two rivals and the lady also. This was followed by others, which Home showed to Blair in Edinburgh. In the next year, 1760, appeared *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language*.

Then, Macpherson went travelling in the Highlands and Western isles, persuaded by 'several people of rank, as well as taste.' The result was the complete epic of *Fingal: an ancient epic poem in six books*, which was published in 1762.

Several gentlemen in the Highlands and isles gave me all the assistance in their power, and it was by their means I was enabled to compleat the epic poem. How far it comes up to the rules of the epopoea, is the province of criticism to examine. It is only my business to lay it before the reader, as I have found it.

In the *Fingal* volume was also published among shorter pieces *Temora, an epic poem*: 'little more than the opening' is Macpherson's note. But, in 1763, this poem, too, was completed, in eight books.

The 'advertisement' to *Fingal* states that

there is a design on foot to print the Originals as soon as the translator shall have time to transcribe them for the press; and if this publication shall not take place, copies will then be deposited in one of the public libraries, to prevent so ancient a monument of genius from being lost.

Nevertheless, it is clear that Macpherson, from the first, intended to take no more than was convenient from what he knew of Gaelic verse. He did not wish to translate such poems as captain Hector MacIntyre translated for Mr Jonathan Oldbuck. He did not ask for help from Irish scholars. He spoke slightly of the Irish tales of Finn; the traditional name of Finn MacCowl was not good enough, and Macpherson invented the name Fingal; he insisted that Fingal, Ossian, Oscar and all the poems were not merely Scottish but 'Caledonian'; in the glory of Ossian, the Irish have only by courtesy a share. This glory, in Macpherson's mind, was not romantic like the tales of chivalry, but heroic and political, like the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. He might have been content, and he might have been successful, with the purely romantic elements as he found them in Gaelic poems, whether of Scotland or of Ireland. But his fabrications (like those of Geoffrey of Monmouth) are intended to glorify the history of his native country, and Fingal and Oscar (like king Arthur in *The Brut*) are victorious adversaries of Rome. 'Both nations' (Caledonia and Ireland), says Macpherson, 'were almost the same people in the days of that hero'; but they are not equal; and Fingal the Caledonian hero comes to the relief of Ireland against the king of Lochlin, when Cuchullin the Irish champion has been defeated. Macpherson thus provoked Irish scholars and English sceptics equally, and in such a way that Irish scholars were generally cut off from a hearing in England. Johnson did not care

for them; what he asked for was the original Gaelic of the 'epopoea'; this the Irish Ossianic poems were not, and they were rejected by Macpherson himself. They would have exploded his history, and, with it, his epic scaffolding. Fingal, conqueror of the Romans, and Ossian, rival of Homer, had become necessary to Macpherson's scheme. And, as a literary man, Macpherson was right—amazingly clever in his selections and rejections and in the whole frame of his policy, so far as it was intended to catch the greatest number of readers. Romance is to be found there in its two chief modes—superficial variety of scenes, and the opposite mode of intense feeling. There is also enough to conciliate a severer taste, in the motives of national heroism, and in the poet's conformity with the standards of epic. Thus, all sorts of readers were attracted—lovers of antiquity, lovers of romance, hearts of sensibility and those respectable critics who were not ashamed to follow Milton, Dryden and Pope in their devotion to the epic ideal.

Macpherson's literary talent was considerable, and is not limited to his ancient epic poems. Reference will be made elsewhere¹ to his *History of Great Britain, from the Restoration in 1660 to the Accession of the House of Hannover* (1775). In 1773, he had published a prose translation of the *Iliad*, which was not highly appreciated. But it is interesting as an experiment in rhythm and as an attempt to free Homer from English literary conventions. Macpherson died in 1796, in his native Badenoch, in the house which he had built for himself and named 'Belleville'; he was buried in Westminster abbey, at his own request. A Gaelic text, incomplete, was published from his papers in 1807. Klopstock, Herder and Goethe took this publication seriously and tried to discover in it the laws of Caledonian verse. In 1805, Malcolm Laing brought out an edition of Ossian (and of Macpherson's own poems), in which the debts of Macpherson were exposed, with some exaggeration. Scott's article on Laing in *The Edinburgh Review* (1805) reaches most of the conclusions that have been proved by later critical research.

Percy's *Reliques* were much more closely related to the Middle Ages than Ossian was; they revealed the proper medieval treasures of romance and ballad poetry. They are much nearer than the 'runic' poems to what is commonly reckoned medieval. Percy's ballads are also connected with various other tastes—with the liking for Scottish and Irish music which had led to the publication

of Scottish songs in D'Urfey's collection, in *Old English Ballads* 1723—1727, in Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* and Ramsay's *Tea Table Miscellany*. But, though there was nothing peculiarly medieval in *Fy, let us all to the Bridal* or in *Cowden Knowes*, the taste for such country songs often went with the taste for 'Gothic' romances.

The famous folio MS which Percy secured from Humphrey Pitt of Shifnal had been compiled with no exclusive regard for any one kind. The book when Percy found it was being treated as waste paper and used for fire-lighting. When it was saved from total destruction, it was still treated with small respect; Percy, instead of copying, tore out the ballad of *King Estmere* as copy for the printers, without saving the original pages. But most of the book is preserved; it has been fully edited by Furnivall and Hales, with assistance from Child and Chappell; what Percy took or left is easily discerned. Ritson, the avenger, followed Percy as he followed Warton, and, in the introduction to his *English Romanceës*, displayed some of Percy's methods, and proved how far his versions were from the original. But Percy was avowedly an improver and restorer. His processes are not those of scrupulous philology, but neither are they such as Macpherson favoured. His three volumes contain what they profess in the title-page:

Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and other Pieces of our earlier Poets (chiefly of the Lyric kind). Together with some few of later date.

And there is much greater variety than the title-page offers; to take extreme cases, the *Reliques* include the song against Richard of Almaine and the song on the false traitor Thomas Cromwell, the ballads of *Edom o' Gordon* and *Sir Patrick Spens*, 'Gentle river' from the Spanish, *Old Tom of Bedlam* and *Lilliburlero*, *The Fairies Farewell* by Corbet and *Admiral Hosier's Ghost* by Glover. There are essays on ancient English minstrels, on the metrical romances, on the origin of the English stage, and the metre of *Pierce Plowman's Vision*, covering much of the ground taken later by Warton, and certainly giving a strong impulse to the study of old English poetry. Percy makes a strong and not exaggerated claim for the art of the old poets and, by an analysis of *Libius Disconius*, proves 'their skill in distributing and conducting their fable.' His opinion about early English poetry is worth quoting:

It has happened unluckily, that the antiquaries who have revived the works of our ancient writers have been for the most part men void of taste and genius,

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and therefore have always fastidiously rejected the old poetical Romances, because founded on fictitious or popular subjects, while they have been careful to grub up every petty fragment of the most dull and insipid rhymist, whose merit it was to deform morality, or obscure true history. Should the public encourage the revival of some of those ancient Epic Songs of Chivalry, they would frequently see the rich ore of an Ariosto or a Tasso, tho' buried it may be among the rubbish and dross of barbarous times.

The public did not discourage this revival, and what Percy wanted was carried out by Ritson, Ellis, Scott and their successors. Perhaps the best thing in Percy's criticism is his distinction between the two classes of ballad; the one incorrect, with a romantic wildness, is in contrast to the later, tamer southern class, which is thus accurately described :

The other sort are written in exacter measure, have a low or subordinate correctness, sometimes bordering on the insipid, yet often well adapted to the pathetic.

As an example, Percy refers to *Gernutus* :

In Venice town not long agoe
A cruel Jew did dwell,
Which lived all on usurie
As Italian writers tell.

The difference here noted by Percy is the principal thing in this branch of learning, and it could hardly be explained in better words.

It was through Percy's *Reliques* that the Middle Ages really came to have an influence in modern poetry, and this was an effect far greater than that of Ossian (which was not medieval) or that of *The Castle of Otranto* (which was not poetical). The *Reliques* did not spread one monotonous sentiment like Ossian, or publish a receipt for romantic machinery. What they did may be found in *The Ancient Mariner*, and is acknowledged by the authors of *Lyrical Ballads* :

Contrast, in this respect, the effect of Macpherson's publication with the *Reliques* of Percy, so unassuming, so modest in their pretensions!—I have already stated how much Germany is indebted to this latter work; and for our own country its poetry has been absolutely redeemed by it. I do not think that there is an able writer in verse of the present day who would not be proud to acknowledge his obligations to the *Reliques*; I know that it is so with my friends; and for myself I am happy on this occasion to make a public avowal of my own (Wordsworth, 1815).

It is strange that there should be so little of *Reliques* in Chatterton. What one misses in the Rowley poems is the irregular verse of the ballads; the freest measures in the Rowley poems are borrowed from Shakespeare; the ballad called the *Bristowe*

Tragedie is in Percy's second class, written with 'a low or subordinate correctness sometimes bordering on the insipid,' e.g.

I greeve to telle, before youre sonne
Does fromme the welkinn flye,
He hath upon his honour sworne,
That thou shalt surelie die.

The real master of Chatterton is Spenser. Chatterton had a perfect command of the heroic line as it was then commonly used in couplets; he preferred the stanza, however, and almost always a stanza with an alexandrine at the end. He had learned much from *The Castle of Indolence*, but he does not remain content with the eighteenth century Spenserians; he goes back to the original. A technical variation of Chatterton's is proof of this: whereas the eighteenth century imitators of *The Faerie Queene* cut their alexandrines at the sixth syllable regularly, Chatterton is not afraid to turn over:

Tell him I scorne to kenne hem from afar,
Botte leave the vyrgyn bryddall bedde for bedde of warre.
(*Ælla*, l. 347.)

And cries a guerre and slughornes shake the vaulted heaven.
(*Hastings* 2, l. 190.)

And like to them æternal alwaie stryve to be. (*Ibid.* l. 380.)

In following Spenser, he sometimes agrees with Milton: thus, *Elinoure and Juga* and the *Excelente Balade of Charitie* are in Milton's seven line stanza (rime royal, with the seventh line an alexandrine), thus:

Juga: Systers in sorrowe, on thys daise-ey'd banke,
Where melancholych brooda, we wyll lamente;
Be wette wythe mornynge dewe and evene darke;
Lyche levynde okes in eche the odher bente,
Or lyche forlettenn halles of merriemente
Whose gastlie mitches holde the traine of fryghte
Where lethale ravens bark, and owlets wake the nyghte.

Elinoure: No moe the miskynette shall wake the morne
The minstrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;
No moe the amblynge palfrie and the horne
Shall from the lessel rouze the foxe awaie;
I'll seke the foreste alle the lyve-longe daie;
All nete amonge the gravde chyrche glebe wyll goe,
And to the passante Spryghtes lecture mie tale of woe.

In the *Songe to Ælla*, again, there are measures from Milton's *Ode*:

Orr whare thou kennst fromm farre
The dysmall crye of warre,
Orr seest some mountayne made of corse of sleyme.

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The poems attributed to Thomas Rowley are Elizabethan, where they are not later, in style; the spelling is freely imitated from the worst fifteenth century practice; the vocabulary is taken largely from Speght's glossary to Chaucer, from Kersey's *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* (1708) and Bailey's *Universal Etymological Dictionary* (1737). Chatterton does not seem to have cared much for Chaucer except as an authority for old words; he studied the glossary, not the text, and does not imitate Chaucer's phrasing. His poetry and his medieval tastes are distinct; his poetry is not medieval, and his medieval fictions (like those of Scott, to a great extent) are derived from admiration of the life and manners, from architecture and heraldry, from the church of St Mary Redcliffe, from the black-letter Bible in which he learned to read, and from the appearance of the old parchments which his father took from Canynge's coffin in the neglected muniment room of the church. His grandfather and great-grandfather had been sextons there, and the church was the ancestral home of his imagination, 'the pride of Brystowe and the Westernne lande.' The child made an imaginary Bristol of the fifteenth century, with personages who were seen moving about in it and distinctly known to him; the childhood of Sordello in Browning's poem is the same sort of life as Chatterton's. As he grew out of childhood and became a poet with a mastery of verse, he still kept up his fictitious world; his phantom company was not dispersed by his new poetical knowledge and skill, but was employed by him to utter his new poetry, although this was almost wholly at variance with the assumed age and habit of Thomas Rowley and his acquaintances. The Rowley poems are not an imitation of fifteenth century English verse; they are new poetry of the eighteenth century, keeping wisely, but not tamely, to the poetical conventions of the time, the tradition of heroic verse—with excursions, like those of Blake, into the poetry of Shakespeare's songs, and one remarkable experiment (noted by Watts-Dunton) in the rhythm of *Christabel*, with likeness to Scott and Byron:

Then each did don in seemlie gear,
What armour eche beseem'd to wear,
And on each sheeldē devices shone
Of wounded hearts and battles won,
All curious and nice echon;
With many a tassild spear.

But this, *The Unknown Knight* (which is not in the early editions of the Rowley poems), is an accident. Chatterton had here for

a moment hit on one kind of verse which was destined to live in the next generation ; but neither in the principal Rowley poems nor in those avowedly his own does he show any sense of what he had found or any wish to use again this new invention.

Thomas Chatterton was born in November 1752, and put to school at Colston's hospital when he was nine ; in 1765, he was apprenticed to a Bristol attorney. In April 1770, his master released him, and he came to London to try his fortune as an author and journalist. He had been a contributor to magazines for some time before he left home, and possessed very great readiness in different kinds of popular writing. He got five guineas for a short comic opera, *The Revenge* (humours of Olympus), and seems to have wanted nothing but time to establish a good practice as a literary man. He does not seem to have made any mistake in judging his own talents ; he could do efficiently the sort of work which he professed. But he had come to a point of bad luck, and his pride and ambition would not allow him to get over the difficulty by begging or sponging ; so he killed himself (24 August 1770).

The nature of his impostures is now fairly well ascertained. They began in his childhood as pure invention and imaginary life ; they turned to schoolboy practical joking (the solemn bookish schoolboy who pretends to a knowledge of magic or Hebrew is a wellknown character) ; then, later, came more elaborate jokes, to impose upon editors—*Saxon Achievements* is irresistible—and, then, the attempt to take in Horace Walpole with *The Ryse of Peyncteyning in Englande writen by T. Rowleie 1469 for Mastre Canynge*, a fraud very properly refused by Walpole. The Rowley poems were written with all those motives mixed ; but of fraud there was clearly less in them than in the document for the history of painting, because the poems are good value, whatever their history may be, whereas the document is only meant to deceive and is otherwise not specially amusing.

Chatterton was slightly influenced by Macpherson, and seems to have decided that the Caledonians were not to have all the profits of heroic melancholy to themselves. He provided translations of Saxon poems :

The loud winds whistled through the sacred grove of Thor ; far over the plains of Denania were the cries of the spirits heard. The howl of Hubba's horrid voice swelled upon every blast, and the shrill shriek of the fair Locabara shot through the midnight sky.

There is some likeness between Macpherson and Chatterton in their acknowledged works : Macpherson, in his poems *The Hunter*

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and *The Highlander*, has great fluency with the heroic verse, and in prose of different sorts he was a capable writer. The difference is that Chatterton was a poet, with every variety of music, seemingly, at his command, and with a mind that could project itself in a hundred different ways—a true shaping mind. Nothing in Chatterton's life is more wonderful than his impersonality; he does not make poetry out of his pains or sorrows, and, when he is composing verse, he seems to have escaped from himself. His dealing with common romantic scenery and sentiment is shown in the quotation above from *Elinoure and Juga*; he makes a poetical use of melancholy motives, himself untouched, or, at any rate, undeluded.

The Wartons were devoted to the Middle Ages through their appreciation of Gothic architecture. It began with Thomas Warton the elder, who let his sons Joseph and Thomas understand what he himself admired in Windsor and Winchester. But, as with Chatterton, and even with Scott, an admiration of the Middle Ages need not lead to a study of medieval philology, though it did so in the case of Thomas the younger. In literature, a taste for the Middle Ages generally meant, first of all, a taste for Spenser, for Elizabethans—old poetry, but not too old. Thomas Warton the father was made professor of poetry at Oxford in 1718, and deserved it for his praise of the neglected early poems of Milton. It was indirectly from Warton that Pope got his knowledge of *Comus* and *Il Penseroso*. Warton's own poems, published by his son Thomas in 1748, contain some rather amazing borrowings from Milton's volume of 1645; his paraphrase of Temple's quotation from Olaus Wormius has been already mentioned. The younger Thomas had his father's tastes and proved this in his work on Spenser, his edition of Milton's *Poems upon several occasions* and his projected history of Gothic architecture, as well as in his history of English poetry. His life, well written by Richard Mant, is a perfect example of the easy-going university man, such as is also well represented in the famous miscellany which Warton himself edited, *The Oxford Sausage*. Warton was a tutor of Trinity, distinguished even at that time for neglect of his pupils and for a love of ale, tobacco, low company and of going to see a man hanged. His works are numerous¹; his poems in a collected edition were published in 1791, the year after his death. He was professor of poetry 1757 to 1767, Camden professor

¹ See bibliography.

of history from 1785 and poet laureate in the same year. His appointment was celebrated by the *Probationary Odes* attached to *The Rolliad*.

The advertisement to Warton's *Poems* (1791) remarks that the author was 'of the school of Spenser and Milton, rather than that of Pope.' The old English poetry which he studied and described in his history had not much direct influence on his own compositions; the effect of his mediæval researches was not to make him an imitator of the Middle Ages, but to give him a wider range in modern poetry. Study of the Middle Ages implied freedom from many common literary prejudices, and, with Warton, as with Gray and Chatterton and others, the freedom of poetry and of poetical study was the chief thing; metrical romances, Chaucer and Gower, Lydgate and Gawain Douglas, led, usually, not to a revival of mediæval forms, but to a quickening of interest in Spenser and Milton. Nor was the school of Pope renounced or dishonoured in consequence of Warton's 'Gothic' taste; he uses the regular couplet to describe his mediæval studies:

Long have I loved to catch the simple chime
Of minstrel-harps, and spell the fabling rime;
To view the festive rites, the knightly play,
That deck'd heroic Albion's elder day;
To mark the mouldering halls of barons bold,
And the rough castle, cast in giant mould;
With Gothic manners Gothic arts explore
And muse on the magnificence of yore¹.

Thomas Warton's freedom of admiration does not make him disrespectful to the ordinary canons of literary taste; he does not go so far as his brother Joseph. He is a believer in the dignity of general terms, which was disparaged by his brother; this is a fair test of conservative literary opinion in the eighteenth century.

The *History of English Poetry* (in three volumes, 1774, 1778, 1781) was severely criticised; not only, as by Ritson, for inaccuracy, but, even more severely, for incoherence. Scott is merciless on this head:

As for the late laureate, it is well known that he never could follow a clue of any kind. With a head abounding in multifarious lore, and a mind unquestionably imbued with true poetic fire, he wielded that most fatal of all implements to its possessor, a pen so scaturient and unretentive, that we think he must have been often astonished not only at the extent of his lucubrations, but at their total and absolute want of connection with the subject he had assigned to himself².

¹ Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds's painted window at New College, Oxford: 1782.

² See Scott's art. on Todd's *Spenser*, in *The Edinburgh Review*, 1805.

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This does not make allowance enough, either for the difficulties of Warton's explorations or for the various purposes of literary history. Warton certainly had no gift for historical construction. But the art of Gibbon is not required for every history, and the history of literature can spare a coherent plan, so long as the historian provides such plenty of samples as Warton always gives. Obviously, in literature, the separate facts may be interesting and intelligible, while the bare facts of political history can but rarely be such. The relation of book to book is not like the relation of one battle to another in the same war, or of one political act to the other events of a king's reign. In literary history, desultory reading and writing need not be senseless or useless; and Warton's work has and retains an interest and value which will outlast many ingenious writings of critics more thoroughly disciplined. Further, his biographer Mant has ground for his opinion (contrary to Scott's) that Warton

can trace the progress of the mind, not merely as exemplified in the confined exertions of an individual, but in a succession of ages, and in the pursuits and acquirements of a people.

There is more reasoning and more coherence in Warton's history than Scott allows.

Joseph Warton did not care for the Middle Ages as his brother did, but he saw more clearly than Thomas how great a poet Dante was; 'perhaps the *Inferno* of Dante is the next composition to the *Iliad*, in point of originality and sublimity¹.' The footnote here ('Milton was particularly fond of this writer' etc.) shows, by its phrasing, how little known Dante was at that time to the English reading public. Though Joseph Warton was not a medievalist like Thomas, he had that appreciation of Spenser and Milton which was the chief sign and accompaniment of medieval studies in England. His judgment of Pope and of modern poetry agrees with the opinion expressed by Hurd in his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762: six years after the first part of Joseph Warton's *Essay*, eight years after Thomas Warton on *The Faerie Queene*).

What we have gotten by this revolution, you will say, is a great deal of good sense. What we have lost, is a world of fine fabling; the illusion of which is so grateful to the *Charmed Spirit* that in spite of philosophy and fashion *Faery* Spenser still ranks highest among the Poets; I mean with all those who are either come of that house, or have any kindness for it.

Hurd's *Letters* are the best explanation of the critical view which saw the value of romance—'the Gothic fables of chivalry'—without

¹ *Essay on Pope*, sect. v.

any particular knowledge of old French or much curiosity about any poetry older than Ariosto. Not medieval poetry, but medieval customs and sentiments, were interesting; and so Hurd and many others who were tired of the poetry of good sense looked on Ariosto, Tasso and Spenser as the true poets of the medieval heroic age. It should be observed that the age of 'good sense' was not slow to appreciate 'the fairy way of writing'—the phrase is Dryden's, and Addison made it a text for one of his essays on Imagination.

At the same time as Thomas Warton, another Oxford man, Tyrwhitt of Merton, was working at old English poetry. He edited the *Rowley* poems. His *Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer* and his *Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales* ('printed before Mr Warton's book was published') are the complement of Warton's work. Warton is not very careful about prosody; his observations on the stanza of *The Faerie Queene* are dull and inaccurate. Tyrwhitt was interested in the history of verse, as Gray had been, and, from his grammatical knowledge and critical sense, he made out the rule of Chaucer's heroic verse which had escaped notice for nearly 400 years. No other piece of medieval scholarship in England can be compared with Tyrwhitt's in importance. Chaucer was popularly known, but known as an old barbarous author with plenty of good sense and no art of language. The pieces of Chaucer printed at the end of Dryden's *Fables* show what doggerel passed for Chaucer's verse, even with the finest judges, before Tyrwhitt found out the proper music of the line, mainly by getting the value of the *e* mute, partly by attending to the change of accent.

Tyrwhitt is the restorer of Chaucer. Though the genius of Dryden had discovered the classical spirit of Chaucer's imagination, the form of his poetry remained obscure and defaced till Tyrwhitt explained the rule of his heroic line and brought out the beauty of it. The art of the grammarian has seldom been better justified and there are few things in English philology more notable than Tyrwhitt's edition of Chaucer.

CHAPTER XI

LETTER-WRITERS

I

HORACE WALPOLE is generally acknowledged as 'the prince of letter-writers,' and he is certainly entitled to this high literary rank in consideration of the extent and supreme value of his correspondence. Byron styled Walpole's letters 'incomparable,' and all who know them must agree in this high praise. English literature is particularly rich in the number and excellence of its letter-writers; but no other of the class has dealt with so great a variety of subjects as Walpole. His letters were, indeed, the chief work of his life.

As the beauty of the art largely depends on the spontaneity of the writers in the expression of their natural feelings, it would be futile to attempt to decide the relative merits of the great letter-writers in order to award the palm to the foremost or greatest of the class. We should be grateful for the treasures bequeathed to us and refrain from appraising their respective deserts. To weigh the golden words of such gracious spirits as Gray, Cowper or Charles Lamb, in order to decide which of them possesses the highest value, seems a labour unworthy of them all. Sincerity is the primary claim upon our respect and esteem for great writers of letters; and the lack of this rules out the letters of Pope from the place in literature to which they would otherwise be entitled. Now, in spite of the cruel criticism of Macaulay, we have no hesitation in claiming sincerity as a characteristic of Walpole's letters.

Walpole lives now and always will live in public esteem as a great letter-writer; but he was also himself a distinguished figure during his lifetime. Thus, his name attained to a fame which, in later years, has been considerably dimmed, partly by the instability which reflects itself in his writings, and, also, by the virulent censure to which he has been subjected by some critics of

distinction. Macaulay's complete indictment of Horace Walpole as a man has left him with scarcely a rag of character. The charges brought against him are, however, so wholesale that the condemnation may be said to carry with it its own antidote; for it is not a mere caricature, but one almost entirely opposed to truth. To many of these unjust charges, any candid review of Walpole's career in its many aspects, exhibiting him as a man of quality, a brilliant wit, both in conversation and in writing, an author of considerable mark, a connoisseur of distinction and a generous and ready friend, will form a sufficient answer. A fuller reply, however, is required to those accusations which touch his honour and social conduct through life. Macaulay speaks of Walpole's 'faults of head and heart,' of his 'unhealthy and disorganised mind,' of his disguise from the world 'by mask upon mask,' adding that 'whatever was little seemed great to him, and whatever was great seemed to him little.' Now, Walpole placed himself so often at his reader's mercy, and, occasionally, was so perverse in his actions as to make it necessary for those who admire his character to show that, though he had many transparent faults, his life was guided by honourable principles, and that, though not willing to stand forth as a censor of mankind, he could clearly distinguish between the great and little things of life and, when a duty was clear to him, had strength to follow the call. His affectation no one would wish to deny; but, although this is an objectionable quality, it can scarcely be treated as criminal. In fact, Walpole began life with youthful enthusiasm and with an eager love of friends, but soon adopted a shield of fine-gentlemanly pretence, in order to protect his own feelings.

Horatio Walpole was born at the house of his father (Sir Robert Walpole) in Arlington street, on 24 September 1717. After two years of study with a tutor, he went to Eton in April 1727, where he remained until the spring of 1735, when he entered at King's college, Cambridge. He had many fast Etonian friends, and we hear of two small circles—'the triumvirate,' consisting of George and Charles Montagu and Walpole, and 'the quadruple alliance,' namely, Gray, West, Ashton and Walpole¹. He left the university in 1739, and, on 10 March, set off on the grand tour with Gray, of which some account has already been given in this volume². Of the quarrel between them, Walpole took the whole blame upon himself; but, probably, Gray was also at fault. Both kept silence as to the cause, and the only authentic particulars are to be

¹ Cf. chap. vi, p. 117, *ante*.

² Cf. *ibid.* pp. 118—119.

found in Walpole's letter¹ to Mason, who was then writing the life of Gray—a letter which does the greatest credit to Walpole's heart. The friendship was renewed after three years and continued through life; but it was not what it had been at first, though Walpole's appreciation of the genius of Gray was always of the strongest and of the most enthusiastic character.

After Gray left Walpole at Reggio, the latter passed through a serious illness. His life was probably saved by the prompt action of Joseph Spence (who was travelling with Lord Lincoln), in summoning a famous Italian physician who, with the aid of Spence's own attentive nursing, brought the illness to a successful end. Walpole, when convalescent, continued his journey with Lord Lincoln and Spence; but, having been elected member of parliament for Callington in Cornwall at the general election, he left his companions and landed at Dover, 12 September 1741. He changed his seat several times, but continued in parliament until 1768, when he retired from the representation of Lynn. He was observant of his duties, and a regular attendant at long sittings, his descriptions of which are of great interest. On 23 March 1742, he spoke for the first time in the House, against the motion for the appointment of a secret committee on his father. According to his own account, his speech 'was published in the Magazines, but was entirely false, and had not one paragraph of my real speech in it.' On 11 January 1751, he moved the address to the king at the opening of the session; but the most remarkable incident in his parliamentary career was his quarrel, in 1747, with the redoubtable speaker Onslow. More to his credit were his strenuous endeavours to save the life of the unfortunate admiral Byng.

The turning-point of his life was the acquisition of Strawberry hill. The building of the house, the planning of the gardens and the collection of his miscellaneous artistic curiosities soon became of absorbing interest to Walpole. Much might be said of him as a connoisseur; his taste has been strongly condemned; but, although he often made much of what was not of great importance, he gradually collected works of enduring value, and the dispersion of his property in 1842 came to be regarded as a historical event². Judge Hardinge was just when he wrote: 'In his taste for architecture and vertu there were both whims and foppery, but still with fancy and genius³.' The opening of the private press in

¹ 2 March 1778.

² The contents of Strawberry hill realised £38,450. 11s. 9d., and would be valued now at many times that amount.

³ Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii, p. 525.

1757, the *Officina Arbuteana* or the *Elzevirianum*, as he called it, also, gave Walpole, with much additional work, a great deal of pleasure. He was enabled to print his light verses and present them to his distinguished visitors, and could make preparations for the printing of his projected works. Conway called his cousin 'Elzevir Horace.' Walpole was very proud to be able to begin the work of his press by printing two unpublished odes by Gray¹.

Walpole's head was so full of Strawberry hill, and he mentioned it so frequently in his letters, that he sent a particular description to Mann (12 June 1753) with a drawing by Richard Bentley, 'for it is uncomfortable in so intimate a correspondence as ours not to be exactly master of every spot where one another is writing reading or sauntering.' He frequently produced guides to the 'Castle'; but the fullest and final one is the *Description of the Villa* printed in 1784, and illustrated by many interesting plates. Walpole was very generous in allowing visitors to see his house; but these visitors were often very inconsiderate, and broke the rules he made. He wrote to George Montagu (3 September 1763):

My house is full of people and has been so from the instant I breakfasted, and more are coming—in short I keep an inn: the sign 'The Gothic Castle.' Since my gallery was finished I have not been in it a quarter of an hour together; my whole time is passed in giving tickets for seeing it and hiding myself while it is seen.

In December 1791, Horace Walpole succeeded his nephew as earl of Orford. The prodigality, and then the madness, of the third earl forced his uncle to take upon himself the duties of a man of business, in order to keep the estate from dissolution. He had to undertake the management of the family estate, because there was no one else inclined to act. When he had put things into a better state, the earl's sudden return to sanity threw everything into confusion again, as he was surrounded by a gang of sharpers. Horace Walpole developed unexpected business qualities, and,

¹ They were published by Dodsley, out of whose hands the MS was 'snatched' by Walpole, in the presence of Gray. Several works of interest were printed at the press, such as Hentzner's *Journey into England* (a charming little book), *Mémoires de Grammont*, *The Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, etc., and several of Walpole's own works. A bibliography of the Strawberry hill books is given by Austin Dobson as an appendix to his *Horace Walpole, a Memoir*. The output of the press was highly satisfactory, considering that the whole staff consisted of a man and a boy. In a letter to Sir David Dalrymple (23 February 1764), Walpole makes some peevish remarks about his press: 'The plague I have had in every shape with my own printing, engravers, the booksellers, etc., besides my own trouble, have almost discouraged me from what I took up at first as an amusement, but which has produced very little of it.'

according to his own account, was able to reduce the mismanaged estate to order and solvency.

In April 1777, the nephew went mad again ; and, on his recovery, in 1778, the uncle gave up the care of him. He was subjected to continual anxiety during the remainder of his nephew's life ; but he did not again take charge of the estate. When he himself came into the property, there was little left to manage. The picture gallery at Houghton, which Horace greatly loved, was sold to the empress Catharine II of Russia ; and, before Lord Orford died, in December 1791, he had become practically bankrupt. Horace Walpole had thus to take up an earldom which had fallen on evil days. He was not likely, in his old age, to accept with pleasure a title whose credit he could not hope to retrieve. He refused to enter the House of Lords ; but, however much he might wish to do so, he could not relieve himself of the title¹. He died on 2 March 1797, at the house in Berkeley square to which he had moved from Arlington street.

A rapid glance through Walpole's correspondence will soon reveal to us the secret of his life, which explains much for which he has been condemned. The moving principle of his conduct through life was love for, and pride in, his father. It is well, therefore, to insist upon the serious purpose of much of Horace's career, and to call to mind how signally his outlook upon affairs was influenced by the proceedings of his family. He was proud of its antiquity and of its history from the conquest downwards ; but he knew that no man of mark had emerged from it until his father came to do honour to his race ; so, with that father, the pride of his son began and ended. Sir Robert Walpole's enemies were his son's, and those of the family who disgraced their name were obnoxious to him in consequence. In a time of great laxity, Margaret, countess of Orford, wife of the second earl, became specially notorious, and the disgracefulness of her conduct was a constant source of disgust to him. His elder brother Robert, the second earl, was little of a friend, and mention has already been made of the misconduct of his nephew George, the third earl (who succeeded to the title in 1751 and held it for forty years).

¹ There is some misapprehension as to this. Within a few days of the death of his nephew, Walpole subscribed a letter to the duke of Bedford—'The Uncle of the late Earl of Orford'; but he did not refuse to sign himself 'Orford,' although Pinkerton printed in *Walpoliana* a letter dated 26 December 1791, signed 'Hor. Walpole'—but this was an answer to a letter of congratulation from Pinkerton himself on the succession, the advantages of which Walpole denied.

The public came slowly into possession of Walpole's great literary bequest. A series of *Miscellaneous Letters* was published in 1778 as the fifth volume of the collected edition of his *Works*. In 1818, *Letters to George Montagu* followed, and, in subsequent years, other series appeared¹. The first collected edition of *Private Correspondence* was published in 1820, and a fuller edition in 1840. But the reading world had to wait until 1857 for a fairly complete edition of the letters arranged in chronological order. This, edited in nine volumes by Peter Cunningham with valuable notes, held its own as the standard edition, until Mrs Paget Toynbee's largely augmented edition appeared. The supply of Walpole's letters seems to be well-nigh inexhaustible, and a still fuller collection will, probably, appear in its turn.

We have here a body of important material which forms both an autobiography and a full history of sixty years of the eighteenth century. Although the letters contain Walpole's opinions on events as they occurred day by day, he communicated them to his different correspondents from varied points of view. It is a remarkable fact, which proves the orderly and constructive character of the writer's mind, that the entire collection of the letters, ranging over a very long period, forms a well connected whole, with all the appearance of having been systematically planned.

The first letter we possess is to 'My dearest Charles' (C. Lyttelton), and was written when Walpole was fifteen years of age (7 August 1732). In it he says :

I can reflect with great joy on the moments we passed together at Eton, and long to talk 'em over, as I think we could recollect a thousand passages which were something above the common rate of schoolboy's diversions.

In the last known letter from his hand², written to the countess of Upper Ossory, to protest against her showing his 'idle notes' to others, Walpole refers to his fourscore nephews and nieces of various ages, who are brought to him about once a year to stare at him 'as the Methusalem of the family.' He wants no laurels :

I shall be quite content with a sprig of rosemary thrown after me, when the parson of the parish commits my dust to dust. Till then pray Madam accept the resignation of your ancient servant, Orford.

The same spirit runs through the entire correspondence. It constantly displays his affectionate feelings towards his friends and the lightness with which he is able to touch on his own misfortunes. Throughout his life, he was troubled by 'invalidity'; yet he could repudiate any claim to patience, and ask Mann (8 January 1786)

¹ See bibliography.

² 16 January 1797.

if people of easy fortunes cannot bear illness with temper what are the poor to do, who have none of our alleviations? The affluent, I fear, do not consider what a benefit ticket has fallen to their lot, out of millions not so fortunate; yet less do they reflect that chance, not merit, drew the prize out of the wheel.

He suffered from gout throughout his life; but he always made light of the affliction. He told Mason (Christmas day 1779) that he had had a relapse, though a slight one, and 'called it only a codicil to my gout. Mr Gibbon said "very well; but I fancy it is not in consequence of your *will*."' There was no mistake about the reality of his attacks; for chalk-stones were continually breaking out from his fingers, and he told Lady Ossory that, if he could not wait upon her, he hoped she would have the charity 'to come and visit the chalk-pits in Berkeley Square.'

Walpole studied letter-writing as an art and understood its distinctive features. There is no violent change in his style from beginning to end of his correspondence; but a gradual growth may be observed in his artistic treatment of his matter. He could criticise other letter-writers with judgment and good taste; but there was one, above all, who was only to be worshipped, and that was Madame de Sévigné. He tells Richard Bentley¹ that

My Lady Hervey has made me most happy by bringing me from Paris an admirable copy of the very portrait [of Mme de Sévigné] that was Madame de Simiane's [her granddaughter]. I am going to build an altar for it, under the title of *Notre Dame des Rochers*!

Walpole addresses the same Lady Hervey from Paris (8 October 1765) to the effect that he had called upon Madame Chabot.

She was not at home, but the Hotel de Carnavalet was; and I stopped on purpose to say an *Ave Maria* before it. It is a very singular building, not at all in the French style, and looks like an *ex voto* raised to her honour by some of her votaries [Mme de Sévigné's]. I don't think her honoured half enough in her own country².

Mrs Toynbee's edition contains a total of three thousand and sixty-one letters, addressed by Walpole to one hundred and sixty

¹ 24 December 1754.

² This interesting old house is now well known as the home of the Carnavalet museum. Eleven years after this, Madame Du Deffand teased Walpole by sending him a snuffbox with a portrait of Mme de Sévigné copied from one he greatly admired. This was sent with a letter signed 'Rabutin de Sévigné' and beginning thus: '*Je connois votre folle passion pour moi; votre enthousiasme pour mes lettres, votre vénération pour les lieux que j'ai habités.*' In acknowledging the gift from judge Hardinge of four drawings of the *château de Grignan*, in a letter dated 4 July 1779, Walpole wrote: 'I own that Grignan is grander, and in a much finer situation than I had imagined; as I concluded the witchery of Madame de Sévigné's ideas and style had spread the same leaf-gold over places with which she gilded her friends.' (See Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii, p. 536.)

correspondents, many of them men and women of mark. The number of letters to some of these personages are very few, but among them are seven, to each of whom over one hundred letters were written by him. Sir Horace Mann heads the list with 820, then comes the countess of Upper Ossory with 400. The other five have smaller numbers, as George Montagu 263, William Mason 217, William Cole 180, Henry Conway 179 and Mary Berry 159. The lifelong correspondence with Mann exhibits a unique instance of friendship, maintained without personal intercourse for forty-five years. Walpole might well say to his friend (4 December 1785), 'You and I have long out-friendshipped Orestes and Pylades.'

Mann was an early friend of Walpole, and his appointment in 1737 as assistant to Charles Fane (afterwards second viscount Fane), envoy extraordinary at the court of Florence, by Sir Robert Walpole, was entirely owing to this intimacy. In 1740, Mann became Fane's successor, and Walpole visited him at Florence in the same year. After returning to England in September 1741, Walpole never saw his friend again. Mann never left Italy, although, in 1755, he succeeded his elder brother in the possession of the family estate at Linton, Kent. His chief duties were to look after the two 'pretenders' and to entertain distinguished English travellers in Italy. He was kept informed by Walpole of all that was going on in England, and he returned the favour by writing continuously in reply, though, it must be said, giving Walpole lead in return for his gold¹. It should, however, not be overlooked, that, when writing to Mann and other friends abroad, Walpole always feared the opening of his letters at the post office. He complains to the earl of Hertford²:

As my letters are seldom proper for the post now I begin them at any time, and am forced to trust to chance for a conveyance. This difficulty renders my news very stale.

Walpole, writing to Lady Ossory³, praised women as far better letter-writers than men. When he wrote 'I could lay down as an infallible truth in the words of my god-father, *Pennis non homini datis*, the English of which is, "It was not given to man to write letters," it is just possible that it occurred to him how the dictum might apply to his friend Mann. Some of Walpole's best letters

¹ Peter Cunningham described Mann's letters as 'utterly unreadable.' A selection of them was published by Doran in 1876, under the irritating title *Mann and Manners at the Court of Florence*.

² 8 August 1764.

³ Christmas day 1773.

were addressed to his frequent correspondent Lady Ossory. Mary Berry would have stood higher in the numerical list; but Walpole did not become intimate with her and her father and sister until late in his life (in the winter of 1788). Madame Du Deffand's letters to Walpole were first printed by Miss Berry and afterwards reprinted in Paris¹. A complete edition of these letters, edited by the late Mrs Toynbee, was published in 1912. Walpole's letters to Madame Du Deffand were burnt at his particular request. It is supposed that he did not wish them to be published, lest his French should be criticised. He wrote to Mason²: 'Mme Du Deffand has told me that I speak French worse than any Englishman she knows.' A little too much has been made of Walpole's gallicisms, although there certainly is a remarkable one in the preface to *Historic Doubts on Richard III*:

It is almost a question whether if the dead of past ages could revive, they would be able to *reconnoitre*³ the events of their own times as transmitted to us.

Thomas Pitt, first Lord Camelford (nephew of the great Chatham), writing to judge Hardinge in 1789, refers to the translation of Walpole's *Essay on Gardening* by the duc de Nivernais:

I shall be glad to see the work of M. de Nivernois, if it answers at all to the specimens you have sent me. The truth is that, as Mr Horace Walpole always thinks in French he ought never to write in English; and I dare be sworn Nivernois' translation will appear the more original work of the two⁴.

Did Hannah More venture to 'chaff' Walpole when she sent him anonymously a clever letter dated 'Alamode Castle, June 20, 1840' and headed it 'A Specimen of the English language, as it will be written and spoken in the next century. In a letter from a lady to her friend in the reign of George V'? Walpole acknowledged this letter (5 April 1785) with cordiality and much praise, to show that 'his withers were unwrung.' Walpole expressed to Lady Ossory (Christmas day 1781) his opinion that 'Letters ought to be nothing but extempore conversation upon paper,' and, doubtless, his conversation was much like his letters, and as excellent. His wit was ready and brilliant in both forms of communication. He was himself proud of the witty apophthegm which he seems to have first imparted to Mann by word of mouth:

Recollect what I have said to you, that this world is a comedy to those who think, a tragedy to those who feel. This is the quintessence of all I have learnt in fifty years⁵!

¹ See bibliography.

² 5 July 1778.

³ This use of the word 'reconnoitre' in English was quite obsolete in Walpole's day.

⁴ Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, vol. vii, p. 118.

⁵ 5 March 1773.

At any rate, the saying has found its way into books of familiar quotations.

Numerous instances might be given of the value of the letters in illustration of history; but, in spite of the popular notion as to the frivolity of a large part of their contents, it may safely be said that matters of moment are dealt with throughout the series, and sidelights are to be found on every page. There is, first, the Jacobite rising of 1745. Then, we have the trials of the Jacobites, and, for a time, there is peace, broken by the excitement of Wilkes's publication of *The North Briton* and subsequent riots. Walpole was attacked in no. 2 of *The North Briton*; and Wilkes was annoyed that he did not seem to mind the attack. In a letter to Mann¹, Walpole laments the state of the nation, and, after giving instances of the grievous increase of gambling, he writes 'We are not a great age, but surely we are tending to some great revolution.' The American war was the next great event to supply Walpole with material for invective and complaints of bad government. At the end of his life came the great convulsion of the French revolution and, in September 1789, he congratulated Hannah More on the demolition of the Bastille, the reform of which he related fourteen years before². The enormities of the revolutionaries changed his political views, as they did those of the majority of Englishmen, and he welcomed with enthusiasm Burke's *Reflections*. He said that it painted the queen 'exactly as she appeared to me the first time I saw her when Dauphiness³'.

Many of Walpole's anecdotes are valuable as illustrations of the manners of the time and contain information not to be found elsewhere; but the chief interest of his correspondence remains autobiographical. The first hundred pages of Mrs Toynbee's edition contain letters, from 1732 to 1741, to Charles Lyttelton, Gray, West, George Montagu, Thomas Ashten and Henry Conway, for the most part written during Walpole's travels. The first letter to Mann was written on 11 September 1741. From this time, the complete autobiography may be said to begin, and it continues to the end. Walpole wrote an interesting advertisement prefixed to the *Letters to Mann*, explaining his reasons for preserving them, which is too long to quote here, but will be found in a note to the first letter. For the incidents of his early life we must search

¹ 4 February 1770.

² 25 October 1775.

³ See, also, his anecdote of Marie-Antoinette as queen, in his letter to Mary Berry, 8 July 1790.

elsewhere, and he has left us the main particulars in the *Short Notes of My Life*.

Walpole's character may be easily understood by anyone who studies his correspondence. In early life, he was not very different from a large number of the highbred men of the eighteenth century who took pride in their social position, for it is necessary to remember that there were two classes of men in the English society of this age—the jovial and the coarse, and the reserved and refined. Sir Robert Walpole belonged to the former, and his son Horace to the latter. Horace was never very young, and his father said of himself that he was the younger of the two. Horace adds¹: 'Indeed I think so in spite of his forty years more.' The son began life with a character for frankness and enthusiasm; but, as he grew into the cynical man of the world, he became colder in manner to mere acquaintances, reserving his true self only for his bosom friends. He cultivated an extreme fastidiousness and severe refinement, which caused him to exhibit a distaste for a robust humour that he considered vulgar. This powerful prejudice caused him to propound much absurd criticism. He could not admire Fielding because he kept 'low company,' and condemned the 'vulgarity of his character.' For the beautiful and pathetic *Voyage to Lisbon* he could find no praise, and he refers to 'Fielding's Travels or rather an account of how his dropsy was treated,' and how he was teased by an innkeeper's wife in the Isle of Wight². He could not appreciate the genius of Richardson and refers to

those tedious lamentations—*Clarissa*, and *Sir Charles Grandison*, which are pictures of high life as conceived by a bookseller, and romances as they would be spiritualised by a Methodist preacher³.

Sterne was no more fortunate in obtaining the good opinion of Walpole, who writes to Henry Zouch :

The second and third volumes of *Tristram Shandy*, the dregs of nonsense, have universally met the contempt they deserve: genius may be exhausted;—I see that folly's invention may be so too⁴.

He could appreciate Johnson's great qualities; but he was repelled by his roughness. He said wittily :

Johnson made the most brutal speeches to living persons, for though he was goodnatured at bottom he was very ill-natured at top.

In considering Walpole's affected remarks on his own literary character, we should bear in mind the expressed opinions of so

¹ 22 January 1742.

² 20 December 1760.

³ 27 March 1755.

⁴ 7 March 1761.

aristocratic an author as Byron, at a much later date. Walpole thought it would disgrace him to be known as a learned author, although, in his heart, he was proud of his books. He discloses his true character with a fine instinct more frequently when writing to Mann than to any other correspondent. At a quite early date, he takes Mann to task for over-estimating his abilities.

I must answer for your brother a paragraph that he showed me in one of your letters 'Mr W.'s letters are full of wit; don't they adore them in England?' 'Not at all—and I don't wonder at them; for if I have any wit in my letters, which I do not at all take for granted, it is ten to one I have none out of my letters.... Then as to adoring; you now see only my letters, and you may be sure I take care not to write you word of any of my bad qualities, which other people must see in the gross; and that may be a great hindrance to their adoration. Oh! there are a thousand other reasons I could give you, why I am not the least in fashion. I came over in an ill season: it is a million to one that nobody thinks a declining old minister's son has wit. At any time men in opposition have always most; but now it would be absurd for a courtier to have even common sense¹.

The history of the growth of Walpole's works is fully detailed in the *Correspondence*; and, apparently, nearly all his books were written at high pressure. He particularly notes how long a time was occupied in their production. He was a dabbler in literature from his early life. He wrote, in 1742, a sermon on painting for the amusement of his father, which was afterwards published in *Ædes Walpolianæ*, and he was continually writing occasional verses, a practice in which he persevered when he possessed a private printing-press. It was not, however, until 1753 that he may be said to have begun his literary career with the writing of some clever papers in *The World*, a periodical written by men of fashion for men of fashion. His first substantive work was *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*, printed at the Strawberry hill press in 1758. It is of no great value as a bibliography, but, dealing as it does with a distinctive subject, is of occasional use as well as of some interest. The next work, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, also printed at the Strawberry hill press, in 1762, is the only one of Walpole's works which has really held its position. It was reprinted several times by its author and twice reedited. The publication originated in the purchase of Vertue's valuable collections from his widow in 1756. Walpole, ten years before, had visited Vertue with the purpose of learning something about the MSS, of the existence of which he had previously heard. Vertue's notes, which are now preserved at the British museum, are disjointed and difficult to

¹ 7 January 1742.

decipher, and, therefore, it was much to Walpole's credit that he was able to produce from them a useful book, which has been constantly reprinted. Unfortunately, although a competent connoisseur, he had not sufficient knowledge to enable him to write a satisfactory history of painting, and his editors had not sufficient courage to correct his errors at all thoroughly, for he had a wonderful craze respecting the historical value of some old pictures which he had bought and incorrectly described in his *Anecdotes*¹. It can hardly be doubted that the existence of Walpole's book has prevented the publication of a complete and trustworthy history of English painting.

Walpole's next works were *The Castle of Otranto* (1764—5) and *The Mysterious Mother* (1768). Byron affirmed that Walpole was 'the father of the first romance and the last tragedy in our language,' and he praised highly both romance and tragedy; but very few modern readers are likely to agree with him. *The Castle of Otranto* was originally published as a translation from an Italian original which appeared at Naples in 1529; but, when success was assured, it was acknowledged by its author. Of this story, which has become a sort of a classic of English literature, though few now care to read it, some account has been given in an earlier chapter². *The Mysterious Mother* was printed at Strawberry hill in 1768; and, although Walpole perceived the unfitness for the stage of a tragedy with so repulsive a subject, he seems to have cherished a lingering hope of its production there, as he wrote an epilogue to it for Mrs Clive to speak. In reading the play we see that the slowness of the action was of itself sufficient to exclude it from performance; for, even an eighteenth century audience could not be expected to sit out four acts of the ravings of a woman the cause of whose remorse and agony is not disclosed until the end of the fifth act. Fanny Burney, being on friendly terms with Walpole, was anxious to read the play; but, after reading it, she 'felt a sort of indignant aversion rise' in her mind 'against the wilful author of a story so horrible; all the entertainment and pleasure I had received from Mr Walpole seemed extinguished.' Fanny's friend Mr Turbulent (Guiffardière) said: 'Mr Walpole has chosen a plan of which nothing can equal the abomination but the absurdity.'

Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III,

¹ Cf., for instance, his self-delusion as to his 'suit of the house of Lancaster,' long since corrected by Sir George Scharf.

² See chap. III, pp. 60—61, *ante*.

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written about the same time as *The Mysterious Mother*, offers a good example of Walpole's literary work. He chose an interesting subject and treated it with spirit. He was not, however, prepared to undertake the necessary research, and thus laid himself open to much severe criticism¹. As two of his chief opponents were Milles, president, and Masters, a fellow, of the Society of Antiquaries, he resigned his fellowship of the society and swore hostility to most antiquaries, although a few, such as Cole and Gough, retained his favour. * He never forgave his critics; but he had succumbed to their censures after a short fight.

Walpole's own feelings respecting his literary productions were very mixed. He wrote to Lady Ossory (15 September 1787):

I have several reasons for lamenting daily that I ever was author or editor.... Were I to recommence my life, and thought as I do now I do not believe that any consideration could induce me to be an author.... It is pride not humility, that is the source of my present sentiments. I have a great contempt for middling authors. We have not only betrayed want of genius but want of judgement.

These confessions have been treated as untrue, and as an affected condemnation of his writings. But this is unjust. He valued them as containing his own opinions, well expressed, on subjects which required elucidation; but he knew that they were not sound enough to bear learned criticism—and he quite sincerely repudiated his possession of special learning.

From Horace Walpole's we pass to some other names of renown in the form of literature in which he excelled.

Philip, fourth earl of Chesterfield, was one of the foremost English statesmen of his age; but he was so unlike an ordinary Englishman that his character has been much misunderstood by his countrymen. He thoroughly appreciated the French, and was appreciated by them in return. Sainte-Beuve considers him to have united the good qualities of the two nations, and he describes the *Letters to his Son* as a rich book, which, in spite of some objectionable passages, contains not a page without some happy observation worthy of being kept in remembrance. In any case, Chesterfield must be considered a unique personality. He was particularly unfortunate in his relations with Johnson, who was certainly not fair to him; and the cruel caricature in *Barnaby Rudge* of him as Sir John Chester, described as 'an elegant and polite, but heartless and unprincipled gentleman,' must have seriously

¹ Cf. as to this essay chap. XII, post.

injured his fame among many of those unacquainted with history. He was not unprincipled or heartless, and selfishness was by no means a marked feature of his character. His shining mental qualities were universally acknowledged, and he was accepted as a shrewd man of the world, with engaging manners; but we can learn something more than this about him from his letters.

Of Chesterfield's abilities as a statesman, his country did not obtain the full benefit, largely in consequence of court intrigues; for, though the ablest statesman of his time, after Walpole (if Pitt be left out), he was persistently set aside. His time came when he was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1745. He held office for less than a year, but proved his power of governing in a dangerous time, by the measures which he took to prevent disturbances. He gained the gratitude of the people, and the memory of his rule during a critical period remained fresh for more than a century. He retained his interest in Ireland, and always considered the Irish as his countrymen, because he had ruled over them. He withdrew from public life, partly on account of ill health; and, in 1752, his deafness had become very serious. In 1757, he emerged from his retirement in order to effect a reconciliation between the duke of Newcastle and Pitt.

Chesterfield has the reputation of eloquence; but his was not unstudied. Horace Walpole denied that Chesterfield was an orator, because his speeches were written; yet, in a letter to Mann (15 December 1743), he declared that 'the finest oration [he] ever did hear' was one from Chesterfield—and this was delivered against Sir Robert Walpole. Chesterfield's wit, like his speeches, was, to a certain extent, prepared; but it was the kind of wit which is the most agreeable form of wisdom.

Although he had many enemies, he had a genius for friendship. His greatest friend was Richard, second earl of Scarborough, whose character he drew—a man held in so high a general esteem that Chesterfield declares:

He was the best man I ever knew, the dearest friend I ever had.... We lived in intimate and unreserved friendship for twenty years, and to that I owe much more than my pride will let my gratitude own.

On Scarborough's melancholy death, Chesterfield wrote to his protégé Dr Chenevix¹: 'We have both lost a good friend in Scarborough; nobody can replace him to me; I wish I could replace

¹ 18 February 1740.

him to you; but as things stand I see no great hopes of it.' Chesterfield appointed Chenevix to the first Irish bishopric of his gift (Killaloe) and, shortly afterwards, translated him to Waterford. He retained the bishop as a lifelong friend, and in the printed correspondence there are many bright letters to him which are full of kindly feeling, and to which he subscribed himself 'with the greatest truth and affection.' Another lifelong friend was the diplomatist Solomon Dayrolles, a godson of Chesterfield, whose letters to him are of an intimate character and full of the most natural feelings, expressed in an altogether charming manner. The name of Dayrolles will always be associated with that of Chesterfield, because of the dying statesman's considerate order, 'Give Dayrolles a chair.' Many other interesting letters are to be found in the correspondence, such as those to the Dublin bookseller, alderman Faulkener, whose friendship Chesterfield secured when in Ireland and retained through life; and Lady Suffolk, a much esteemed friend. This general correspondence is extremely interesting, and the letters it contains are models of what letters should be—natural, kindly and witty.

But Chesterfield's fame as a letter-writer must rest on his *Letters to his Son* and those *to his Godson*. His devotion to these two young men is a very remarkable indication of his true character. From 1737 (when his age was forty-three years) to the year of his death, it became little less than an obsession. He began writing letters of advice to his illegitimate son Philip Stanhope when the child was only five years old. When he had reached twenty-five, another Philip Stanhope (of Mansfield Woodhouse) was born. This was Chesterfield's godson and successor, whose education he undertook, and to whom he began to write educational letters when he was four years old. He, doubtless, was led to undertake these letters by the recollection of the neglect he had experienced from his own father, and his sense of its consequences.

When sitting in judgment on Chesterfield's letters to his son, we should not omit to remember that they were never intended for any eye but that of the receiver. He wrote (21 January 1751):

You and I must now write to each other as friends and without the least reserve; there will for the future be a thousand things in my letters which I would not have any mortal living but yourself see or know.

The *Letters* are written in English, Latin and French, and contain a large amount of valuable information on history, geography, and so forth, put in an easy and convenient form for the pupil. Philip Stanhope was censured for bad writing and bad spelling

and for inattention. His father told him that nothing was too small for attentive consideration and that concentrated attention on one subject at a time was of paramount importance: 'There is time enough for everything in the course of the day if you do one thing at once, but there is not time enough in the year if you will do two things at once.'

Honour and morality, the need of which is strongly urged in the *Letters*, do not include sexual morality: the writer recommends his son to seek intimate association with married women of fashion, in order to improve his manners, which, by nature, were somewhat boorish. The general principles of good breeding continually urged in the *Letters* have been strangely misunderstood. The object of life is to be pleased, and, in order to attain this, we must please others; but it is quite evident that more than surface pleasing is here intended. Both respect for the feelings of others and sympathy with them are enjoined. The young man is told 'never to be ashamed of doing what is right,' but to use his own judgment instead of blindly following others in what the fashionable world considers to be pleasure. Such is a sample of Chesterfield's wise saws, many of which have become familiar quotations, and which show his recollection of his own bitterly repented mistakes in early life. When Philip Stanhope went out into the world and his early education was completed, his father continued to send him letters of advice; but, in 1768, the young man died, and the father learned that he had been married and had two sons. Chesterfield received this unexpected news with composure, and wrote kindly to the widow, Eugenia Stanhope, saying that he would undertake all the expenses connected with the bringing up of her boys. He did not remove them from her care, but took much interest in them, and became attached to them, observing their different characters and advising as to them.

Chesterfield's literary fame rests upon his *Letters to his Son*, which were never intended for publication; but it has been augmented by his *Letters to his Godson*, which, also, were not intended to see the light of publicity. Fourteen of the letters on the art of pleasing, or, as the writer entitled them, 'The Duty, Utility and Means of Pleasing,' were first published in 1774 in four numbers of *The Edinburgh Magazine and Review*. In 1776, they were added to a Dublin edition of *Letters to his Son*, and were incorrectly described as written to the son—instead of to the godson. In 1778, they were reproduced as a supplement to

Maty's Memoirs of Lord Chesterfield. The complete series of Chesterfield's *Letters to his Godson* was not printed until 1890, when it was edited by the fourth earl of Carnarvon. Lord Carnarvon, by means of the charming *Life* which he prefixed to the *Letters*, placed Chesterfield's good name on a more substantial basis than that upon which it had hitherto rested.

These *Letters* follow very much the plan of their predecessors. They are sometimes in English, and more often in French. They contain the same form of instruction and anecdote, are written with the same mixture of wit and wisdom, and breathe the same affectionate interest of the writer in the doings of his correspondent. One of the letters may be specially mentioned, since it inculcates the spirit of two commandments, on which, according to the highest authority, 'hang all the law and the prophets.' Chesterfield writes :

I must from time to time remind you of two much more important dutys, which I hope you will never forget nor neglect. I mean your duty to God and your duty to Man.... Your duty to Man is very short and clear, it is only to do to him whatever you would be willing that he should do to you. And remember in all the business of your life to ask your conscience this question *Should I be willing that this should be done to me?* If your conscience which will always tell you truth answer No, do not do that thing.

Chesterfield took immense pains to show his two pupils how to live; and it evidently gave him great pleasure to watch over them, and to express to each of them his satisfaction in their progress. He must, however, have suffered disappointment when he found that, in point of manners, neither of them did justice to his intentions. His son, we learn from others, was 'loutish,' and Fanny Burney says of his godson that 'with much share of humour, and of good humour also, [he] has as little good breeding as any man I ever met with.'

Fanny Burney bore two surnames in succession; but her maiden name is that by which all true lovers know her, because it was when she had no right to any but this that she wrote and gained her fame. She may be Madame d'Arblay on certain formal occasions; but the author of *Evelina* is far too English for a foreign name to sit easy upon her¹. The pictures of important events and the intimate records of Fanny's distinguished friends in her diaries and letters place these writings on a very high plane, entitling them to rank as reproductions of eighteenth century life not very far below the volumes of Walpole and Boswell. She relates all she saw and did with so

¹ As to Fanny Burney as a novelist, see chap. III, pp. 63 ff. *ante*.

much spirit and vivacity, filling in the blanks of other writers, that the reading of the various incidents is an inexhaustible pleasure. It may, indeed, be said that she discloses the inner life of three different worlds. In her *Early Diary* (1768—78), edited by Mrs Ellis (1889), the doings of her family are fully displayed, and the professional world of Dr Burney ('that clever dog,' as Johnson called him) is brightly sketched; Garrick, too, is constantly gliding over the scene and playing the fool in his inimitable way. But the most popular character of all is the eccentric 'daddy' Crisp—Samuel Crisp, the recluse of Chessington hall near Epsom—who was the special friend and correspondent of his 'Fannikin.' In the later *Diary and Letters* (1778—1840), edited by Mrs Charlotte Barrett (1842—6), there is more about the larger literary and political world, including the great event of the Hastings trial. The full and particular account of court life is of the greatest interest and value. On 6 July 1786, Fanny Burney was appointed second keeper of the robes to queen Charlotte, a position she held for five years. She received much kindness from the king and queen, who were fond of her; and, although, by reason of the rigid etiquette, the service was hard, she had much pleasant intercourse with her companions in the palace, whose portraits she painted with spirit. Her great and incessant trouble, however, was her inevitable long and close association with the terrible Mrs Schwellenberg, otherwise *Cerbera*. In course of time, the confinement which Fanny had to undergo affected her health, and her friends cried out for her release, even Walpole uttering complaints. Windham threatened to set 'The Club' on Dr Burney to induce him to obtain her freedom, and Boswell threatened to interfere—much to Fanny's annoyance, for she did not love the 'memorandummer' as she called him. Eventually, arrangements were made, and she finally left court in July 1791, the queen granting out of her own privy purse a pension or retiring allowance.

A most interesting feature of these diaries and letters is the introduction of clear-cut portraits of the people whom the writer knew and met. Johnson alluded to her powers in this respect when he addressed her as 'You little character-monger'; and, here, her early novel writing stood her in good stead. The description of Boswell's persecution of her at Windsor, while pressing unsuccessfully for the use of Johnson's letters, and reading to her, at the gates of the castle which she would not let him enter, bits from the forthcoming *Life*, is a fine bit of high comedy. Among Fanny Burney's later friends were the Lockes, owners of Norbury

park, above the vale of Mickleham. On her frequent visits to her hospitable friends, she became intimate with the French *émigrés* at Juniper hall; and, on 31 July 1793, she was married to one of them—d'Arblay—at Mickleham church. The pair had but little upon which to set up house; but Locke gave them a site, and the handsome subscription of generous friends for the novel *Camilla* produced sufficient funds for building a cottage, which was named Camilla Lacey. The marriage was a happy one in spite of lack of means; but, in 1801, d'Arblay determined to return to France, and his wife followed him. The restoration of Louis XVIII brought better times, but, in July 1815, general d'Arblay met with an accident and was placed on the retired list of the French army. Austin Dobson describes him as one of the most delightful figures in his wife's *Diary*. On 3 May 1818, he died at Bath. This sad event virtually closes the work, and, although Madame d'Arblay lived until 1840, there are few letters left after her husband's death.

Mrs Elizabeth Montagu was one of a bright company of brilliant women¹; and, in spite of rivals, she reigned supreme for fifty years as the chosen hostess of the intellectual society of London. Mrs Vesey, for a time, was a prominent rival, because, as wife of Agmondesham Vesey, a member of 'The Club,' she came forward as the special hostess of that select company. The fame of Mrs Montagu has much waned, and, probably, her letters, published by her nephew Matthew Montagu in 1809—13, are little read now. This collection does not reach a date later than 1761; of the remainder of the correspondence from that date to the end of Mrs Montagu's life, consisting, for the most part, of letters to Mrs Robinson and a few other friends, Doran made a selection, which he printed with remarks of his own in biographical form, in 1873, under the title *A Lady of the last Century (Mrs Elizabeth Montagu) illustrated in her unpublished Letters*. Although this lady was surrounded by the intellect of her time (she informed Garrick that she never invited idiots to her house), she did not succeed in emulating Fanny Burney in the portraiture of her friends. Windham praised her letters highly, but more for their style than for the particular interest of the subjects discussed. 'The flow of her style,' he writes, 'is not less natural, because it is fully charged with shining particles, and sparkles as it flows.' Her correspondent

¹ For a general account of the Blue Stockings, see vol. xi. The word first occurs in Mrs Montagu's correspondence, in 1757.

during fifty years was Lady Margaret Harley, daughter of the second earl of Oxford and wife of the second duke of Portland, who was also a life long friend of Mrs Delany.

Elizabeth Robinson was the elder daughter of Matthew Robinson, a Yorkshire squire, and her early education was advanced by the instruction of Dr Conyers Middleton, the second husband of her maternal grandmother, who lived at Cambridge. Her father, also, was fond of encouraging her to make smart repartees to his witty and caustic remarks, until he was beaten in these encounters and had to discontinue them. She became rather a formidable young lady and from her volatile disposition she acquired the sobriquet 'Fidget.' She married, in 1742, Edward Montagu, a grandson of the first earl of Sandwich, a quiet man who was contented that his wife should rule in her own drawing-room. Doran describes him as 'a mathematician of great eminence and a coal-owner of great wealth.' The match appears to have been a happy one, although the tastes of the two parties were very different.

Mrs Montagu was fond of society, and the pleasures of the town had a great attraction for her; but she was also a great reader and somewhat of a student, so she was often glad to exchange the gaieties of London for the quiet pleasures of the country. She formed a sort of salon at her house in Hill street and gathered a brilliant company round her. Johnson was glad to be one of her honoured guests; but his feelings towards her seem to have been mixed. He acknowledged that she was 'a very extraordinary woman,' adding 'she has a constant stream of conversation, and it is always impregnated, it has always meaning.' At other times, he said some disagreeable things of her and to her. Something in her talk seems to have annoyed him—possibly her sharp repartees may not have pleased the dogmatic doctor. Lyttelton, Burke, Wilberforce and Reynolds were also among her 'favourite guests. Mrs Montagu's husband died in 1775 and left all his property to his wife; but, though Horace Walpole at once jumped to the conclusion that she would marry again, she preferred to adopt a nephew, who succeeded to her possessions. She continued to be a hostess and built herself a mansion on the north-west corner of Portman square; but the glory had, to a great extent, departed, and the large parties that could be accommodated in the new house were dull compared with the smaller gatherings in Hill street. In her later letters, she gives much information respecting the management of her large estates, in which she proved herself a good economist. Her *Essay*

on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare with Remarks upon the Misrepresentations of Mons. De Voltaire (1769) has been noticed elsewhere¹.

David Garrick² was a brilliant and agreeable letter-writer, and, even when angry with those correspondents who worried him exceedingly, he continued to be bright and lively in his replies. His letters give an admirable idea of his mercurial disposition, and it has been said that he was never second in the keenest encounter of wits. The two quarto volumes of his correspondence, published by James Boaden in 1831—2, are of great value and interest, consisting of letters from many distinguished persons, and his answers to them. The miscellaneous letters were collected by Garrick himself, and copies of his own letters added to them. It has been suggested that he may have had the intention of using them as the groundwork of an autobiography; at any rate, he must have considered it important to keep the originals of his various controversies for his own justification. The correspondence is now preserved, together with family letters (not printed by Boaden) and some others, in the Forster collection at the Victoria and Albert museum. They form thirty-five bound volumes and are of considerable value. Boaden, however, arranged the letters carelessly, without putting his materials in a satisfactory chronological order or providing a much-needed index; but he added a good life of the actor, largely founded upon the materials printed by him. An improved, and more convenient, edition containing a fairly complete collection of Garrick's letters, while condensing those of his correspondents, would be a valuable addition to our literature. As it is, however, Boaden's collection shows how important a figure Garrick filled in the intellectual world of the eighteenth century.

The list of his correspondents contains the names of most of the distinguished men of his time, such as Lords Camden, Chatham and Lyttelton, Johnson, Burke, Reynolds, Goldsmith, Boswell, Burney, Hogarth, Hume, Sheridan and Steevens. Burke, who entertained the highest opinion of Garrick, was one of his best friends. He addressed him as 'My dear David,' 'My dear Garrick' and sometimes 'My dearest Garrick,' and concluded his letters in terms of affection. Johnson and Garrick, notwithstanding their early relations, never got further than 'Dear sir,' and ended their letters

¹ See *Ante*, vol. v, p. 293 p and cf. vol. xi.

² For Garrick as an actor, manager and dramatist, see chap. iv, pp. 85—86, *ante*.

in formal style. Mrs Montagu was a frequent correspondent and the writer of some of the best letters in the collection. On one occasion, she is found entreating Garrick, on behalf of her friend Mrs Vesey, to obtain the election of that lady's husband Agmondesham Vesey, into the select circle of 'The Club.' The bulk of the correspondence relates to theatrical affairs, as to which Garrick was in constant trouble, by reason of his strenuous attention to his duties as manager. The actors are constantly complaining, and the actresses, who were jealous of him and of each other, sometimes almost drove him mad. Mrs Cibber, Mrs Yates, Mrs Abington and Mrs Clive—all gave trouble in various ways; but Garrick's feelings were essentially different as to the last two ladies in the list. Mrs Abington permanently annoyed him. He added to a letter, written by her in 1776: 'The above is a true copy of the letter, examined word by word, of that worst of bad women Mrs Abington, to ask my playing for her benefit, and why?' On the other hand, Kitty Clive and he were always quarrelling and making it up, since they thoroughly esteemed each other. In 1765, Kitty wrote an angry letter: 'Sir, I beg you would do me the favour to let me know if it was by your order that my money was stopped last Saturday.' In 1776, she wrote a letter which Garrick endorsed 'My Pivy—excellent.' It was not only the actors and actresses who annoyed Garrick—the playwrights were equally, if not more, troublesome. There is a long series of letters between Murphy and Garrick, which shows that they were continually at war with one another. The latter part of the second volume of Boaden's work is full of interesting letters from Frenchmen and Frenchwomen of distinction, proving how highly Garrick's genius was appreciated in France. Diderot, Marmontel, Mme Necker, Fréron, Mlle Clairon and Le Kain were among his correspondents.

The letters of Garrick do not throw much light upon his training for the stage. He seems to have been born an actor, with all the qualities of a first-rate comedian, while his achievements as a tragedian were the result of his genius and the powers of his imagination. He was of no school, and he had no master. He was well educated and possessed a singular charm of manner; but he obtained his great position by incessant study, persistent practice and wide observation. Burke described him as one of the deepest observers of man. Well might Quin say that, if Garrick was right, he and his school were all wrong! He liked to astonish spectators by his sudden change from the all-inspiring tragedian to the

laughter-forcing comedian. His Lear and his Abel Drugger were equally amazing. It was the freshness, the brightness and life of his style that made the instant acceptance of him as the greatest of living actors secure. At thirty, he was joint lessee of Drury lane theatre. In 1776, he retired from the stage and sold his moiety of the theatre to Sheridan, Linley and Ford. He kept up his interest in the stage; but he had little time to enjoy his well earned rest, and died in 1779, universally regretted. Burke wrote an epitaph, which unfortunately was rejected in favour of a foolish inscription by Pratt, for the monument in Westminster abbey. It was in a passage of the former that Garrick was said to have 'raised the character of his profession to the rank of a liberal art.'

It may not seem inappropriate to add in this place a few words concerning the series of *Discourses* delivered by Sir Joshua Reynolds, from 1769 to 1790, to the students of the Royal Academy. These *Discourses* have become a classic of our language, because they are justly regarded as a model of art criticism, devoted as they are to essentials and written in a style of great beauty and distinction, and exhibiting in every page Reynolds's love and knowledge of his art, as well as the literary powers of his mind. The advice of a master grounded on his own knowledge and practice must always possess a real value, and Reynolds is severe in his condemnation of the futility of much art criticism by amateurs.

'There are,' he writes, 'many writers on our Art, who not being of the profession and consequently not knowing what can or what cannot be done, have been very liberal of absurd praises in their descriptions of favourite works. They *always* find in them what they are resolved to find.' And, again: 'it has been the fate of *Arts* to be enveloped in mysterious and incomprehensible language, as if it was thought necessary that even the terms should correspond to the idea entertained of the instability and uncertainty of the rules which they expressed.'

In urging the duty of industry and perseverance, he has been supposed to imply a doubt as to the existence of genius; but, when he affirms that the supposed genius must use the same hard means of obtaining success as are imposed upon others, a deeper scepticism than was really his need not be imputed to him. It was a false idea of genius which he desired to correct.

Genius is supposed to be a power of producing excellences which are out of the reach of the rules of art: a power which no precepts can teach, and which no industry can acquire.

In another place, he says :

'The industry which I principally recommended is not the industry of the hands, but of the mind.' Further, when advocating the duty of clear

expression: 'If in order to be intelligible, I appear to degrade art by bringing her down from the visionary situation in the clouds, it is only to give her a solid mansion upon the earth.'

The first *Discourse* was delivered at the opening of the Royal Academy and deals with the advantages to be expected from the institution of that body. The ninth *Discourse* is, again, general, and was delivered on the removal of the Royal Academy from Pall Mall to Somerset place. The fifteenth and last contains the president's farewell to the students and members of the Royal Academy and a review of the scope of the *Discourses*, ending with an eulogium on Michel Angelo :

I reflect not without vanity that these *Discourses* bear testimony of my admiration of that truly divine man; and I should desire that the last words which I should pronounce in this Academy, and from this place, might be the name of MICHEL ANGELO.

Burke, who was in the president's chair, then descended from the rostrum, taking the lecturer's hand, and said, in Milton's words :

The Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear¹.

The incident illustrates the deep interest taken by Burke in his friend's *Discourses*; and it has been suggested that he had much to do with their composition. But they so evidently contain Reynolds's own individual views, and the thoughts are expressed so naturally and clearly, that such an idea must be put aside as absurd. Reynolds was a highly cultured man, and, doubtless, he gained much in clearness of literary insight by his intimate association with such men as Johnson and Burke; but a careful study of the *Discourses* would prove to most readers that the language as well as the thoughts were Reynolds's own. He was, however, not the man to reject suggested improvement in style from his distinguished friends, and, doubtless, both Johnson and Burke proposed some verbal improvements in the proofs.

The general reception of the work was extremely favourable; and that it was appreciated abroad is evidenced by the empress Catharine of Russia's present to Reynolds of a gold snuffbox, adorned with her portrait in relief, set in diamonds, as an expression of her appreciation of the *Discourses*.

The plan of the *Discourses*, carried on through many years, is consistent throughout. The writer did not interfere with the teaching of the professors; but it was his aim to deal with the

¹ *Paradise Lost*, bk VIII, vv. 1—3.

general principles underlying the art. He started by pointing out the dangers of facility, as there is no short path to excellence. When the pupil's genius has received its utmost improvement, rules may, possibly, be dispensed with ; but the author adds : ' Let us not destroy the scaffold until we have raised the building.' In claiming the right to teach, he modestly says that his hints are in a great degree founded on his own mistakes.

The earlier half of the series dealt with the objects of study, the leading principles to be kept in view and the four general ideas which regulate every branch of the art—invention, expression, colouring and drapery. Much stress is laid upon the importance of imitation ; but this word must be accurately defined :

Study Nature attentively but always with those masters in your company ; consider them as models which you are to imitate, and at the same time as rivals with whom you are to contend.

The second half is appropriated to the consideration of more general points, such as genius and imagination. The tenth *Discourse*, on sculpture, is the least satisfactory of the series. The fourteenth *Discourse* is of special interest as relating to Gainsborough ; and the particulars of the meeting of the two great painters at the death-bed of Gainsborough are charmingly related.

Although great changes have taken place in public opinion in the relative estimation of various schools of painting, most of Reynolds's remarks, dealing as they do with essentials, remain of value. The book is charming reading for all who love art, and the reader will close it with a higher appreciation of the character of the man and the remarkable insight of the great painter.

Hannah More's life was a remarkable one, and her fame as an author, at one time considerable, was kept alive until near the middle of the nineteenth century. It is at present nearly dead and is not likely to revive. But her correspondence is most undeservedly neglected, for she was a good letter-writer, and her accounts of the doings of the intellectual world are of great interest, and worthy to be read after Fanny Burney and Mrs Thrale. We have full information respecting the doings of Johnson's circle from different points of view ; but there is much fresh information in Hannah More's letters. Boswell was offended with the young lady and is often spiteful in his remarks about her. The story of the value of her flattery¹ has been made too much of, for there is

¹ See Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. Hill, G. B., vol. III, p. 298.

plenty of evidence that Johnson highly esteemed the character of Hannah More. Sally More was a lively writer and she gives a vivid picture of her sister's intercourse with Johnson in 1776.

We drank tea at Sir Joshua's with Dr Johnson. Hannah is certainly a great favourite. She was placed next him, and they had the entire conversation to themselves. They were both in remarkably high spirits; it was certainly her lucky night! I have never heard her say so many good things. The old genius was extremely jocular, and the young one very pleasant.

The scene had changed when Hannah More met Johnson at Oxford, in the year of his death, at dinner in the lodge at Pembroke. She wrote home :

Who do you think is my principal cicerone at Oxford? Only Dr Johnson, and we do so gallant it about! You cannot imagine with what delight he showed me every part of his own college....When we came into the Common room, we spied a fine large print of Johnson, framed and hung up that very morning with this motto: 'And is not Johnson ours, himself a host?' Under which stared you in the face 'From Miss More's *Sensibility*.' This little incident amused us;—but alas! Johnson looks very ill indeed—spiritless and wan. However he made an effort to be cheerful and I exerted myself much to make him so.

The triumphant entrance into the great London world by Hannah More, a young Bristol schoolmistress, is difficult to account for except on the grounds of her remarkable abilities. An agreeable young lady of seven and twenty, fresh from the provinces, who gained at once the cordial friendship not only of Garrick, Reynolds, Johnson and Horace Walpole but of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu and the literary ladies of the day, and who became herself one of the leaders of the Blue Stockings, must have been a woman very much out of the common. When Hannah More came first to London, she visited Reynolds, whose sister promised to introduce her to Johnson. She then met Garrick, who was first interested in her because of some intelligent criticism of his acting which he had seen. He and his wife became Hannah's dearest friends, and, on hearing of Mrs Garrick's death, Hannah More wrote to a friend (21 October 1822):

I spent above twenty winters under her roof, and gratefully remember not only their personal kindness, but my first introduction through them into a society remarkable for rank, literature and talents.

She kept up her correspondence with her distinguished London friends; but most of them had died before she had arrived at middle age. We then notice a considerable change in the subjects of her correspondence, and her letters are occupied with the

progress of some of the great movements in which she was interested. Wilberforce was a constant correspondent, and he found her a warm helper in the anti-slavery cause. When she and her sisters gave up their school at Bristol and retired on a competence, she devoted all her time to philanthropic purposes. This is not the place for dealing with the subjects of her voluminous writings, and they are only referred to here as an indication of the more serious character of the later correspondence¹.

Gilbert White's *Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne* (1789) holds a unique position in English literature as the solitary classic of natural history. It is not easy to give, in a few words, a reason for its remarkable success. It is, in fact, not so much a logically arranged and systematic book as an invaluable record of the life work of a simple and refined man who succeeded in picturing himself as well as what he saw. The reader is carried along by his interest in the results of far-sighted observation; but, more than this, the reader imbibes the spirit of the writer which pervades the whole book and endears it to like-minded naturalists as a valued companion.

For some twenty years or more (1767—87), White wrote a series of letters to Thomas Pennant and Daines Barrington, giving a remarkable account of the chief instances of the special habits of animals and of natural phenomena which he was daily observing. Although these correspondents asked him questions and remarked upon his observations, they learned much more from White than he from them. Pennant is severely criticised by Thomas Bell, one of the editors of White's work, who writes: 'The man to whom the vain and self-seeking author of "British Zoology" was so greatly indebted is almost entirely ignored.' The late Alfred Newton, in his notice of Gilbert White in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, however, exonerates Pennant, noting that 'In the preface he generally but fully acknowledges White's services.' White's friendship with Barrington appears to have begun about the end of 1767, the first published letter to him being dated June 1769. Barrington, in 1770, suggested the publication of White's observations; but, although White thought favourably of the advice, he was diffident and did not prepare his materials for press until January 1788. Even then, there was more delay, so the book was not published until 1789.

White seems to have collected largely, with the ultimate object

¹ Cf., as to Hannah More, *post*, vol. XI.

of forming a naturalist's calendar; for, writing to Pennant on 19 July 1771, he expresses his diffidence in respect to publishing his notes because

I ought to have begun it twenty years ago.—If I was to attempt anything, it should be somewhat of a Natural History of my native parish, an *Annus Historio-Naturalis*, comprising a journal for one whole year, and illustrated with large notes and observations.'

Eventually, he did not make any considerable alteration in his letters but left all the vivid pictures in their original setting; and *The Naturalist's Calendar* did not see the light until two years after his death—in 1795.

A *Quarterly* reviewer¹, speaking of White, describes him as 'a man the power of whose writings has immortalised an obscure village and a tortoise,—for who has not heard of Timothy—as long as the English language lives.' The life history of Timothy may be read in White's letters, and in the amusing letter to Miss Hecky Mulso, afterwards Mrs Chapone (31 August 1784), written by him in the name of Timothy. The tortoise was an American, born in 1734 in the province of Virginia, who remembered the death of his great-great-grandfather in the 160th year of his age. Thomas Bell disputes the American origin and believes the animal to have belonged to a north African species, naming it *testudo marginata*; but Bennet held that it was distinct and he described and named it *T. Whitei*, after the man who had immortalised it.

Selborne may be obscure; but it is a beautiful village in a beautiful country eminently suited for the purpose of White in making it the centre of a life's work of zoological research and observation. The book was immediately popular both with the general public and with all naturalists, many of the most eminent of which class have successively edited it with additional and corroborative notes.

White's was an uneventful life as we usually understand the phrase; but it was also a full and busy one, the results of which have greatly benefited his fellow men. He was born and died at Selborne; and that delightful neighbourhood was the centre of his world. But it would be a mistake to forget that he was a man of capacity equal to the duties of a larger sphere. He was for fifty years a fellow of Oriel college, Oxford, and, for some of these years, dean of the college. In 1757, there was an election for the provostship, when, although Musgrave was chosen, White had many supporters. He quitted residence at Oxford in the following

¹ Vol. LXXI, no. 141, p. 8 note; art. on *The Honey-Bee*.

year, with the intention of settling permanently at Selborne. He refused several college livings for this reason, although he held the living of Moreton Pinckney in Northamptonshire as a non-resident incumbent. Notwithstanding this apparent indifference to duty, he worked successively in several curacies, the last being that of his beloved Selborne.

II

THE WARWICKSHIRE COTERIE

Somewhat apart from the more famous letter-writers of the age stood a circle of friends, some of whom might be described as in the great world while none were exactly of it, whose correspondence, and more general literary work, are full of interest. They were all, at one time or another, dwellers in Warwickshire or on its borders, lived at no great distance from each other and wrote frequently when they did not meet. Perhaps the poet Shenstone is the most obvious link between them: they all were acquainted with him, if they were not all personally known to each other. The circle includes Henrietta Lady Luxborough, of Barrels near Henley-in-Arden; Frances duchess of Somerset, one of whose residences was Ragley near Alcester; Richard Graves, who belonged to the family which owned Mickleton, not actually in Warwickshire but not far from Stratford-on-Avon; Richard Jago, who was vicar of Harbury and held other cures in the county; William Somerville, of Edstone near Henley; and it was completed by persons who were not so much writers themselves as friends of men of letters, such as Anthony Whistler (who had been at Pembroke college, Oxford, with Graves and Shenstone), and Sanderson Miller, antiquary and architect, the builder of the tower on Edge-hill commemorated by Jago in his poem. Nearly all of these wrote good letters, which were published, and most of them at least dabbled in literature also, in light verse or easy prose. And all were more or less in the net of the omnivorous publisher Robert Dodsley, who did a great deal to make Shenstone and the Leasowes famous¹.

Of Somerville², a scholar and a gentleman (though his writing

¹ As to Robert Dodsley, see *ante*, vol. ix, pp. 190—1 *et al.*

² This spelling has been continued in the present chapter for the sake of uniformity. The name was, however, always spelt *Somerville* in the autograph letters of its owner and in his works printed in his lifetime.

does not always suggest it) some account has already been given in an earlier chapter¹: his prose, in prefaces and letters, many of the latter still unpublished, is of the good, sonorous, somewhat pedantic kind which was beginning, even when he wrote, to be old-fashioned. Another country gentleman was Anthony Whistler of Whitchurch, an Eton boy, who imbibed 'such a dislike to learning languages that he could not read the Classics, but no one formed a better judgment of them,' and was 'a young man of great delicacy of sentiment.' As an undergraduate, he published anonymously, in 1736, a poem entitled *The Shuttlecock*. He died in 1754, aged forty. For many years he had corresponded with Shenstone and Graves, and, on his death, the former wrote to the latter "the triumvirate which was the greatest happiness and the greatest pride of my life is broken." Few of their letters, unfortunately, are preserved. Through Sanderson Miller, the squire of Radway at the foot of Edge-hill and the friend of all the noble builders and gardeners of the age (except Horace Walpole who rarely lost an opportunity of laughing at him), the Warwickshire coterie had links at once with the great world and with the greatest writer of the age. It was in his drawing-room that Fielding read the manuscript of *Tom Jones* to an admiring circle of ladies and gentlemen; and for an improvement which Pitt generously designed in his garden Miller happily thanked

The Paymaster, well skilled in planting,
Pleased to assist when cash was wanting,
He bid my Laurels grow: they grew
Fast as his Laurels always do.

It was no doubt as a refuge from domestic unhappiness that Lady Luxborough turned to literature and sought the friendship of lesser poets. Born about 1700, she was half-sister of Henry St John, afterwards viscount Bolingbroke, to whom she was all her life devotedly attached². In 1727, she married Robert Knight, son of the cashier of the South Sea company, whom Horace Walpole contemptuously calls a 'transport.' About nine years later, she was separated from her husband in consequence of some scandal which has never been verified. Horace Walpole, who disliked her and her friends, speaks of a 'gallantry' in which Dalton, tutor to the son of Lady Hertford (afterwards duchess of Somerset) was concerned; but this is unlikely, for the friendship of the two ladies

¹ See chap. v, pp. 109 ff. *ante*. As to Jago, see *ibid.* pp. 112—113. As to Shenstone, see chap. vii, pp. 149 ff., *ante*.

² Cf. *ante*, vol. ix, p. 217 and note.

was unbroken, and Lady Hertford was a particularly upright and scrupulous person. Family tradition associates her rather with Somerville; but this, again, does not seem probable. Whatever the cause, Henrietta Knight was banished to Barrels in 1736, and never saw her husband (who became Lord Luxborough in 1746 and earl of Catherlough in 1763, seven years after her death) again.

At Barrels, she lived quietly, but made friends with her neighbours, and became the centre of a literary society which included Shenstone and Somerville, Graves, Jago and a number of Warwickshire clergy. She was the 'Asteria' of their poems, which commemorated her love of letters, her library and her garden. Her letters to Shenstone were carefully preserved by him, and he described them as 'written with abundant ease, Politeness, and Vivacity; in which she was scarce equalled by any woman of her time.' She, certainly, wrote with simplicity and charm about trivial things, such as her friends' poetry and her own horticultural experiments—one of her letters contains a delightful defence of autumn; and, after the manner of ladies in society who have any knowledge of literature, she had an exaggerated appreciation of the literary achievements of her friends. Her adulation of Shenstone is so excessive that one almost begins to suspect her of a warmer feeling. The letters which he received from her between 1739 and 1756 were published by Dodsley in 1775, and three years later there appeared, under the editorship of Thomas Hull the actor, two more volumes of correspondence between them, with other letters from the duchess of Somerset, Miss Dolman (Shenstone's cousin), Thomas Percy (of the *Reliques*) who had himself connections with Warwickshire¹, Dodsley, Whistler and others. They discussed public affairs sparingly, though, in later years, they were all, through the Lytteltons, much interested in Pitt; they talked a great deal about gardens, and waterfalls, statues and urns; and they cast a favourable eye upon contemporary literature, admiring Thomson (whose *Spring* was dedicated to Lady Hertford), thinking very well of Gray's *Elegy*, and being 'highly entertained with the *History of Sir Charles Grandison*, which is so vastly above *Pamela* or *Clarissa*.' Though the authors were students of the greater letter-writers, of Mme de Sévigné, Pope and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, their own interests were simple, only slightly tinged with the sentimental affectations of

¹ As to Percy, see chap. 7, *ante*.

the shepherdesses and hermits with whom the poets played, genuinely delighting in out of door pleasures, but not averse from a good dinner and a glass of wine. They present a picture of English country life, in a literary circle, unsurpassed, if not unique, in its veracity and completeness. Hull's collection goes down to 1775, and is concluded by some rather tedious reflections from a 'Miss N——' upon Venice and the residences and manners of John, third duke (and thirty-first earl) of Atholl, a benevolent personage who drowned himself in the Tay in 1774.

The *Correspondence between Frances Countess of Hertford (afterwards Duchess of Somerset) and Henrietta Louisa Countess of Pomfret*, which was not published till 1805, belongs to an earlier period, extending from 1738 to 1741. The two ladies were both of the bedchamber of queen Caroline, and it was Lady Hertford who obtained the pardon of Savage through the queen's influence. Johnson, who pays her a lofty compliment on this, is less polite towards her interests in literature, and tells us that it was her 'practice to invite every summer some poet into the country, to hear her verses, and assist her studies,' adding that this honour was one year conferred on Thomson, but he 'took more delight in carousing with Lord Hertford and his friends than assisting her ladyship's poetical operations, and therefore never received another summons.' Another poet who dedicated a volume to her was Isaac Watts, and Shenstone's ode, *Rural Elegance*, was also, after her death, inscribed to her memory. Her correspondent Henrietta, countess of Pomfret, was granddaughter of lord chancellor Jeffreys, and her letters from France and Italy faintly recall the style of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, with some details, not uninteresting, of life at foreign courts. Lady Hertford was a shrewd observer, and contributes opinions on the early methodists which represent the judgment of the quiet, cultivated, religious society to which, after her retirement from court, she belonged. Two smart poems in Dodsley's collection¹ refer to her supposed affection for Sir William Hamilton; and gossips made free with her name, but quite without reason. Her later years, at least, those of warm friendship with Lady Luxborough, were secluded and sad.

'After a Ball or Masquerade,' she wrote, in language which well illustrates the style of these letters, 'have we not come Home very well contented to pull off our Ornaments and fine Cloaths in order to go to rest? Such, methinks,

¹ Vol. vi, pp. 230—1.

in the Reception we naturally give to the Warnings of bodily Decays; they seem to undress us by Degrees, to prepare us for a Rest that will refresh us more powerfully than any Night's Sleep could do.'

There is, indeed, in most of the members of this coterie, a pensive, even plaintive, tone. Jago found the country clergyman's quiet melancholy natural to him, and, if Shenstone began by being sad as night only for wantonness, his retirement at the Leasowes, in spite of the interest of his wilderness, his waterfall and his urns, and the polite appreciation of his fashionable neighbours, soon tinged his sedentary and self-indulgent life with sorrow and regret as well as with dyspepsia and fretfulness. But he could write a cheerful letter and a bright and ingenious essay to the last. His friend Graves, to whom a large number of his letters were addressed, in the *Recollections of some particulars* of his life (1788), perhaps the most interesting of his works, gives him not undeserved credit for

such a justness of thought and expression, and such a knowledge of human nature as well as of books that, if we consider how little [he] had conversed with the great world, one would think he had almost an intuitive knowledge of the characters of men.

He had, indeed, all the acuteness of observation which belongs to the literary recluse, and he wrote with an entire absence of affectation and an easy grace which made his letters not unworthy to stand among the very best of those which the eighteenth century produced. Passages of pleasant fancy or humour, of description and of criticism, occur again and again in his correspondence, and, whatever may be said of his poetry, his prose style is eminently felicitous. Admirers of good writing have too long neglected him.

The same may be said of his intimate friend, Richard Graves, well known to all the Warwickshire coterie. He wrote so much that there is a natural temptation to regard him as a mere scribbler or a literary hack. Such a judgment would be most unjust. ~~He~~ lived to be nearly ninety, and in so many years it is no tedious achievement to have written some dozen books that are worth reading, besides a few more which, perhaps, are not. Graves was a fellow of All Souls, and there began a lifelong friendship with Blackstone. He was a poet, and a collector of poems: *Euphrosyne* and *The Festoon* bear witness. He was a translator of Marcus Aurelius and of many ancient epigrams. He was a correspondent of clever people, but better pleased to receive than to write letters and not one to copy and preserve those

he had written. He was a diligent country parson (not to be confused with his son, sometime vicar of Great Malvern, whose boyish skill in Latin was commended by Shenstone), never away for a month at a time in all the fifty-five years he was rector of Claverton. In that delightful village, at an easy distance from Bath, by a charming country road, along which he walked almost every weekday for more than fifty years, he resided from 1749 to 1804, paying occasional visits to London, to Warwickshire and to the Leasowes. He was chaplain to the countess of Chatham, and became private tutor to several eminent persons, such as Prince Hoare and Malthus; and, at Bath, he was a popular figure, the intimate friend of 'lowborn Allen' and his nephew-in-law, bishop Warburton. He had the knack of writing pleasing trivialities in the form of essays, which contained often curious information, entertaining anecdotes and sound morals. But his chief success, which should preserve his memory green, was as a novelist. He was unquestionably the most natural and effective writer of prose tales in his time, and might almost claim to be the originator of unemotional, impassionate romances of rural life and manners.

The Spiritual Quixote (1772), his most famous story, and the only one which, in his own time, achieved a second edition, is a tale of a young country squire who was influenced by the methodists and took a long tour of the midlands, suffering a number of mild adventures, as a follower of Whitefield. Graves had been at Pembroke, Oxford, and never quite overcame his disdain of the servitor. He makes great fun of the followers of methodism; but he always respects genuine piety. Descriptions of open air preaching and of the treatment of the preachers are frequent: he could never get rid of the conviction that, in spite of irregularities, methodism was showing the parish clergy how to do their duty. But this is only a small part of the interest of *The Spiritual Quixote*: its real attraction lies in the accounts of the social life and entertainments of the time, the ways of travellers and the customs of rustics and innkeepers. So, again, *Columella, or the Distressed Anchorit* (1776), which, like its predecessor, has a detailed (this time faintly disguised) picture of Shenstone, records the travels of a lawyer and a college don and the placid, but not always proper, recreations of a sluggish country gentleman of small fortune and literary interest. There is a placid satisfaction in the outlook on life which represents not only the attitude of *Columella's* old friends but that of Graves himself. Thus, he speaks of the journey

of Atticus the 'solemn Head of a college,' and Hortensius 'the sage Counsel learned in the law':—

The consciousness of having punctually discharged every duty of their respective stations diffused an ease and cheerfulness over their minds, and left them open to enjoyment, and at leisure to receive amusement from every object that presented itself in the way. The freshness of the morning, the serenity of the air, the verdure of the fields, every gentleman's seat, every farm-house, and every cottage they passed by, or every village they rode through, afforded some kind of pleasing reflections to persons of their happy disposition.... Thus if they overtook or were overtaken by anyone on the road, even of the lowest rank, instead of passing him by with a supercilious air, as if he were of a different species, they considered him in the same light as a sportsman would a partridge or a woodcock, as one that might afford them either pleasure or instruction; and usually commenced a conversation.

This was the way in which Graves lived and wrote. Yet he was not blind, as *Columella* shows, to the seamy side of things.

More delicate than *Columella* are the two charming little volumes entitled *Eugenius or Anecdotes of the Golden Vale* (1785), which, from a description or two of scenery, suggest that the neighbourhood of the Wye was familiar to the writer and thus account, perhaps, for the reference in *The Spiritual Quixote* to Pope's 'Man of Ross'—'What, old Kyrle! I knew him well; he was an honest old cock and loved his pipe and a Tankard of cider as well as the best of us.'—They show, too, as do other of Graves's writings, in a touch here and there, a knowledge of the habits and sufferings of the poor almost as intimate as Crabbe's. *Plexippus or The Aspiring Plebeian*, published (anonymously as was *Columella*) in 1790, is a quiet tale of the love affairs of two young men, eminently sober and respectable, told in the pleasantest vein of Graves's quiet observation of mankind. Cheltenham, Wales and London are the scenes of the story, which is of the placid type that Graves loved. In his later years, he wrote essays and studies of character, with a few *vers de société*, all very gentle, unaffected and trivial; and he kept green, to the last, the memory of his friend Shenstone and the literary circle in which he had moved.

The venue was now changed to Bath, where everybody in the later eighteenth century (except poor Lady Luxborough, the terms of whose separation from her husband would not allow her even to go on the Bath road) came sooner or later. At Lady Miller's, of Bath Easton, the undoubted original of Mrs Leo Hunter, a company of poetasters and dilettantes met every week for some years; Graves, who was constantly present, records, with a little flutter of satisfaction, that on one occasion he met four duchesses. The

results of their poetic contests were published in 1775 as *Poetical Amusements at a Villa near Bath*, increased to three volumes a year later, a sign of the popularity of this tepid form of literary dissipation. The verses themselves are often ingenious, and the 'candid reader' is asked by their editor to

recollect that they were frequently the production of a few days—most of them of as many hours; [and] that they originated amidst the hurry of plays, balls, public breakfasts, and concerts, and all the dissipations of a full *Bath Season*—alike unfriendly to contemplation and the Muses. •

By the time they were written, most of the earlier and much more brilliant literary coterie to which Graves had belonged had passed away, and he was the only survivor with any claim to be a true man of letters. The Leasowes had received all the wit and fashion of the earlier time, and lovers of good literature had always been welcome at Barrels. It is, indeed, round Shenstone and Lady Luxborough, the poet and the letter-writer of unaffected charm, that the memory of the Warwickshire coterie lingers; but Richard Graves, who long survived them both, won for himself a place in English letters, not lofty, but secure, where none of his friends could excel him.

CHAPTER XII

HISTORIANS

I

HUME AND MODERN HISTORIANS

'As for good [English] historians,' Voltaire wrote in 1734, 'I know of none as yet : a Frenchman [Rapin] has had to write their history¹.' His criticism was just, and, before him, both Addison and Bolingbroke had noted the backwardness of English literature so far as history was concerned. Yet there was no lack of interest on the part of the educated classes in the history of their own nation, for, during the first half of the eighteenth century, several histories of England appeared which, in spite of gross defects, found many readers. Nor is this interest difficult to account for. Closely connected with the conservatism of the national character, it had been fostered by the conflicts through which the nation had passed in the preceding century ; for, in these conflicts, great respect was shown for precedent ; in the struggle with Charles I, though it was temporarily subversive of ancient institutions, the parliamentary party made constant appeals to historic liberties, while the lawyers and judges on the king's side found weapons in the same armoury and cited records in support of the exercise of arbitrary authority. The process of subversion was sharply checked, and reverence for the ancient constitution was exhibited by the invitation to Cromwell to assume the crown. More lately, the revolution of 1688 had been a vindication of historic rights, conducted with a punctilious observance of time honoured procedure. Principles involved in these conflicts still divided the nation into two opposing parties, and whigs and tories alike were eager to find such support for their opinions as might be derived from history. Whigs, for example, would turn to Oldmixon or

¹ *Œuvres*, vol. xxiv, p. 137; see Gibbon's *Memoirs*, p. 295; ed. Hill, G. B.

Rapin, tories to the *History of England* by Thomas Carte, the nonjuror, which though written without literary skill, was superior, as regards the extent of the author's researches, to any English history of an earlier date than that of the appearance of his first two volumes (1747, 1750); his fourth and last volume, which goes down to 1654, was published in 1755, the year after his death; his *Life of James, Duke of Ormond* (1736), a tedious book, is of first-rate importance, especially as regards Irish history. The general interest in English history had been vastly strengthened by the appearance of Clarendon's *History*, which has been treated in a previous volume as belonging essentially to the class of contemporary memoirs, and it had been encouraged by the publication, at the expense of the state, of *Fœdera et Conventiones* (1704—35), edited by Thomas Rymer and Robert Sanderson, in twenty volumes, a collection of public documents of great value for most periods of our history before the seventeenth century, the last document included in it being dated 1654. This work laid a new foundation for the writing of history on a scientific basis, from documentary authorities; its value was thoroughly appreciated by Rapin, who used it in his *History*, and, from time to time, published summaries of its contents which were translated into English under the title *Acta Regia* (1726—7).

Yet this interest did not, as has already been seen, call forth, before Hume wrote, any history of England by a native historian that is worthy to be classed as literature; indeed, it was in itself adverse to the appearance of such a work, for it caused English history to be written for party purposes, and, consequently, no effort was made to write it in a philosophic spirit, or to present it in well devised form or in worthy language; it fell into the hands of hacks or partisans. Only one Englishman of that time wrote history in a style that, of itself, makes his book valuable, and he did not write English history. Simon Ockley, vicar of Swavesey, Cambridgeshire, who had early devoted himself to the study of eastern languages and customs, was appointed professor of Arabic at Cambridge in 1711. The first volume of his *Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt by the Saracens*, generally known as *The History of the Saracens*, appeared in 1708, the second in 1718, with an introduction dated from Cambridge gaol, where he was then imprisoned for debt: he had in past years received help from the earl of Oxford (Harley); but that had ceased, and the poor scholar had a large family. Gibbon, who admired and used his work, speaks of his fate as 'unworthy of the man and of his

country¹. His *History* extends from the death of Mahomet, 632, to that of the fifth Ommiad caliph, 705 ; it was cut short by the author's death in 1720, after a life of incessant and ill-requited toil. The *Life of Mohammed* prefixed to the third edition of his *History*, which was issued for the benefit of his destitute daughter in 1757, is by Roger Long, master of Pembroke hall, Cambridge. Ockley based his work on an Arabic manuscript in the Bodleian library which later scholars have pronounced less trustworthy than he imagined it to be. His English is pure and simple, his narrative extraordinarily vivid and dramatic, and told in words exactly suited to his subject—whether he is describing how Caulah and her companions kept their Damascene captors at bay until her brother Derar and his horsemen came to deliver them, or telling the tragic story of the death of Hosein. The book was translated into French in 1748, and was long held to be authoritative. As a history, its defects are patent, its account of the conquest of Persia, for example, is so slight that even the decisive battle of Cadesia is not mentioned ; nor is any attempt made to examine the causes of the rapid successes of the Saracen arms : it reads, indeed, more like a collection of sagas than a history. Such defects, however, do not impair its peculiar literary merit.

A change in the character of British historical writing began in the middle of the century ; it was raised by Hume to a foremost place in our prose composition ; its right to that place was maintained by Robertson, and, finally, in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, it rose to the highest degree of perfection that it has ever attained in this, or, perhaps, in any, country. That its two earliest reformers should both have been Scotsmen is one of many illustrations of the activity of the Scots at that time in all the higher spheres of thought and of literary production. When the failure of the Jacobite cause put an end to the struggle for Scottish national life as an independent political force, it would almost seem as though the educated class in Scotland consciously set themselves to endow their country with an independent life in the domains of philosophy, literature, science and art² ; for their efforts were not made in isolation ; they were made by men who constantly communicated with each other or consorted together, especially in Edinburgh, where, from 1754, they formed themselves into the 'Select Society,' of which both Hume and Robertson were

¹ *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi, p. 4, note, ed. Bury, J. B.

² Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. iii, p. 871.

members, and which met every week to discuss philosophical questions. While this intellectual life was distinctly national, its output was not marred by its local character. Political affairs had for centuries driven or led Scots abroad: the habit of resorting to other countries remained, and Scottish thinkers and writers kept in touch with the intellectual life of other peoples, and especially of the French, the ancient allies of Scotland. In their mode of expression, too, the desire to be widely read and the necessity of gaining a larger and richer market for their books than they could find at home made them careful to avoid local peculiarities, and write in such a way as would be acceptable to English readers. Though this movement attained its full development during the latter half of the century, it had been in progress for several years.

It was during those years that David Hume first became known as a philosopher and essayist; his earliest book, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739—40), written when he was not more than twenty-eight, met with a chilling reception which gave little promise of his future renown. His metaphysical opinions led him to put a special value on the study of history. As his scepticism limited mental capability to sensible experience, so he regarded past events as affording experience. Holding mankind to be much the same under all conditions, he considered that history, by exhibiting the behaviour of men in the past, enables us to discover the principles of human action and their results, and to order our conduct accordingly: its records are 'so many collections of experiments by which the moral philosopher fixes the principles of his science,' and man obtains a guide for his own conduct. Hume would therefore be drawn to study history, and, believing that a knowledge of it would be of public utility by affording men experience, he would be inclined to record the experiments from which they could derive it. A three years' residence in France from 1734 to 1737, most of it spent 'very agreeably' at La Flèche, on the Loir, then famous for its great Jesuits' college, probably strengthened this inclination and influenced his style. Historical study was being eagerly pursued in France. Among the religious orders, the Benedictines were preparing *Le Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, issuing their *Gallia Christiana*, and beginning their histories of the French provinces, while the Dominicans had produced the *Scriptores* of their order, and the Jesuits were engaged on *Acta Sanctorum*. On the lay side, the *Académie des Inscriptions* was carrying on the publication of

the royal ordinances, and gathering a store of historical erudition¹. Count de Boulainvilliers had already treated French history in a philosophic spirit, and Voltaire, in his exquisite little *Histoire de Charles XII*, had shown that historical writing might be endowed with literary excellence. A strange contrast Hume must have seen in this activity and accomplishment to the condition of historical work in Great Britain. Elegance in the structure of sentences and an almost excessive purity of language, which marked contemporary French literature, were specially inculcated by the Jesuits, the masters of French education. Hume's *History* shows enough French influence to justify us in considering his long visit to La Flèche as an important factor in its character.

Some insight into the conduct of the great affairs of nations he gained as secretary to general St Clair during his ineffectual expedition against Lorient in 1746, when Hume acted as judge advocate, and while attached to St Clair's embassy to Vienna and Turin in 1748. By 1747, he had 'historical projects.' His appointment as librarian to the faculty of advocates at Edinburgh, in 1752, gave him command of a large library well stocked with historical works, and he forthwith set about his *History of England*. Intending to trace the steps by which, as he believed, the nation had attained its existing system of government, he had at first thought of beginning his work with the accession of Henry VII; for he imagined that the first signs of revolt against the arbitrary power of the crown were to be discerned during the Tudor period, and of carrying it down to the accession of George I. Finally, however, he began with the accession of James I, alleging, as his reason, that the change which took place in public affairs under the Tudor dynasty was 'very insensible,' and that it was 'under James that the House of Commons first began to rear its head, and then the quarrel betwixt privilege and prerogative commenced².' The first volume of his *History of Great Britain*, containing the reigns of James I and Charles I, appeared in 1754. He was sanguine in his expectations of the success of the work; but, though for a few weeks it sold well in Edinburgh, it met with almost universal disapprobation and seemed likely to sink into premature oblivion. Its unfavourable reception was mainly due, as we shall see later, to political reasons. Hume was bitterly disappointed, and even thought of retiring to France and living there under an assumed name. His second volume, which ended

¹ Carré, H., *Histoire de France* (Lavisse), vol. viii, ii, pp. 182—3.

² Burton, J. H., *Life of Hume*, vol. i, p. 375.

with the revolution of 1688, and appeared in 1756, was less irritating to whig sensibilities : it sold well and helped the sale of the first. Then he worked backwards, and published two volumes on the Tudor reigns in 1759, ending, in 1761, with two on the history from the time of Julius Caesar to the accession of Henry VII. He did not carry out his original idea of bringing his work down to 1714. By that time, the sale of his *History* had become large, and had made him, he said, 'not merely independent but opulent'; and it kept its place in popular estimation as the best comprehensive work on English history for at least sixty years. The first two published volumes were translated into French in 1760; and, in Paris, where Hume resided from 1763 to 1766, during part of the time as secretary of legation, he received, both as historian and as philosopher, an amount of adulation which excited the spleen of Horace Walpole¹.

Hume gave so little time to preparation for his task that it is evident that he had no idea of writing a scientific history. With all due allowance for the infinitely greater facilities which now exist for arriving at the truth, it cannot be contended that he took full advantage of such authorities as were then accessible: he seems to have been content with those under his hand in the advocates' library; he was not critical as to their comparative values; and he was careless in his use of them. His *History*, consequently, contains many misstatements which he might have avoided—some of small importance, others of a serious kind, as they affect his conclusions. Of these, a typical instance, noticed by Hallam², is, that he misstates the complaint of the Commons in 1396 that sheriffs were continued in office beyond a year, as a petition that they might be so continued, and uses this mistake in defence of the misgovernment of Richard II.

His later published volumes, on the history before the Tudor dynasty, become more and more superficial as he advances further into times which were obscure to him, in which he took no interest, regarding them as ages of barbarism, and on which he would scarcely have written save for the sake of completeness. What he set out to do was to write a history which would be generally attractive—for he appealed '*ad populum* as well as *ad clerum*'³—and would be distinguished from other histories alike by its style and by its freedom from political bias, a matter on which he was insistent in his correspondence. He approached his work, then, in

¹ *Letters*, vol. vi, p. 301, ed. Toynbee.

² *Middle Ages*, vol. iii, p. 75, ed. 1860.

³ Hume to Clephane, Burton, vol. i, p. 397.

a spirit of philosophic impartiality, or, at least, believed that he did so—a belief commonly dangerous to a historian—and, throughout its course, adorned it with judgments and reflections admirable in themselves though not always appropriate to facts as they really were. Here, his philosophical treatment ends: he shows no appreciation of the forces which underlay great political or religious movements. As a sceptic, he did not recognise the motives which led men to work for a common end, or the influences which guided them. Such movements were, to him, mere occurrences, or the results of personal temperament, of the ambition, obstinacy, or fanaticism of individuals. The advance of historical study is indebted to him; for his praiseworthy attempts at various divisions of his narrative to expound social and economic conditions were an innovation on the earlier conception of a historian's duty as limited to a record of political events.

Hume's *History* occupies a high place among the few masterpieces of historical composition. His expression is lucid, conveying his meaning in direct and competent terms. It is eminently dignified, and is instinct with the calm atmosphere of a philosophic mind which surveys and criticises men and affairs as from an eminence. Its general tone is ironical, the tone of a man conscious of intellectual superiority to those whose faults and follies he relates. His sentences are highly polished; they are well balanced and their cadence is musical. They are never jerky, and they flow on in a seemingly inevitable sequence. Their polish does not suggest elaboration; their beauties, so easy is Hume's style, appear careless and natural. In fact, however, he made many corrections in his manuscript; he was anxious to avoid Scotticisms and, in a careful revision of the first edition of his earlier volumes, removed all he detected. Johnson, with his usual prejudice against Scotsmen, declared, he 'does not write English, the structure of his sentences is French.' Though this was a conversational exaggeration, it was more deliberately echoed by Lord Mansfield, and it is so far true that Hume's easy style indicates French influence, and, as Horace Walpole observed, the influence of Voltaire. The same may be said of the style of other contemporary Scottish writers, of Robertson, Adam Smith and Ferguson. While he never falls below dignity, he never rises to eloquence. The prose of his age was generally colourless, and his abhorrence of enthusiasm of every kind rendered this greyness of tone especially appropriate as a vehicle of his thoughts. Yet, though elegance rather than vigour is to be looked for in his writing, its irony gives it a force which, at

the least, is as powerful as any which could be obtained by a more robust style. His excellences are not without their defects. Charmed, at first, by the polish of his sentences, the reader may, perhaps, soon find them cold, hard and monotonous; and since historical narrative will not excite sustained interest unless it appeals to the imagination and emotions as well as to the judgment, Hume's attitude of philosophic observer and dispassionate critic may become wearisome to him and, as he discovers that the philosopher is not free from prejudice, even irritating. "In the composition of his *History*, Hume shows in a remarkable degree a skill which may be described as dramatic: when working up to some critical event, he selects and arranges his facts, so that each leads us a step further towards the climax that he has in view; he tells us nothing that is extraneous to his immediate purpose; there is no anticipation and no divagation in his narrative.

In spite of his belief in his own impartiality, Hume was justly accused of tory prejudice, and this caused the ill-success of his first published volume. He did not, of course, regard the royal authority as founded on divine appointment any more than on contract. As a utilitarian, he held that the end of government was the promotion of the public good, and that monarchy was based on the necessity of escape from lawless violence. While he admitted that resistance to sovereignty might be justifiable, he considered this doctrine so dangerous to society, as opening the door to popular excesses, that it should be concealed from the people unless the sovereign drove his subjects from their allegiance. This theory affected his view of the Stewart period. Ignorant of common law, as a Scotsman might well be, and of earlier English history, and inclined to scepticism, he failed to recognise the fundamental liberties of the nation. To him, they were 'privileges,' more or less dependent on the will and strength of the monarch; they had no common foundation in the spirit of the people, there was no general 'scheme of liberty.' He held that, at the accession of James I, the monarchy was regarded as absolute, and that, though Charles pushed the exercise of the prerogative too far, it was practically almost unlimited. The parliament made encroachments upon it: Charles defended his lawful position. Hume did not undervalue the liberties for which the parliamentary party contended, but he blamed them for the steps by which they asserted and secured them. His opinions were probably affected by his dislike of the puritans as much as by his erroneous theory of constitutional history: 'my views of things,' he wrote, 'are more

conformable to Whig principles, my representations of persons to Tory prejudices.' His scepticism led him to sneer at a profession of religious motives. To the church of England in Charles's reign, he 'accorded his approval as a bulwark of order, and, possibly, because in his own day it afforded many examples of religious indifference; and, including all the sects under the common appellation of puritans, he condemned them as 'infected with a wretched fanaticism' and as enemies to free thought and polite letters. The extent to which his prejudices coloured his treatment of the reign of Charles I may be illustrated by his remarks on the penalties inflicted by the Star chamber and by his sneer at the reverence paid to the memory of Sir John Eliot, 'who happened to die while in custody.'

His second volume was not so offensive to the whigs, for he held that limitations to the prerogative had been determined by the rebellion, and that Charles II and James II tried to override them. In his treatment of the reign of Elizabeth, his misconception of the constitution again came to the front and again caused offence; for he regarded the queen's arbitrary words and actions as proofs that it was an established rule that the prerogative should not be questioned in parliament, and that it was generally allowed that the monarchy was absolute. The same theory influenced his treatment of some earlier reigns, especially those of Henry III, Edward II and Richard II. His contempt for the Middle Ages as a rude and turbulent period, which he derived from, or shared with, Voltaire encouraged his error. Quarrels between kings and their subjects might result in diminutions of monarchical powers, but, in such barbarous times, no system of liberty could have been established. No one now reads Hume's *History*, though our more conscientious and more enlightened historians might learn much from it as regards the form in which the results of their labours should be presented: its defects in matter, therefore, are of little consequence, while its dignity, its masterly composition and its excellence of expression render it a literary achievement of the highest order.

In 1759, William Robertson, a presbyterian minister of Edinburgh, published his *History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and of James VI until his Accession to the Crown of England*, in two volumes: it was received with general applause and had a large sale. Robertson was rewarded by his appointment as principal of Edinburgh university in 1762, and as historiographer royal. In 1769 appeared his *History of Charles V* in

three volumes, for which he received £4500, a larger sum than had ever been paid for a historical work : it brought him an European reputation ; it was translated into French in 1771 ; Voltaire declared that it made him forget his woes, and Catherine II of Russia, who sent him a gold snuff-box, that it was her constant travelling companion. His *History of America*, in two volumes, recording the voyages of discovery, conquests and settlements of the Spaniards, was published in 1771, and, in 1791, his *Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India*.

Robertson paid more attention to authorities than Hume did, but sometimes misunderstood them, besides being uncritical, and apt to be superficial. Like Hume, he comments on events in a philosophic strain ; but his comments are often commonplace, and, like Hume, too, he fails to appreciate the forces at work in great social or political movements. Nevertheless, he had the historic sense in a measure given to none of his contemporaries before Gibbon : he had some idea of the interdependence of events and of the unity of history as one long drama of human progress to which even checks in this direction or that contribute fresh forces. His *History of Scotland* is remarkably fair, though, here and elsewhere, he shows a strong protestant bias : his mistaken view of the character and aims of Esme Stewart, earl of Lennox, is probably connected with the earl's 'firm adhesion to the protestant faith.' In common with Hume, he did not satisfy the more ardent admirers of Mary, queen of Scots ; and, in reply to both, William Tytler, a writer to the signet and a member of the Select Society, wrote his *Inquiry as to the Evidence* against her, in two volumes (1760), which passed through four editions and was twice translated into French. Before him, Walter Goodall, the advocates' sublibrarian, had defended her in his *Examination of the [Casket] Letters &c.*, in two volumes (1754), an ingenious book, proving that the French versions of the letters were translated ; and so the endless dispute began.

Robertson's *Charles V* opens with a view of the 'Progress of Society during the Middle Ages,' which Hallam praises highly and Carlyle, in boyhood, found inspiring. His misrepresentation of the state of learning, especially among the clergy, from the eighth to the eleventh century, has been exposed by Maitland¹ : it illustrates the contempt with which he, in common with Hume, regarded the Middle Ages, his careless use of authorities, his tendency to hasty generalisation and his religious bias. Other defects might be pointed out, but, though his review can no longer

¹ *Dark Ages, passim.*

*be regarded as authoritative, it is interesting and meritorious as the earliest attempt made by a British historian to present, on a large scale, a general view of history. In his work on the emperor's reign, his record of events, though insufficient and, occasionally, inaccurate, is, on the whole, more trustworthy than his estimate of their significance or of the characters and conduct of the chief actors in them. His erroneous description of the emperor's life at Yuste, as withdrawn from this world's affairs, is due to the authorities he used: in his day, access had not been allowed to the records at Simancas which have enabled later writers to give a very different account of it.

Robertson's style, in its lucidity, polish and signs of French influence, has a strong likeness to that of Hume: his sentences are well balanced, they lack Hume's ironic tone, but seem more alive than his. They are more sonorous, and often end with some word or words of weighty sound and Latin derivation, as when, speaking of the feeling of the English against queen Mary, he says, 'they grasped at suspicions and probabilities as if they had been irrefragable demonstrations.' Robertson's 'verbiage' and use of big words, illustrated in this sentence, Johnson humorously declared to have been learnt from him¹. Some development may be discerned in his writing: passages in his *Charles V* show that he was beginning to write history with an animation of which there is little sign in his *Scotland*, and this tendency ripened in his *America* into a faculty for rhetorical narrative finely displayed in his description of the voyage and landing of Columbus and some other passages. As history, his *America* is now of small value, for it is based on insufficient authorities, but, nevertheless, it is delightful to read. His books were, at least at first, more popular than Hume's *History*: as the work of a minister of religion, they did not alarm religious people, many of whom regarded all that Hume wrote as likely to be dangerous: his style was more attractive to simple folk, and they were impressed by the evidences of his learning in directions wholly beyond their knowledge. 'Hume's friendship with his younger rival², and the cordial admiration which Gibbon expressed for both of them³, are among the pleasing incidents in our literary history.

The works of Hume and Robertson seem to have excited other Scotsmen to write history. 'I believe,' Hume wrote in 1770, 'this

¹ Boswell, *Life*, vol. III, p. 178.

² Burton, *Life*, vol. II, *passim*.

³ Gibbon, *Autobiography*, p. 122, ed. Hill, G. B.; Dugald Stewart, *Life of Robertson*, p. 267.

is the true historical age and this the historical nation : I know no less than eight Histories on the stocks in this country¹.’ The letter which begins with these words refers especially to a *History of England* by Robert Henry, an Edinburgh minister, in six volumes, of which the first appeared in 1771, and which ends with the death of Henry VIII. It is arranged under various headings, as political and military affairs, religion, commerce, and so forth ; and its interest lies in the assertion, already, though not so strongly, made in Hume’s *History*, that history is concerned with all sides of social life in the past. It is mainly written from second-hand authorities and is inordinately dull. Nevertheless, its comprehensiveness made it popular : it brought its author £3300 and a crown pension of £100 and was translated into French.

The character of the historical work of Sir David Dalrymple or Lord Hailes, the title he took as a Scottish judge (1766), was determined by professional instinct. He edited two small volumes of documents belonging respectively to the reigns of James I and Charles I, and compiled *Annals of Scotland from the Accession of Malcolm III to the Accession of the House of Stewart*, in two volumes (1776, 1779). This book contains an accurate and bare record of events, impartially stated, supported by references to authorities, and illustrated in footnotes and appendixes. Hailes, though one of the Select Society, was more closely connected with Johnson than with his fellow members. Johnson read the proofs of the *Annals* and praised its ‘stability of dates’ and its ‘punctuality of citation,’ though it had not ‘that painted form which is the taste of the age’—a hit at Robertson—but also aptly described it as a ‘Dictionary’ containing ‘mere dry particulars.’ Hailes’s attack on Gibbon is noticed in the next chapter².

Another Dalrymple, Sir John, of Cranstoun, a baronet, and, later, a judge, who was also a member of the Select Society, and had written an essay on feudal property, produced his *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* from 1684 to 1692, in two parts (1771—8), beginning with a review of affairs from 1660. The appendixes to his chapters contain a mass of previously unpublished political correspondence of first-rate importance on which he based his work. His first volume caused much stir, for it revealed the extent to which English politics, in the reign of Charles II, had been influenced by French intrigues, and disgusted the whigs by exhibiting Sidney’s acceptance of money from Barillon. Dalrymple wrote in a pompous strain, and Johnson ridiculed his ‘foppery’

¹ Letters to Strahan, pp. 155 ff.

² See chap. xiii, post.

and 'bouncing style'. He continued his work, in a new edition (1780), to the capture of the French and Spanish fleets at Vigo.

Another history, which may have been 'on the stocks' in Scotland in 1770, is Robert Watson's *History of the Reign of Philip II*, published in two volumes in 1777, the year of its author's promotion as principal of St Salvator's college, St Andrews. It contains a full and careful account of the revolt of the Netherlands, derived from van Meteren, Bentivoglio and Grotius, but its comparatively scanty notices of other Spanish affairs and of the foreign policy of Philip II are unsatisfactory². Watson's style is similar, though inferior to Robertson's: his sentences are generally well balanced, but some are less skilfully constructed; he is verbose, and, though his narrative shows a perception of the things which appeal to the emotions, it lacks emotional expression. Horace Walpole greatly admired his book³, which passed through several editions and was translated into French, German and Dutch. At the time of his death in 1781, Watson was engaged on a *History of Philip III*, which was completed by William Thomson, a prolific Scottish writer.

Incursions into the field of history were made by two English authors of the governing class. Walpole's *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III* (1768) is an attempt to show that Richard was probably innocent of the crimes imputed to him by Lancastrian writers. Sir George Buck⁴, Carte and William Guthrie, whose *History of England to 1688* in four volumes (1744—51) was little read and is of no importance, had, in different degrees, anticipated him; but Walpole was the first to argue the case with skill. He got it up well, his points are clearly put, and his pleading is witty and readable. The question has been revived and adequately discussed in our own day. Some of the accusations which Walpole criticises are no longer maintained by competent historians, but Walpole could not (nor can any one) show sufficient cause for doubting that Richard had part, at least, in the murder of Henry VI, that he put Hastings to death without a trial and that he murdered his nephews. Walpole was much pleased with his own book and bitterly resented adverse criticism from Hume⁵ and others⁶.

¹ Boswell, *Life*, vol. II, pp. 210, 237; vol. V, p. 403.

² Forneron, H., *Histoire de Philippe II* (1881), vol. I, p. 392, says that, with Gregorio Leti, Watson contributed most to substitute legend for fact in the history of Philip II.

³ *Letters*, vol. I, p. 224.

⁴ Cf. *ante*, vol. VII, p. 448.

⁵ In *Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne*. See Walpole, *Short Notes of My Life*.

⁶ See bibliography.

George, first baron Lyttelton, a second rate whig statesman, whose active interest in other departments of literature is noticed elsewhere¹, worked intermittently for some thirty years at his *History of the Life of Henry II*, which he produced, in three volumes, in 1767. The whole work, Johnson records, was printed twice over and a great part of it three times, 'his ambitious accuracy' costing him at least £1000². He used the best authorities he could find, and gives a minute and accurate account of the political events of Henry's reign, together with remarks not always according to knowledge on its constitutional and legal aspects. His style is clear, but remarkably flat, his narrative inanimate, and his reflections, in which 'Divine Providence' frequently appears, are often almost childish. His opinions on the constitution in the twelfth century flattered whig sentiment. Hume jeered at his whiggery and his piety; Johnson was offended by his whiggery; and Gibbon, referring to a review of the book which he had written in *Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne*, declared that the public had ratified his judgment that the author's 'sense and learning were not illuminated by a single ray of genius³.' Horace Walpole's remark, 'How dull one may be if one will but take pains for six or seven and twenty years together!', is just, though, as work conscientiously and, to some extent, efficiently done, the book deserves some kinder comment. Lyttelton was a patron of poorer authors, and among those he befriended was Archibald Bower, a Scot, who wrote for booksellers. Bower asserted that he had been a Jesuit and a counsellor of the inquisition in Italy, that he had escaped and had become a protestant. Between 1748 and 1753, he issued to numerous subscribers three volumes of a *History of the Popes* written with a great show of learning and ending at 757. Through Lyttelton's influence, he was appointed librarian to the queen (1748), and clerk of the buck-warrants (1754). In 1756—8, however, John Douglas, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, published proofs that Bower's account of himself was false, and that his volumes, text and references, were stolen from other authors, two-thirds of his first volume being practically translated from Tillemont⁴. He defended himself vigorously so far as his own story was concerned, and gradually completed his *History* in seven volumes, the seventh going down to 1758, but disposing of the history from 1600 onwards in twenty-six pages. The book,

¹ See chap. v, ante.

² *Lives of the Poets*.

³ *Memoirs*, pp. 178—4, ed. Hill, G. B.

⁴ *Letters*, vol. vii, p. 132.

⁵ See bibliography as to Gibbon's debt to Tillemont, cf. chap. xiii, post.

which was avowedly written against the claims of the see of Rome, has no literary merit. Bower, though an impudent impostor, had some learning, but his last four volumes are not of historical importance, and the reputation of his *History* did not survive Douglas's attack.

History was written as hackwork by two authors of eminent genius. Tobias George Smollett was hired to write a history to rival Hume's work, of which the first two volumes had then appeared, and, in 1757, he produced his *Compleat History of England to 1748*, in four volumes, written in fourteen months. He boasts of having consulted over three hundred books. When he began to write, he had 'a warm side' to whig principles; but he changed his opinions as he proceeded. The *History* sold well, and Hume, while contemptuous, was annoyed at his rivalry¹. Smollett wrote a continuation; the part from the revolution was revised and republished as a continuation of Hume's *History* and, as such, passed through several editions. It favours the tory side and is written in a robust and unaffected style. Oliver Goldsmith, in the preface to his *History of England to 1760*, in four volumes (1771), disclaims any attempt at research, and says that 'he wrote to instruct beginners and to refresh the minds of the aged, and 'not to add to our historical knowledge but to contract it.' In matter, his *History* is indebted to Hume. Both it and his two smaller books on the same subject are written in the charming and graceful style which makes all his prose works delightful. The smaller books, at least, were extensively used in education within the last seventy years. Neither Smollett, though he took his *History* seriously, nor Goldsmith should be considered as a historian.

Ireland found its historian at home. Thomas Leland, senior fellow of Trinity college, Dublin, wrote a *History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II*, ending with the treaty of Limerick (1691), which was published in 1773 in three volumes. Though he consulted some original authorities, he founded his work, after losing the guidance of Giraldus, mainly on those of Ware, Camden, Stanihurst, Cox and Carte, noting his authorities in his margins though without precise references. He writes in a lucid, straightforward, but inanimate style, and, though some of his statements and comments are capable of correction by modern scholars, his narrative, as a whole, is accurate, sober and impartial. *The History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, from 1745 to 1761, by Robert Orme, published in two volumes

¹ Burton, J. H., *Life*, vol. II, p. 58.

(the second in two 'sections') in 1763—78, is a contemporary memoir, for Orme was in India in the company's service during practically the whole time of which he wrote. It is a record of noble deeds written with picturesque details, and in dignified and natural language appropriate to its subject. Its accuracy in all important matters is unquestionable¹. It is too full of minor events which, however interesting in themselves, bewilder a reader not thoroughly acquainted with the history. Nor does it lay sufficient stress on events of the first magnitude. To this defect, all contemporary memoirs are, relatively, liable, and, in Orme's case, it is heightened by his excessive minuteness. It has been observed that he errs in treating the native princes rather than the French 'as principals in the story.' This, which would be a fault in a later history, is interesting in Orme's book, as it shows the aspect under which affairs appeared to a competent observer on the spot. William Russell's *History of Modern Europe*, from the time of Clovis to 1763, in five volumes (1779—86), is creditable to its author, who began life as an apprentice to a bookseller and printer, and became 'reader' for William Strahan, the publisher of the works of Gibbon, Hume, Robertson and other historians. Its sole interest consists in Russell's idea that Europe, as a whole, has a history which should be written by pursuing what he calls 'a great line.' He was not the man to write it: his book is badly constructed; far too large a space is given to English history; there are strange omissions in his narrative and several blunders.

Together with the development of historical writing, this period saw a remarkable increase in the publication of materials for it in the form of state papers and correspondence. The share taken by Lord Hailes and Sir John Dalrymple in this movement is noticed above. A third volume of Carte's *Ormond*, published in 1735, the year before the publication of the two containing the duke's *Life*, consists of a mass of original letters to which he refers in the *Life*. A portion of the *State Papers of the Earl of Clarendon* was published in three volumes by the university of Oxford in 1767. The publication of the *Thurloe Papers* by Thomas Birch has already been noted in this work². Birch, rector of St Margaret Pattens, London, and Depden, Suffolk, did much historical work, scenting out manuscript authorities with the eagerness of 'a young setting dog.' His more important productions are *An Inquiry into the Share which Charles I had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan* (1747), in answer to Carte's contention in his

¹ Macaulay, *Essay on Clive*.

² See vol. VII, pp. 187—8.

Ormond that the commission to the earl was not genuine; *Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, 1592—1617 (1749)*; *Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth* from 1581 (1754), mainly extracts from the papers of Anthony Bacon at Lambeth; and *Lives of Henry, prince of Wales and archbishop Tillotson*. At the time of his death (1766), he was preparing for press miscellaneous correspondence of the times of James I and Charles I. This interesting collection presenting the news of the day has been published in four volumes, two for each reign, under the title *Court and Times* etc. (1848). Birch, though a lively talker was a dull writer; but his work is valuable. He was a friend of the family of lord chancellor Hardwicke, who presented him to seven benefices.

The second earl of Hardwicke shared Birch's historical taste, and, in 1778, published anonymously *Miscellaneous State Papers, from 1501 to 1726*, in two volumes, a collection of importance compiled from the manuscripts of lord chancellor Somers. In 1774, Joseph Maccormick, a St Andrews minister, published the *State Papers and Letters* left by his great-uncle William Carstares, private secretary to William III, material invaluable for Scottish history in his reign, and prefixed a life of Carstares. The manuscripts left by Carte were used by James Macpherson, of Ossianic fame, in his *Original Papers*, from 1660 to 1714, in two volumes (1775). In the first part are extracts from papers purporting to belong to a life of James II written by himself, Carte's extracts being supplemented by Macpherson from papers in the Scottish college at Paris. The second part contains Hanover papers, mostly extracts from the papers of Robethon, private secretary to George II, now in the British Museum; the copies are accurate, but some of the translations are careless¹. Also, in 1775, he produced a *History of Great Britain* during the same period, in two volumes, which is based on the papers, and is strongly tory in character. For this, he received £3000. His style is marked by a constant recurrence of short and somewhat abrupt sentences. Both his *History* and his *Papers* annoyed the whigs, especially by exhibiting the intrigues of leading statesmen of the revolution with the court of St Germain². His *Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (1771) contains boldly asserted and wildly erroneous

¹ For the James II papers and their relation to the *Life of James II*, ed. Clarke, J. S., 1816, see Ranke, *History of England* (Eng. trans.), vol. vi, pp. 29 ff., and, for the Hanover papers, Chance, J. F., in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* vol. xiii (1898), pp. 55 ff. and pp. 588 ff.

² Horace Walpole, *Last Journals*, vol. i, pp. 444—5, ed. Stuart, A. F.

theories, particularly on ethnology, inspired by a spirit of excessive Celticism.

Much interest was excited by the speculations of the French *philosophes*, in some measure the literary offspring of Locke and enthusiastic admirers of the British constitution. Influenced by Montesquieu's famous *Esprit des Loix* (1748), Adam Ferguson, Hume's successor as advocates' librarian (1757) and then a professor of philosophy at Edinburgh, published his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767). Hume advised that it should not be published, but it was much praised, was largely sold and was translated into German and French. Nevertheless, Hume's judgment was sound; the book is plausible and superficial¹. It is written in the polished and balanced style of which Hume was the master². The admiration expressed on the continent for the British constitution led Jean Louis Delolme, a citizen of Geneva, who came to England about 1769, to write an account of it in French which was published at Amsterdam in 1771. An English translation, probably not by the author, with three additional chapters, was published in London in 1775, with the title *The Constitution of England*; it had a large sale both here and in French and German translations abroad, and was held in high repute for many years. Delolme was a careful observer of our political institutions and, as a foreigner, marked some points in them likely to escape the notice of those familiar with them from childhood. The fundamental error of his book is that it regards the constitution as a nicely adjusted machine in which the action of each part is controlled by another, instead of recognising that any one of the 'powers' within it was capable of development at the expense of the others³; though, even as he wrote, within hearing of mobs shouting for 'Wilkes and Liberty,' one of them, the 'power of the people,' was entering on a period of development. To him, the outward form of the constitution was everything: he praised its stability and the system of counterpoises which, he believed, assured its permanence, so long as the Commons did not refuse supplies; he failed to see that it was built up by living forces any one of which might acquire new power or lose something of what it already had, and so disturb the balance which he represented as its special characteristic and safeguard.

¹ Stephen, Sir L., *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. II, p. 215.

² Ferguson's *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* is noticed in the following chapter.

³ Stephen, *u.s.* 209—214.

CHAPTER XIII

HISTORIANS

II

GIBBON

THE mind of Gibbon, like that of Pope, from which, in many respects, it widely differed, was a perfect type of the literary mind proper. By this, it is not meant that either the historian or the poet was without literary defects of his own, or of weaknesses—one might almost say obliquities—of judgment or temperament which could not fail to affect the character of his writings. But, like Pope and very few others among great English men of letters, Gibbon had recognised, very early in his life, the nature of the task to the execution of which it was to be devoted, and steadily pursued the path chosen by him till the goal had been reached which he had long and steadily kept in view¹. Like Pope, again, Gibbon, in the first instance, was virtually self-educated; the intellectual education with which he provided himself was more conscientious and thorough, as, in its results, it was more productive, than that which many matured systems of mental training succeed in imparting. The causes of his extraordinary literary success have to be sought, not only or mainly in the activity and the concentration of his powers—for these elements of success he had in common with many writers, who remained half-educated as well as self-educated—but, above all, in the discernment which accompanied these qualities. He was endowed with an inborn tendency to reject the allurements of hand-to-mouth knowledge and claptrap style, and to follow with unfaltering determination the guidance which study and reason had led him to select. Thus,

¹ His statement (*Memoirs*, ed. Hill, G. Birkbeck—the edition cited throughout this chapter—p. 195) that 'he never presumed to accept a place,' with Hume and Robertson, 'in the triumvirate of British historians' may be taken *cum grano*.

as culminating in the production of his great work, Gibbon's literary labours were very harmonious, and, so far as this can be asserted of any performance outside the field of pure literature, complete in themselves. While carrying them on, he experienced the periods of difficulty and doubt which no worker is spared; but, though the flame flickered at times, it soon recovered its steady luminosity. After transcribing the caliph Abdalrahman's reflection, how, in a reign of fifty years of unsurpassed grandeur, he had numbered but fourteen days of pure and genuine happiness, he adds in a note:

If I may speak of myself (the only person of whom I can speak with certainty) *my* happy hours have far exceeded the scanty numbers of the caliph of Spain; and I shall not scruple to add, that many of them are due to the pleasing labour of the present composition¹.

Thus, while he was continuously engaged in occupations which never ceased to stimulate his energies and to invigorate his powers, he was also fortunate enough to achieve the great work which proved the sum of his life's labours, to identify himself and his fame with one great book, and to die with his intellectual task done. Macaulay, the one English historian whose literary genius can be drawn into comparison with Gibbon's, left the history of England which he had 'purposed to write from the accession of King James II down to a time which is within the memory of men living' a noble fragment. Gibbon could lay down his pen, in a summer-house in his garden at Lausanne, 'in the day, or rather night, of the 27th of June, 1787,' after writing this final sentence of his completed book:

It was among the ruins of the Capitol, that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life; and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public².

Though what Gibbon calls 'the curiosity of the public' may have exhausted itself long since, the candid judgment of many generations and of almost every class of readers has confirmed the opinion formed at once by Gibbon's own age. His great work remains an enduring monument of research, an imperishable literary possession and one of the highest encouragements to intellectual endeavour that can be found in the history of letters.

The facts of Gibbon's life—in themselves neither numerous nor startling—are related by him in an autobiography which,

¹ *Decline and Fall*, chap. LII.

² *Of. Memoirs*, p. 225.

by general consent, has established itself as one of the most fascinating books of its class in English literature. This is the more remarkable, since the *Memoirs of My Life and Writings*, as they were first printed by Gibbon's intimate friend the first earl of Sheffield (John Baker Holroyd), who made no pretence of concealing his editorial method, were a *cento* put together out of six, or, strictly speaking, seven, more or less fragmentary sketches written at different times by the author¹. Lord Sheffield was aided in his task (to what extent has been disputed) by his daughter Maria Josepha (afterwards Lady Stanley of Alderley), described by Gibbon himself as 'a most extraordinary young woman,' and certainly one of the brightest that ever put pen to paper. The material on which they worked was excellent in its way, and their treatment of it extraordinarily skilful; so that a third member of this delightful family, Lord Sheffield's sister 'Serena,' expressed the opinion of many generations of readers in writing of the *Memoirs*: 'They make me feel affectionate to Mr Gibbon².' The charm of Gibbon's manner as an autobiographer and, in a lesser degree, as a letter-writer, lies not only in his inexhaustible vivacity of mind, but, above all, in his gift of self-revelation, which is not obscured for long either by over-elaboration of style or by affectation of *chic* (such as his more than filial effusions to his stepmother or his facetious epistles to his friend Holroyd occasionally display). Out of all this wealth of matter, we must content ourselves here with abstracting only a few necessary data.

Edward Gibbon, born at Putney-on-Thames on 27 April 1737, came of a family of ancient descent³, tory principles and ample income. His grandfather, a city merchant, had seen his wealth engulfed in the South Sea abyss—it was only very wise great men, like Sir Robert Walpole, or very cautious small men, like Pope,

¹ For details, see bibliography. Frederic Harrison, in *Proceedings of the Gibbon Commemoration* (1895), describes the whole as 'a *pot-pourri* concocted out of the MS with great skill and tact, but with the most daring freedom.' He calculates that possibly one-third of the MS was not printed at all by Lord Sheffield. The whole series of autobiographical sketches are now in print. Rowland Prothero, in a note in his edition of *Private Letters of Edward Gibbon* (1758–94)—the edition cited throughout this chapter as *Letters*—vol. i, p. 155, shows, by the example of a letter (no. xxxiii) patched together by Lord Sheffield out of five extending over a period of six months, that he applied the same method to the *Letters* published by him in 1814.

² *The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd*, ed. Adeane, Jane, p. 372.

³ The Gibbons were connected, among others, with the Actons, and Edward Gibbon, the historian's father, was a kinsman of the great-grandfather of the late Lord Acton.

who knew when to withdraw from the brink ; but he had realised a second fortune, which he left to a son who, in due course, became a tory member of parliament and a London alderman. Edward, a weakly child—so weakly that ‘in the baptism of each of my brothers my father’s prudence successively repeated my Christian name... that, in case of the departure of the eldest son, this patronymic appellation might still be perpetuated in the family’, was, after two years at a preparatory school at Kingston-upon-Thames, sent to the most famous seminary of the day, Westminster school. But, though he lodged in College street at the boarding-house of his favourite ‘Aunt Kitty’ (Catherine Porten), the school, as readers of Cowper do not need to be reminded, was ill-suited to so tender a nursling ; and Gibbon remained a stranger to its studies almost as much as to its recreations. More than this—he tells us, in words that have been frequently quoted, how he is

tempted to enter a protest against the trite and lavish praise of the happiness of our boyish years, which is echoed with so much affectation in the world. That happiness I have never known, that time I have never regretted².

Yet, even his boyhood had its enjoyments, and the best of these was, also, the most enduring. His reading, though private, was carried on with enthusiasm, and, before he was sixteen, he had, in something more than outline, covered at least a large part of the ground which he afterwards surveyed in *The Decline and Fall*³. Before, however, his boyhood was really over, his studies were suddenly arrested by his entry, as a gentleman-commoner, at Magdalen college, Oxford, on 3 April 1752. No passage of his *Memoirs* has been more frequently quoted than his account of his *Alma Mater*, whom, if not actually ‘dissolved in port,’ he found content with the leavings of an obsolete system of studies, varied by prolonged convivialities, tinged, in their turn, by way of sentiment, with a futile Jacobitism⁴. The authorities of his college made no pretence of making up by religious training for the neglect of scholarship. He was, he says, forced by the ‘incredible neglect’ of his tutors to ‘grope his way for himself’ ; and the immediate result was that, on 8 June 1753, he was

¹ As a matter of fact, all his five brothers died in infancy.

² *Memoirs*, p. 216.

³ Morison, J. C., *Gibbon* (English Men of Letters), pp. 4—5.

⁴ For comparison pictures of the intellectual barrenness of Oxford in the period 1761—92, see *Memoirs*, appendix 15, where Sir James Stephen’s account of Cambridge in 1812—16 is also cited.

received into the church of Rome by a Jesuit named Baker, one of the chaplains to the Sardinian legation, and that, in the same month, his connection with Oxford came to an abrupt close. He had, at that time, barely completed his sixteenth year; but he tells us that, 'from his childhood, he had been fond of religious disputation.'

No. sooner had Gibbon left Oxford than his taste for study returned, and he essayed original composition in an essay on the chronology of the age of Sesostris. But the situation had another side for a 'practical' man like the elder Gibbon, who might well view with alarm the worldly consequences entailed, at that time, by conversion to Roman catholicism. He seems to have tried the effect upon his son of the society of David Mallet, a second-rate writer patronised in turn by Pope, Bolingbroke and Hume. But Mallet's philosophy 'rather scandalised than reclaimed' the convert, and threats availed as little as arguments. For, as he confesses, in his inimitable way, he 'cherished a secret hope that his father would not be able or willing to effect his menaces,' while 'the pride of conscience' encouraged the youth 'to sustain the honourable and important part which he was now acting.' Accordingly, change of scene (and of environment) was resolved upon as the only remedy left. In June 1753, he was sent by his father to Lausanne, where he was settled under the roof and tuition of a Calvinist minister named Pavillard, who afterwards described to Lord Sheffield 'the astonishment with which he gazed on Mr Gibbon standing before him: a thin little figure' (time was to render the first epithet inappropriate), 'with a large head, disputing and urging, with the greatest ability, all the best arguments that had ever been used in favour of Popery¹.'

To Lausanne, Gibbon became so attached that, after he had returned thither in the days of his maturity and established reputation, it became, in Byron's words² one of

the abodes

Of names which unto [them] bequeath'd a name.

His Swiss tutor's treatment of him was both kindly and discreet, and, without grave difficulty, weaned the young man's mind from the form of faith to which he had tendered his allegiance.

¹ *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 2, note.

² *Childe Harold*, canto III, st. 105. For an account of Lausanne and the Gibbon reliefs there and elsewhere, see Read, Meredith, *Historic Studies in Vaud, Berne and Savoy*, 2 vols. 1897: vol. II in especial.

In matters spiritual, Gibbon inclined rather to frivolity than to deliberate change; nor was this the only illustration of a disposition of mind 'clear' as the air and 'light' like the soil of Attica, and one in which some of the highest and of the deepest feelings alike failed to take root. It is, at the same time, absurd to waste indignation (as, for instance, Schlosser has done) upon his abandonment of an early engagement to a lady of great beauty and charm, Suzanne Curchod, who afterwards became the wife of the celebrated Necker. The real cause of the rupture was the veto of his father, upon whom he was wholly dependent, and whose decision neither of the lovers could ignore¹.

Gibbon did not leave Lausanne till April 1758. During his five years' sojourn there, his life had been the very reverse of that of a recluse—a character to which, indeed, he never made any pretension. As yet, he had not reached his intellectual manhood; nor is it easy to decide in what degree a steadfast ambition had already taken possession of him. Though his reading was various, it was neither purposeless nor unsystematic. He brought home with him, as the fruit of his studies, a work which was in every sense that of a beginner, but, at the same time, not ill calculated to attract the public. Before sending it to the printer, however, he cheerfully took the experienced advice of Paul Maty, editor of *The New Review*, and entirely recast it. The very circumstance that Gibbon's *Essai sur l'Étude de la Littérature*, published in 1761, was written in French shows under what influences it had been composed and to what kind of readers it was primarily addressed. Its purpose is one more defence of classical literature and history, the study of which was then out of fashion in France; but, though the idea is good, the style lacks naturalness—a defect due to the youthfulness of the writer far more than to the fact of his having written his treatise in a foreign tongue; for he had already acquired a mastery over French which he retained through life.

Before, however, he had entered the lists as an English author, he had passed through a different, but by no means barren, experience of life. A few days before the publication of his essay,

¹ A full account of their relations from first to last, characteristic of both the man and the age, will be found in an editorial note to *Letters*, vol. i, p. 40, and cf. *ibid.* vol. i, p. 81, note, as to 'the last phase.' In June 1794, Maria Josepha wrote: 'I thought I had told you that Madame Necker had the satisfaction of going out of the world with the knowledge of being Mr Gibbon's First and Only love' (*Girlhood*, p. 288). The passage in the *Memoirs* referring to Gibbon's renunciation of his engagement, was, as F. Harrison shows, unscrupulously recast by Lord Sheffield.

• he joined the Hampshire militia, in which, for two years, he held in succession the rank of captain, major and colonel, and became, practically, the commander of a smart 'independent corps of 476 officers and men,' whose encampment on Winchester downs, on one occasion, at least, lasted four months, so that for twice that period he never took a book into his hands. His predilection for military history and the accounts of marches and campaigns was of old standing, and afterwards reflected itself in many passages of his historical masterpiece.

There cannot be any reason for doubting his statement that, during all this time, he was looking to the future rather than to the present, and that the conviction was gaining upon him of the time having arrived for beginning his proper career in life. It was in the direction of history that Gibbon's reading had lain almost since he had been able to read at all; and, by 1760 or thereabouts, Hume and Robertson were already before the world as historical writers who commanded its applause, and the reproach of having failed to reach the level of Italian and French achievement in this branch of literature could no longer be held to rest upon English writers. Gibbon, as a matter of course, was familiar with the chief historical productions of Voltaire, and, during his visit to Paris, in 1763, became personally acquainted with more than one French historian of note¹. Thus, he could not fail to agree with Hume that 'this was the historical age².' But, though he had no doubt as to the field of literature in which it behoved him to engage, he hesitated for some time with regard to the particular historical subject upon which he should fix his choice. Charles VIII's Italian expedition (which subject he rejected for the good reason that it was rather the introduction to great events than important in itself), the English barons' war, a Plutarchian parallel between Henry V and Titus and the biographies of more than one British worthy—that of Sir Walter Raleigh in especial—attracted him in turn. Gradually, he arrived at the conclusion that the theme chosen by him must not be narrow, and must not be English. The history of Swiss liberty, and that of Florence under the Medici, hereupon, for a time, busied his imagination—
• the former, he afterwards actually began, in French, but abandoned after, in 1767—8, the first book of it had been read to 'a literary society of foreigners in London,' and unfavourably received by

• ¹ *Memoirs*, pp. 185 ff., cf. appendix 24.

² *Letters of Hume* to Strachan, p. 155, cited *ibid.* appendix 21.

them¹. But if, like Milton, he was embarrassed by the wealth of themes which presented themselves to his literary imagination, he ended, again like Milton, by choosing what, in its development, proved the grandest and noblest of them all.

Soon after the disbandment of the militia on the close of the war in 1763, he paid a long visit to the continent, spending some time in Paris and then in Lausanne, where, during the better part of a year, he prepared himself for a sojourn in Italy by a severe course of archaeological study². He crossed the Italian frontier in April 1764, and reached Rome in October. Here, on the 15th of that month, as he records in a passage which is one of the landmarks of historical literature, it was

—as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed fryars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind³.

For, as he adds, the conception of his life's work was, at first, confined within these limits, and only gradually grew in his mind into the vaster scheme which he actually carried into execution. We shall, perhaps, not err in attributing a direct incitement towards this expansion to the title, if not to the substance, of Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et leur décadence* (1734), which, to a mind like Gibbon's, already occupied with part of the theme, could hardly fail to suggest such an achievement as that to which, in the end, his genius proved capable of rising⁴.

Still, a long interval separates the original conception of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* from the execution of even its first instalment. During the years 1756 to 1764, he produced a series of miscellaneous historical writings, which, in part, may be described as preliminary studies for the great work of which the design had now dawned upon him. Some of them were in the synoptical form for which he always had a special predilection, characteristic of a mind desirous, with all its inclination to detail, of securing as wide as possible a grasp of the theme on which it was engaged—

¹ Cf. Morison, J. C., *Gibbon*, pp. 38—40; and see, as to *Introduction à l'Histoire Générale de la République des Suisses*, *Memoirs*, pp. 171—2. This fragment, on a theme which has more fitfully than enduringly attracted the attention of English historians, is largely based on Tschudi. It is printed in vol. III of *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon* (1814 ed.).

² Morison, J. C., *Gibbon*, p. 51.

³ *Memoirs*, p. 167.

⁴ The similarity in title, and the difference in design, are well pointed out in the preface to the 1776 edition of the German translation of *The Decline and Fall* by Wenck, F. A. W.

e.g. the first of the whole series, *Outlines of the History of the World—The Ninth Century to the Fifteenth inclusive*. Others were of the nature of small monographs, showing Gibbon's complementary interest in close and accurate investigations—such as *Critical Enquiries concerning the Title of Charles the Eighth to the Crown of Naples* (1761)¹. To a rather later date belongs the review (in French) (1768) of Horace Walpole's *Historic Doubts*², which treats this celebrated *tour de force* politely, but as a striking, rather than convincing, piece of work and ends with arguments derived from Hume, showing that the *sentiment général* on the subject represents the better grounded conclusion³. We pass by the classical studies belonging to the same period (1762 to 1770)⁴, noting only the long collection of French 'minutes' taken from the *magnum opus* of Cluverius in 1763 and 1764, as a preparation for his Italian tour, and entitled *Nomina Gentesque Antiquae Italiae*, and the wellknown *Observations on the Design of the VIth Book of the Aeneid*, Gibbon's first larger effort in English prose. The attack which the latter piece makes upon Warburton's hypothesis, that Vergil's picture symbolises the mystic conception of ancient religion, is very spirited; but modern scholarship is in this instance in sympathy with the theory denounced⁵. During the greater part of the year 1770, in which these *Observations* appeared (and in which Gibbon also put to paper some *Remarks on Blackstone's Commentaries*), Gibbon's father was afflicted by an illness which, in November, proved fatal; yet the coincidence of this illness with a long interval of silence in the letters addressed by 'Junius' to *The Public Advertiser* and to its printer has been made the starting-point of a theory that Gibbon was the author of the famous *Letters*⁶!

The death of Gibbon's father involved the son in a mass of uncongenial business, and, in the end, he found himself far from being a wealthy man. Still, he had saved enough from the wreck to be able, in the autumn of 1772, to establish himself in London, where he found easy access to the materials which he needed for the progress of his great work, together with the stimulus, which he could ill spare, of intellectual society in club and

¹ The French introduction to the intended Swiss *History* has been already noted.

² Cf., as to this, chap. xii, *ante*.

³ For all these, see vol. iii of *Miscellaneous Works*.

⁴ For all these, see *ibid.* vol. iv.

⁵ Cf. Morison, J. C., *Gibbon*, p. 29. The *Observations* are printed in vol. iv, the *Remarks on Blackstone* in vol. v, of *Miscellaneous Works*.

⁶ See Smith, James, *Junius Unveiled* (1909).

drawing-room¹. In 1774, he entered the House of Commons, and, two years later, the first volume of *The Decline and Fall* was published.

The success of his political venture, in itself, was moderate; but he has recorded that 'the eight sessions that I sat in parliament were a school of civil prudence, the first and most essential virtue of an historian²'. Although, while sitting for Liskeard till 1781 and then for Lymington till 1783, he remained a silent member, he voted steadily for Lord North's government and, afterwards, adhered to him in his coalition with Fox. In 1779, he was rewarded for his public fidelity by a commissionership of trade and plantations³, which he held till its abolition in 1782. The salary of the office was of much importance to him⁴; indeed, he thought himself unable to live in England without it, and when, on its suppression, he was disappointed in his hopes of other official employment, he, in the year before the downfall of the coalition, 'left the sinking ship and swam ashore on a plank⁵'. In truth, Gibbon was so conscious of his complete lack of the requisite gifts that (as he apologetically confesses) he rapidly relinquished the 'fleeting illusive hope of success in the parliamentary arena.' He was, however, persuaded, by Lords Thurlow and Weymouth, to indite, in the shape of a *Mémoire Justificatif* (1778), a reply to an official vindication by the government of Louis XVI of its conduct towards Great Britain. This paper, which denounces the intervention of the French government in Great Britain's quarrel with her American colonies, and the delusive Spanish offer of mediation, is a state manifesto rather than a diplomatic document, and resembles some of the publicistic efforts put forth a generation later by Gentz—if not the productions of Gentz's model, Burke⁶.

While the political phase of his career, as a whole, was lame and self-ended, the first instalment of his great historical work, of which vol. I was published on 17 February 1776, took the town by storm; nor has *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* ever ceased to hold the commanding position in the world of letters which it occupied at the outset.

¹ 'I never found my mind more vigorous, nor my composition more happy, than in the winter hurry of society and parliament.' *Memoirs*, p. 201.

² *Ibid.* p. 198.

³ For the doggerel, attributed to Fox, commenting on this appointment, see *Letters*, vol. I, p. 354.

⁴ See his letter to Edward (afterwards Lord) Elliot (1779) in *Memoirs*, appendix 43.

⁵ See *ibid.* appendix 47 (*Letters*, vol. II, p. 92).

⁶ It is printed in *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. V.

He had produced the first portion of his work in a more leisurely way than that in which he composed the five succeeding volumes, on each of which he spent about a couple of years; and everything in the circumstances of its publication pointed to a fair success. But the actual reception of the volume very far surpassed the modest expectations entertained by him just before its issue, when, as he avers, he was 'neither elated by the ambition of fame, nor depressed by the apprehension of contempt¹.' He felt conscious of his essential accuracy, of the sufficiency of his reading, of his being in accord with the spirit of enlightenment characteristic of his age and of the splendour, as well as the attractiveness, of his theme. Yet the triumph was not the less sweet; and he confesses himself 'at a loss to describe the success of the work without betraying the vanity of the writer.' Three editions were rapidly exhausted; Madame Necker brought him her congratulations in person; and when, in the following year, he returned her visit at Paris, the world of fashion (which, more entirely here than in London, covered the world of letters) was at his feet. At home, Hume wrote him a letter which 'overpaid the labour of ten years,' and Robertson's commendations were equally sincere. Other historians and scholars added their praise; and, when it proved, for a time, that he had provoked the susceptibilities of religious orthodoxy, without calling forth the cavils of 'profane' critics, he was satisfied.

It will be most convenient to enumerate at once the chief attacks to which *The Decline and Fall* gave rise, without separating the earlier from the later. In a scornful review of antagonists, victory over whom he professes to regard as a sufficient humiliation, and whose 'rewards in this world' he proceeds to recite², Gibbon declares that 'the earliest of them was, in this respect, neglected.' Although this was not strictly true³, it suggests a just estimate of James Chelsum's *Remarks on the Two Last Chapters of Mr Gibbon's History* (1776), a pamphlet not discourteous in tone, but devoid of force. Gibbon was probably less touched by this tract and by the sermons of Thomas Randolph, another Oxford divine, directed against his fifteenth chapter, than by *An Apology for Christianity in a Series of Letters*

¹ Cf., as to the reception of vol. i, *Memoirs*, pp. 194—9, where Hume's letter is printed at length.

² *Memoirs*, pp. 202 ff.

³ Chelsum held three benefices and was chaplain to two bishops, besides being preacher at Whitehall. See *ibid.* appendix 39, which contains a notice of several of Gibbon's censors.

to *Edward Gibbon* (1776), by Richard Watson, regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, afterwards bishop of Llandaff, the polished character of whose style he feels himself bound to acknowledge. What is even more notable in Watson's *Apology* (which was afterwards reprinted with a companion *Apology for the Bible*, in answer to Thomas Paine), is the tolerance of tone observable in the general conduct of his argument, as well as in such a passage as that acknowledging Voltaire's services to Christianity in the repression of bigotry. The criticism of Gibbon's use of insinuation is telling, and in the last letter the appeal, not to Gibbon, but to that section of the public which, so to speak, was on the look-out for religious difficulties obstructing the acceptance of the Christian faith—is both skilful and impressive. Passing by *Letters on the Prevalence of Christianity before its Civil establishment* by East Apthorpe (on whom archbishop Cornwallis promptly bestowed a city living), and Smyth Loftus's *Reply to the Reasonings of Mr Gibbon* (whose mention of 'a Theological answer written by a mere Irish parson' seems to apply to this effort), both printed in 1778¹, we come to a publication of the same year, which at last moved Gibbon to break the silence hitherto opposed by him to the assailants of his first volume, or, rather, of the portion of it which had treated of the progress of early Christianity. Henry Edwards Davis, a young Oxonian, in his *Examination of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of Mr Gibbon's History etc.* (1778), set about his task in the ardent spirit of a reviewer fresh to the warpath, and, after attempting to convict the author of *The Decline and Fall* of misrepresentation (including misquotation) of a number of—mainly Latin—writers, launched forth into the still more nebulous sphere of charges of plagiarism from Middleton, Barbeyrac, Dodwell and others—curiously enough tracing only a single passage to Tillemont² as its source. Davis's *Examination* is of the sort which small critics have at all times applied to writers whether great or small, and, in this as in other instances, it succeeded in stinging. In *A Vindication of some Passages in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters* (1779)³, after declaring that Davis's accusations, as touching the historian's honour, had extorted from him a notice which he had

¹ *An Enquiry into the Belief of the Christians of the first three centuries respecting the Godhead* by William Burgh, author of three volumes of *Political Disquisitions* (1773—5), belongs to the same year.

² Cf. *ante*, chap. xii and *post*, p. 814, note 2.

³ Reprinted in vol. iv of *Miscellaneous Works*.

refused to more honourable foes, he defended himself, with indisputable and, in point of fact, undisputed success, against the indictment preferred against him, and took advantage of the occasion to reply, without losing his temper, to 'the theological champions who have signalized their ardour to break a lance against the shield of a *Pagan* adversary.' The defence served its purpose, and he did not find any necessity for renewing it. As his great work progressed, a second series of censors took up their parable against it.* In 1781, Henry Taylor, a divine of the 'intellectual' school, in his *Thoughts on the Nature of the Grand Apostacy and Observations* on Gibbon's still-vested fifteenth chapter, sought, while deprecating the historian's sneers, to show that he aimed not at the essence, but only at the particulars of his subject; and Joseph Milner, a mystically disposed evangelical who wrote ecclesiastical history with the intent of illustrating the display of Christian virtues, and whom Gibbon set down as a fool, published his *Gibbon's Account of Christianity considered etc.* In the following year, John Priestley, in the second volume of his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* joined issue with Gibbon, whom he charged with representing the immediate causes of the spread of the Christian religion as having been themselves effects¹. In 1784, Joseph White, in the third of a set of Bampton lectures delivered at Oxford, returned to the subject of Gibbon's 'five causes,' which the critic conceived to be 'in reality unconnected with any divine interposition'; in the same year, a special point—intended, of course, as a test-point—concerning Gibbon's trustworthiness was raised by George Travis, archdeacon of Chester, in his *Letters to Edward Gibbon* in defence of the disputed verse (St John's *First Epistle*, chap. v, v. 7) introducing the three heavenly witnesses. The attack drew down upon its unfortunate author a series of replies by Richard Porson, which have been classed with the controversial criticism of Bentley; but, although satisfactorily vindicated as to the main issue of the dispute, Gibbon cannot have regarded his champion's intervention with feelings of unmixed gratitude. Travis's arguments were confounded; but Porson's criticism of the writer whom Travis had attacked has survived:

I confess I see nothing wrong in Mr Gibbon's attack upon Christianity. It proceeded, I doubt not, from the purest and most virtuous motives. We can only blame him for carrying on the attack in an insidious manner, and with imperfect weapons²,

¹ As to Priestley and his point of view, see vol. xi.

² *Letters to Mr Archdeacon Travis* (1790), preface, p. xxix.

and there follows a literary judgment of the great historian's style—and, incidentally, of his ethics—to which further reference must be made below, and which, while full of wit, is, in some respects, not more witty than true. A more formidable censor than archdeacon Travis appeared, in 1782, in the person of Lord Hailes (Sir David Dalrymple), of whose own contributions to historical literature some mention was made in the previous chapter of this work. Much of the logic of *An Inquiry into the Secondary Causes which Mr Gibbon has assigned for the Rapid Growth of Christianity* (1778)—which is at once straightforward in form and temperate in tone—is irrefutable; and Gibbon was sagacious enough to allow that, possibly, some flaws were discovered in his work by his legal critic, to whose accuracy as a historian he goes out of his way to pay a compliment¹. Finally, after, in a university sermon at Cambridge (1790), Thomas Edwards had referred, as to a formidable enemy, to a writer whose work 'can perish only with the language itself,' John Whitaker, of whose *History of Manchester* notice will be taken below, and who seems to have been actuated by recent private *pique*², published, in 1791, a series of criticisms begun by him in *The English Review*, in October 1788, under the title *Gibbon's History etc., in Vols. IV. V. and VI. reviewed*. In this tractate, Gibbon's supposed lack of veracity is traced back to the lack of probity stated to be shown by him already in the earlier portions of his work; and his absorption of other writers' materials is held up to blame together with the frequent inelegance of his style. The general method of Whitaker's attack can only be described by the word 'nagging'; at the close, he gathers up the innumerable charges into a grand denunciation of the historian as another Miltonic Belial, imposing but hollow, pleasing to the outward sense but incapable of high thoughts.

This summary account of the attacks upon *The Decline and Fall* published in the lifetime of its author at least illustrates the narrowness of the limits within which the sea of criticism was, after all, almost entirely confined. Gibbon's treatment of them, on the other hand, shows how little importance he attached to such censure except when it impugned his general qualifications as a historian. How little he cared for immediate applause is

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 204.

² See Lord Sheffield's note in *Misc. Works*, vol. i, p. 248, where it is stated that Whitaker had written very amiable letters to Gibbon after perusing chapters xv and xvi.

shown by the fact that, though the popular welcome extended to his second and third volumes (1781) was, at first, fainter, it was only now that he finally resolved to carry on the work from the fall of the western to that of the eastern empire—an interval of about a thousand years. Not long afterwards, he at last made up his mind to exchange conditions of existence which, as he asserts, had become wearisome to him and which he, certainly, could no longer afford to meet, for the freedom of a purely literary life; and, in the autumn of 1783, he broke up his London establishment and carried out the long-cherished plan of settling with his tried friend George Deyverdun¹ at Lausanne. Here, in a retirement which was anything but 'cloistered,' he, by the end of 1787, brought to a close the main work of his life, of which the three concluding volumes (IV—VI) were carried by him to England and published in April 1788. The passage in the *Memoirs* relating the historian's actual accomplishment of his task is one of the commonplaces of English literature, and records one of the golden moments which redeem the endless tale of disappointments and failures in the annals of authorship.

After, in 1788, Gibbon had again returned to Lausanne, where, in the following year, he lost the faithful Deyverdun, he made up his mind—once more setting an example which but few men of letters have found themselves able to follow—to undertake no other great work, but to confine himself henceforth to essays or 'Historical excursions'.² It was as one of these that he designed his *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*. What he wrote of this work amounts to more than a fragment³; for, of the three divisions contemplated by him, the first (*The Italian Descent*) and part of the second (*The German Reign*), were actually carried out, though the third (*The British Succession of the House of Brunswick*), for which Gibbon could have but very imperfectly commanded the material preserved in Hanover and at home, was not even approached by him. Whatever temporary value Gibbon's treatment of the material amassed by Leibniz and Muratori might have possessed vanished with the tardy publication, in 1842, of Leibniz's own *Annales imperii occidentis Brunsvicensis*. But

¹ It was with Deyverdun that, in 1768, Gibbon had brought out in London the French literary annual called *Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne pour les Années 1767 et 1768*, to which he contributed, with other articles, a review of Lyttelton's *History of Henry II*, 'that voluminous work, in which sense and learning are not illuminated by a ray of genius.' (*Memoirs*, pp. 178—4.)

² See the letter to Langer, in *Letters*, p. 229.

³ See *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. III.

Gibbon's narrative has a few purple patches, nor would posterity willingly forego the tribute which, near its opening, he pays to 'the genius and unparalleled intellect' of Leibniz, as well as to the industry and critical ability of the indefatigable Italian scholar with whom the great German was associated in his researches.

In 1791, Gibbon bade farewell to Lausanne, and the rest of his life was spent in England, where he almost continuously enjoyed the paternal hospitality of his most intimate English friend, the earl of Sheffield (John Baker Holroyd), at Sheffield place, Sussex, and in London. Lord Sheffield's name is as enduringly associated with that of the great historian as Boswell's is with Johnson's, but in a more equal way—as is shown by Lord Sheffield's unique treatment of Gibbon's *Memoirs* and by his admirable posthumous editions of the *Miscellaneous Works*. The last addition which Gibbon lived to make to these, the *Address* recommending the publication of *Scriptores Rerum Anglicanarum*, under the editorship of the Scottish antiquarian and historian John Pinkerton—a noble design which was to remain long unaccomplished—was interrupted by death¹. Thus, his last literary effort appropriately directed itself to the promotion of historical research. He died on 16 January 1794, and was buried in the Sheffield mausoleum in Fletching church, by the side 'of his dear friend, we may almost say, of his brother by adoption².' In the *Memoirs*, which he left behind him as the best monument of his long literary life, he confesses himself 'disgusted with the affectation of men of letters, who complain that they have renounced a substance for a shadow; and that their fame (which sometimes is no insupportable weight) affords a poor compensation for envy, censure, and persecution³.' Whatever crowning grace Gibbon's life may have missed, it brought him a long intellectual triumph and a fame which the course of time has left undimmed.

Gibbon declared, as has been seen, that he 'never presumed to accept a place in the British triumvirate of historians'; but succeeding generations have concurred in assigning to *The Decline and Fall* the primacy, which it still holds, among historical works in our literature, and in esteeming its author the most brilliant example known of 'the union of the historian and the man of

¹ It is printed, with an explanatory appendix by Pinkerton, in vol. III of *Miscellaneous Works*.

² Harrison, Frederic, u.s.

³ *Memoirs*, p. 241.

letters¹. From the ancients, he had taken over the rhetorical side of the historian's task; from the French, he had derived the treatment of historical materials by a scientific method of criticism and selection; from the French, too, with the assistance of Hume and Robertson, he had learnt how to combine scientific method with artistic effect. His literary art may suffer from mannerisms, which were those of his age, as well as from foibles, which were his own, and, as a scientific history, his work has, in many respects, become superannuated; but its main and distinctive qualities continue unimpaired. Is it possible to indicate, in a few words, of which, among these qualities, the importance seems paramount?

In the first place, his choice of subject—as it gradually developed itself in the progress of the work—was supremely felicitous; for it is the greatest theme furnished by profane history. Even before Gibbon could feel assured that the complete treatment of the whole subject would be compassed by himself, he already contemplated it in its unity². What the Roman empire was, after it had attained to its full strength and maturity, and how its western division verged gradually to its decline and downfall, is only half the story; the other and much longer half shows how its fall was followed by long centuries of life in the eastern, and a revival, in new conditions, of its existence in the western, world. And more than this: Janus-like, the historian is constrained to turn, with one face, to the Roman commonwealth out of which the empire grew and of which it never lost the impress; while, with his other face, he looks forward to modern times. He bids us consider, not only what it was that declined and fell, but, also, what grew into life. The new elements of movement, the rise of new national, and that of new religious, powers must all be reviewed in their twofold relation to what they superseded and to what they prepared. The migration and settlements of the Teutonic tribes, and the spread and establishment of the Christian, and, after it, of the Mohammadan, religion, must be treated not only as helping to break up the Roman empire, but, also, as cooperating in the new order of things. The principle of the continuity of history, Freeman's favourite theme, is, as the latest editor of Gibbon reminds us,

not the least important aspect of *The Decline and Fall*. . . . On the continuity of the Roman Empire depended the unity of Gibbon's work . . . whatever names of contempt he might apply to the institution in the days of the decline³.

¹ Bury, J. B., preface to the 1909 edn., p. viii.

² See the outline of the scheme in the preface to vol. i dated 1 February 1776.

³ Bury, *u.s.*

Thus, the historian essays to narrate how the ancient world became the modern, just as the mausoleum of Hadrian became the papal fastness of St Angelo—or, in his own characteristic words¹, to 'describe the triumph of barbarism and religion.'

The capabilities of the subject, then, are of surpassing greatness; yet the mind is able to grasp it as a whole. Here, we have no mere series of annals, such as were presented even by the excellent Tillemont, to whom Gibbon was indebted for much of his material², but a complete work. Its opening chapters may fall short of the results of modern numismatical and epigraphical research; its later portions, which cover a relatively far larger ground, may show an inadequate command of the political life of the Byzantine empire and all but ignore much of the Slavonic side of its history, may inadequately appreciate the historic significance, or the individual grandeur, of the figure of Charles the great and may fall in the narration of the second and third crusades³—in a word, it may need to be supplemented, repaired or changed here and there, and again and again. But it is complete even though it is imperfect. Eminent historians—Guizot, Milman, Bury—have, therefore, been willing to become Gibbon's editors and commentators; but they have not dealt with him as he dealt with Tillemont. It is as a whole that his work has maintained the position which it conquered for itself at once in historical literature.

Inspired, as it were, by the muse of history herself in the magnificence of his choice of subject and in the grandeur of his determination to treat it with a completeness in harmony with its nature, Gibbon displayed a breadth of grasp and a lucidity of exposition such as very few historians have brought to the performance of a cognate task. Whether in tracing the origin and growth of a new religion, such as Mohammadanism, or in developing in comprehensive outline the idea of Roman jurisprudence⁴, the masterly clearness of his treatment is equal to the demands of his philosophic insight; nor does the imaginative power of the historian fall short of the consummate skill of the literary artist.

But there is another requirement which the historian, whatever may be his theme, is called upon to satisfy, and which, in plain

¹ Bury, p. vii.

² Tillemont, *Le Nain de, Histoire des Empereurs* etc., treats each successive reign in a series of short chapters or headed articles, with notes appended on a wide variety of points, in the way that Gibbon loved. It reaches to the death of the emperor Anastasius, A.D. 518. His *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques* cover the first six centuries of the Christian era. As to Gibbon's debt to him, see Bury, *u.s.* p. ix.

³ Cf. *ibid.* pp. xix—xxi; Morison, *Gibbon*, pp. 162—8.

⁴ Cf. Bury, pp. xiii and xiv.

truth, is antecedent to all others. Any work claiming to be a contribution to historical knowledge should, within the limits of human fallibility and the boundaries at different times confining human knowledge, be exactly truthful. It was on this head only that Gibbon avowed himself sensitive, and on this alone that he condescended to reply to antagonists of any sort. It is worse than needless to attempt to distinguish between the infinitely numerous shades of inaccuracy; and Gibbon would have scorned any such endeavour. His defence, of which, in the opinion of those capable of rising above the method adopted by more than one of his censors, the validity is indisputable, is a real vindication. He allows that a critical eye may discover in his work some loose and general references. But he fairly asks whether, inasmuch as their proportion to the whole body of his statements is quite inconsiderable, they can be held to warrant the accusation brought against him. Nor is he unsuccessful in explaining the circumstances which, in the instances impugned, rendered greater precision of statement impossible. The charge of plagiarism—the last infirmity of sagacious critics—he rebuts with conspicuous success, and courageously upholds his unhesitating plea of *not guilty* :

If my readers are satisfied with the form, the colours, the new arrangement which I have given to the labours of my predecessors, they may perhaps consider me not as a contemptible thief, but as an honest and industrious manufacturer, who has fairly procured the raw materials, and worked them up with a laudable degree of skill and success¹.

The verdict of modern historical criticism has approved his plea. 'If,' writes Bury, 'we take into account the vast range of his work, his accuracy is amazing, and, with all his disadvantages, his slips are singularly few².' It is an objection of very secondary importance, though one to which even experienced writers are wont to expose themselves, that Gibbon is apt to indulge in what might almost be called a parade of authorities.

Complete, lucid and accurate, Gibbon, finally, is one of the great masters of English prose. His power of narrative is at least equalled by his gift of argumentative statement, and, in all parts of his work, his style is one which holds the reader spell-bound by its stately dignity, relieved by a curious subtlety of *nuance*, and which, at the same time, is the writer's own as much as is that of Clarendon, Macaulay or Carlyle. Gibbon's long sentences, which, at times, extend over a whole paragraph or page, but are never involved, resemble neither those of Johnson nor those of Robertson; if his style is to be compared to that of any

¹ *Vindication* (*Miscellaneous Works*, vol. iv, p. 588).

² *u.s.* p. ix.

other master of English prose, it is to Burke's. Built with admirable skill and precision, his sentences are coloured by a delicate choice of words and permeated by a delightful suggestion of rhythm in each case—too pleasing to seem the effect of design. Gibbon's irony differs greatly from that of Swift, who deliberately fools his reader and, thereby, increases the enjoyment that arises from the perception of his real meaning, and still more from that of Carlyle, the savage purpose of whose sarcasm never leaves the reader in doubt. The irony of Gibbon is almost always refined, but not at any time obscure. It reveals itself in the choice of an epithet, in the substitution of a noun of more ordinary usage for another of a more select class; it also appears in the inversion of the order in which, commonly, reasons are assigned or motives suggested, and often makes use of that most dangerous of all rhetorical devices—insinuation. This, however, already carries us beyond mere questions of style. Where this insinuation is directed against assumed ethical principles, it has been admirably characterised¹ 'as sub-cynical.'

Gibbon's diction, it may be added, was not formed on native models only; yet it would be in the highest degree unjust to describe it as Gallicising. His fine taste preserved him from the affectation of special turns or tricks of style not due to the individuality of a writer, but largely consisting in idioms borrowed from a tongue whose genius is not that of ours. Much as Gibbon, who, from an early date, wrote French with perfect ease and clearness, owed to that language and literature in the formation of his style as well as in his general manner as a historian, he merely assimilated these elements to others which he could claim as native. Notwithstanding the powerful presentment of the case by Taine², the influence of French works upon the style of English historians has probably been overrated. In the first place, the 'triumvirate' Hume, Robertson and Gibbon should not be 'lumped' together from the point of view of style any more than from other more or less adjacent points of view. The style of Hume, in some measure, was influenced by his reading of French philosophers, and that of Gibbon by his reading of the works of this and of other French literary schools—the sequence of great pulpit orators among them; in the style of Robertson, it is difficult to see much influence of French prose of any sort.

¹ By Frederic Harrison, *u.s.* Horace Walpole paid to Gibbon's style the compliment: 'he never tires me.' Coleridge thought it 'detestable.' (*Memoirs*, appendix 27.)

² *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, vol. iv, p. 230 (edn. 1866).

And, if we are to trace the genesis of Gibbon's prose style, we should take care, while allowing for French, not altogether to disregard native influences. Gibbon, as is well known, was a great admirer of Fielding, to whom (as it would seem, erroneously) he ascribed kinship with the house of Habsburg; and, though there can be no question of comparing the style of the great novelist to that of the great historian, it may be pointed out how Fielding, like Gibbon, excels in passages holding the mean between narrative and oratorical prose, and how, among great writers of the period, he alone (except, perhaps, in a somewhat different fashion, Goldsmith) shares with Gibbon that art of subdued irony which it was sought alone to characterise. Gibbon, then, has much of the magnificence of Burke, of the incisiveness of Hume and of the serene humour of Fielding, in addition to the ease and lucidity of the French writers who had been the companions of his youthful studies. The faults of his style have been summarised, once for all, in the celebrated passage in Porson's exposure of Travis which has already been cited¹; they consist, in the first instance, of a want of terseness, and, at the same time, a want of proportion, to which our age is more sensitive than was Gibbon's; he sometimes, says Porson, in Shakespearean phrase, 'draws out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument'; while, on other occasions, he recalls Foote's auctioneer, 'whose manner was so inimitably fine that he had as much to say upon a ribbon as a Raphael.' The other fault reprehended by Porson we may imitate Gibbon himself in veiling under the transparent cover of a foreign tongue—it is, in the scathing words of Sainte-Beuve², *une obscénité érudite et froide*.

Concerning yet another, and more comprehensive charge against Gibbon, on which, as has been seen, critic after critic, returning again and again to the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, thought it necessary to insist, we need, in conclusion, say little or nothing. The day has passed for censuring him because, in this part of his work, he chose to dwell upon what he described as the secondary causes of the progress of the Christian religion, and the community which professed it, from the days of Nero to those of Constantine. Such a selection of causes he had a right to make; nor did he ask his readers to shut their eyes to the cardinal fact, as stated by Milman³, that, 'in the Christian

¹ It is reprinted in Watson, J. S., *Life of Porson* (1861), p. 85.

² Cited by Birkbeck Hill in preface to *Memoirs*, p. xi.

³ Preface to edition of 1872, with notes by Milman and Guizot, p. xiii.

dispensation as in the material world, it is as the First Great Cause that the Deity is most undeniably present.' Even the manner in which, in his first volume, at all events, he chose to speak of men and institutions surrounded by traditional romance cannot be made the basis of any charge against him as a historical writer. But it is quite obvious to any candid student of *The Decline and Fall* that its author had no sympathy with human nature in its exceptional moral developments—in a word, that his work was written, not only without enthusiasm, but with a conscious distrust, which his age shared to the full, of enthusiasts. Unlike Hume, who was at one with Gibbon in this distrust, the latter remained, in this respect, master of himself, and did not allow antipathies against those who stood on one side to excite his sympathies with those on the other. He would have treated the puritan movement in the spirit in which Hume treated it, and have had as little wish to penetrate into its depths, as, in contemporary politics, he tried to understand the early aspirations of the French revolution. But he would not, it may be supposed, have drawn a sympathetic picture of king Charles I—for it would be unjust to him to ascribe to any such mental process the conception of Julian the apostate, whereby he scandalised the orthodox. Nothing in the historian's own idiosyncrasy responds to the passions which transform the lives of men and nations; and, to him, history, in his own words¹, is 'little more than the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind.' This limitation deprives the greatest of English historical works of a charm which is more than a charm, and the absence of which, however legitimate it seemed to the historian himself, cannot be ignored by his readers.

Though Gibbon overtops all contemporary English historical writers who concerned themselves with ancient history—in the sense in which it long remained customary to employ the term—it may be well to note in this place a few of the more important productions in this field by lesser writers. The general public was not supplied with many nutritious droppings from academical tables, still largely supplied with the same 'classical' fare; and, in the field of ancient history in particular, its illpaid labourers had, like Oliver Goldsmith, to turn out as best they might a 'popular' history of Greece or of Rome. Meanwhile, the demands of a more fastidious section of readers for more elaborate works on ancient

¹ Cited by Bury, *u.s.* p. xxi.

history were by no means clamorous. The great success of Conyers Middleton's *History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero* (1741) had proved, as an exception, how barren this branch of classical work had hitherto remained, and, albeit he was a voluminous writer¹, his other publications of this class had been, in the main, ancillary to his historical *magnum opus*. Though he describes it in his preface as a 'life and times' rather than a 'life' of his hero, it is constructed on biographical lines, and contributed in its way to nourish the single-minded devotion to Cicero, as a politician hardly less than as a writer, which, at a later date, was to suffer ruthless shocks. Nor should another production be passed by, which was directly due to its author's unwillingness to remain content with the French Jesuit history of Rome that had hitherto commanded the field, supplemented by the more discursive writings of Aubert de Vertot and Basil Kennett. Nathaniel Hooke, the friend of Pope from his youth to the hour of his death, dedicated to the poet the first volume of his *Roman History from the Building of Rome to the Ruin of the Commonwealth*, which appeared in 1738, though the fourth and concluding volume was not published till 1771, eight years after the author's death. Hooke also wrote *Observations on the Roman Senate* (1758); but he is best known as the literary editor of the famous *Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough* (1742). His *Roman History*, though, of course, obsolete, especially in its earliest sections (as to the chronology of which he falls in with the chronological conclusions of Newton), is written clearly and simply; moreover, his sympathies are broad, and, though his narrative may, at times, lack proportion, it shows that he had a heart for the *plebs* and could judge generously of Julius Cæsar.

It was in far broader fashion, as became a Scottish professor of moral philosophy, that Adam Ferguson proyed his interest in the more extended view of historical study which was engaging the attention of British, as well as French, writers. Something was said in our previous chapter of his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767). Thus, when, in 1783, Ferguson published his chief work, *The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*, it was with no narrow conception of his task that he undertook what, as its title indicates, was designed as a sort of introductory supplement to Gibbon's masterpiece. The preliminary survey of the course of Roman

¹ A full bibliography of Middleton will be found in vol. 1 of his *Miscellaneous Works* (2nd edn. 1755). Cf., as to his place among scholars, *ante*, vol. ix, chap. xiii.

history from the origins, though done with care and with due attention to historical geography, is, necessarily, inadequate, and some portions of what follows, avowedly, serve only to inform us as to what the Romans themselves believed to be a true narrative. His sketches of character are the reverse of paradoxical, though after recounting the enormities of Tiberius, he grieves 'to acknowledge that he was a man of considerable ability¹.'

In the year (1784) following that of the publication of Ferguson's *Roman History* appeared the first volume of William Mitford's *History of Greece*, a venture upon what was then, in English historical literature, almost untrodden ground. Gibbon had suggested the enterprise to Mitford, who was his brother-officer in the south-Hampshire militia and had published a treatise on the military force of England, and the militia in particular. Mitford's *History*, which was not completed till 1810, long held the field, and only succumbed to works of enduring value. It is only necessary to glance at Macaulay's early article on the work², in order to recognise that, in the midst of his partisan cavils³—in spite, too, of shortcomings of historical criticism particularly obvious in the account of the heroic age—Mitford displays an apprehension of the grandeur of the theme on which he is engaged. He is prejudiced, but not unconscientious; and, from his frequently perverse conclusions, many an English student has been able to disentangle his first conception of Greek free citizenship.

Finally, John Whitaker, who plays a rather sorry part at the fag-end of the list of Gibbon's assailants, is more worthily remembered as author of *The History of Manchester*. Of this he produced only the first two books (1771—5)—dealing respectively with the Roman and Roman-British, and with the English period to the foundation of the heptarchy, and, therefore, belonging in part to the domain of ancient history. Though it has been subjected to criticism at least as severe as that poured by Whitaker and others upon Gibbon's great work, the *History* survives as a notable product of learning, albeit containing too large an imaginative element. Whitaker carried on the same line of research and conjecture in his *Genuine History of the Britons* (1772), intended as a refutation of Macpherson's treatise on the subject. In 1794 he published *The Course of Hannibal over the Alps ascertained*, which has not proved the last word on the subject.

¹ Vol. III, p. 551.

² *Edinburgh Review*, July 1808.

³ Mitford, who has the courage of his opinions, states (vol. I, p. 278) that 'the House of Commons properly represents the Aristocratical part of the constitution.'

CHAPTER XIV

PHILOSOPHERS

HUME AND ADAM SMITH

OF the two friends whose names give a title to this chapter, it has been truthfully said that 'there was no third person writing the English language during the same period, who has had so much influence upon the opinions of mankind as either of these two men¹.' There were many other writers on the same or cognate subjects, who made important contributions to the literature of thought; but Hume and Adam Smith tower above them all both in intellectual greatness and in the permanent influence of their work.

I. DAVID HUME

In the sketch of his *Own Life*, which he wrote a few months before his death, Hume says that he was 'seized very early with a passion for literature, which has been the ruling passion of my life, and the great source of my enjoyments.' Another document of much earlier date (1734), which Hume himself revealed to no one, but which has been discovered and printed by his biographer², gives us a clear insight into the nature of this literary ambition and of the obstacles to its satisfaction.

As our college education in Scotland, extending little further than the languages, ends commonly when we are about fourteen or fifteen years of age, I was after that left to my own choice in my reading, and found it incline me almost equally to books of reasoning and philosophy, and to poetry and the polite authors. Every one who is acquainted either with the philosophers or critics, knows that there is nothing yet established in either of these two sciences, and that they contain little more than endless disputes, even in the most fundamental articles. Upon examination of these, I found a certain boldness of temper growing in me, which was not inclined to submit to any authority in these subjects, but led me to seek out some new medium by which truth might be established. After much study and reflection on this, at last, when I was about eighteen years of age, there seemed to be opened up to me a new scene of thought, which transported me beyond measure, and made me, with an ardour natural to young men, throw up every other pleasure or business to apply entirely to it. . . . Having now time and leisure to cool my inflamed imagination, I began to consider seriously

¹ Burton, J. H., *Life and Correspondence of David Hume*, vol. 1, p. 117.

² *Ibid.* vol. 1, pp. 30—33.

how I should proceed in my philosophical inquiries. I found that...every one consulted his fancy in erecting schemes of virtue and of happiness, without regarding human nature, upon which every moral conclusion must depend. This, therefore, I resolved to make my principal study, and the source from which I would derive every truth in criticism as well as morality.

These passages show, not only that Hume's ambition was entirely literary, but, also, that his literary ambition was centred in philosophy and that he was convinced he held in his grasp a key to its problems. Literary ambition never ceased to be Hume's ruling passion, and it brought him fame and even affluence. But his early enthusiasm for the discovery of truth seems to have been damped by the reception of his first and greatest work, or by the intellectual contradiction to which his arguments led, or by both causes combined. In philosophy, he never made any real advance upon his first work, *A Treatise of Human Nature*; his later efforts were devoted to presenting its arguments in a more perfect and more popular literary form, or to toning down their destructive results, and to the application of his ideas to questions of economics, politics and religion, as well as to winning a new reputation for himself in historical composition.

His career contained few incidents that need to be recorded beyond the publication of his books. He was born at Edinburgh on 26 April 1711, the younger son of a country gentleman of good family, but small property. His 'passion for literature' led to his early desertion of the study of law; when he was twenty-three, he tried commerce as a cure for the state of morbid depression in which severe study had landed him, and also, no doubt, as a means of livelihood. But, after a few months in a merchant's office at Bristol, he resolved to make frugality supply his deficiency of fortune, and settled in France, chiefly at La Flèche, where, more than a century before, Descartes had been educated at the Jesuit college. But he never mentions this connection with Descartes; he was occupied with other thoughts; and, after three years, in 1737, he came home to arrange for the publication of *A Treatise of Human Nature*, the first two volumes of which appeared in January 1739. If the book did not literally, as Hume put it, fall 'dead-born from the press,' it excited little attention; the only literary notice it received entirely failed to appreciate its significance. He was bitterly disappointed, but continued the preparation for the press of his third volume, 'Of Morals.' This appeared in 1740; and, in 1741, he published a volume of *Essays Moral and Political*, which reached a second edition and was supplemented by a second volume in 1742. The success of these essays gratified

Hume's literary ambition and, perhaps, had a good deal to do with the direction of his activity towards the application and popularisation of his reflections rather than to further criticism of their basis. About this time, Hume resided, for the most part, at the paternal estate (now belonging to his brother) of Ninewells in Berwickshire; but he was making efforts to secure an independent income: he failed twice to obtain a university professorship; he spent a troublesome year as tutor to a lunatic nobleman; he accompanied general St Clair as his secretary on his expedition to France in 1746, and on a mission to Vienna and Turin in 1748. In the latter year was published a third volume of *Essays Moral and Political*, and, also, *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding*, afterwards (1758) entitled *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, in which the reasonings of book I of *A Treatise of Human Nature* were presented in a revised but incomplete form. A second edition of this work appeared in 1751, and, in the same year, *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* (founded upon book III of the *Treatise*) which, in the opinion of the author, was of all his 'writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best.' A few months later (February 1752), he published a volume of *Political Discourses* which, he said, was 'the only work of mine that was successful on the first publication.' According to Burton, it 'introduced Hume to the literature of the continent.' It was translated into French in 1753 and, again, in 1754. In 1752, he was appointed keeper of the advocates' library—a post which made a small addition to his modest income and enabled him to carry out his historical work. In 1753—4 appeared *Essays and Treatises on several subjects*; these included his various writings other than the *Treatise* and the *History*, and, after many changes, attained their final form in the edition of 1777. The new material added to them in later editions consisted chiefly of *Four Dissertations* published in 1757. The subjects of these dissertations were the natural history of religion, the passions (founded on book II of the *Treatise*), tragedy and taste. Essays on suicide and on immortality had been originally designed for this volume, but were hurriedly withdrawn on the eve of publication.

For more than two years, 1763 to 1765, Hume acted as secretary to the English embassy at Paris, where he was received with extraordinary enthusiasm by the court and by literary society. 'Here,' he wrote, 'I feed on ambrosia, drink nothing but nectar, breathe incense only, and walk on flowers.' He returned to London in January 1766, accompanied by Rousseau, whom he had befriended

and who, a few months later, repaid his kindness by provoking one of the most famous of quarrels between men of letters. Before the close of the year, he was again in Scotland, but, in the following year, was recalled to London as under-secretary of state, and it was not till 1769 that he finally settled in Edinburgh. There, he rejoined a society less brilliant and original than that he had left in Paris, but possessed of a distinction of its own. Prominent among his friends were Robertson, Hugh Blair and others of the clergy—men of high character and literary reputation, and representative of a religious attitude, known in Scotland as ‘moderatism’,¹ which did not disturb the serenity of Hume. He died on 25 August 1776.

After his death, his *Own Life* was published by Adam Smith (1777), and his *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* by his nephew David (1779). We hear of these *Dialogues* more than twenty years earlier; but he was dissuaded from publishing them at the time, though he was concerned that they should not be lost and subjected the manuscript to repeated and careful revision. His philosophical activity may be said to have come to an end in 1757 with the publication of *Four Dissertations*, when he was forty-six years old. In spite of many criticisms, he refused to be drawn into controversy; but, in an ‘advertisement’ to the final edition of *Essays and Treatises*, he protested, with some irritation, against criticisms of *A Treatise of Human Nature*—‘the juvenile work which the Author never acknowledged.’

This disclaimer of his earliest and greatest work is interesting as a revelation of Hume’s character, but cannot affect philosophical values. If he had written nothing else, and this book alone had been read, the influence of his ideas on general literature would have been less marked; but his claim to rank as the greatest of English philosophers would not be seriously affected: it would be recognised that he had carried out a line of thought to its final issue, and the effect upon subsequent speculation would have been, in essentials, what it has been.

Hume is quite clear as to the method of his enquiry. He recognised that ‘Locke and others had anticipated him in the ‘attempt to introduce the experimental method of reasoning into moral subjects.’ Locke had, also, opened the way for deriving a system of philosophy from the science of the human mind; but Hume far excelled him in the thoroughness and consistency with

¹ For a definition of ‘moderatism’ by an observer of its decline, see Lord Cockburn’s *Journal*, vol. II, pp. 289—291.

which he followed this way. Locke's express purpose was to examine the understanding, that he might discover 'the utmost extent of its tether.' He does not doubt that knowledge can signify a reality outside the mind; but he wishes to determine the range of this cognitive power. From the outset, Hume conceives the problem in a wider manner. All knowledge is a fact or process of human nature; if we are able, therefore, 'to explain the principles of human nature,' we shall 'in effect propose a complete system of the sciences.' Without doubt, this utterance points back to his early discovery of a 'new medium by which truth might be established'—a discovery which, at the age of eighteen, had transported him beyond measure. In saying that 'a complete system of the sciences' would result from 'the principles of human nature,' Hume did not mean that the law of gravitation or the circulation of the blood could be discovered from an examination of the understanding and the emotions. His meaning was that, when the sciences are brought into system, certain general features are found to characterise them; and the explanation of these general features is to be sought in human nature—in other words, in our way of knowing and feeling. His statement, accordingly, comes simply to this, that mental science, or what we now call psychology, takes the place of philosophy—is itself philosophy.

Hume is commonly, and correctly, regarded as having worked out to the end the line of thought started by Locke. But, in the width of his purpose, the thoroughness of its elaboration and his clear consciousness of his task, he may be compared with Hobbes—a writer who had little direct effect upon his thought. For Hume is Hobbes inverted. The latter interprets the inner world—the world of life and thought—by means of the external or material world, whose impact gives rise to the motions which we call perception and volition. Hume, on the other hand, will assume nothing about external reality, but interprets it by means of the impressions or ideas of which we are all immediately conscious. And, as Hobbes saw all things under the rule of mechanical law, so Hume, also, has a universal principle of connection.

'Here,' he says, that is to say, among ideas, 'is a kind of *Attraction*, which in the mental world will be found to have as extraordinary effects as in the natural, and to shew itself in as many and as various forms.'

The law of gravitation finds its parallel in the law of the association of ideas; as the movements of masses are explained by the former, so the latter is used to account for the grouping of mental contents.

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In enumerating these contents, he modifies the doctrine of Locke. According to Locke, the material of knowledge comes from two different sources—sensation and reflection. The view hardly admitted of statement without postulating both a mental and a material world existing over against one another. Hume tries to avoid any such postulate. His primary data are all of one kind; he calls them ‘impressions,’ and says that they arise ‘from unknown causes.’ Ideas are distinguished from impressions by their lesser degree of ‘force and liveliness.’ Hume makes the generalisation that ‘every simple idea has a simple impression which resembles it’; an idea is thus the ‘faint image’ of an impression; and there are degrees of this faintness: the ‘more lively and strong’ are ideas of memory, the weaker are ideas of imagination. Further, certain ideas, in some unexplained way, reappear with the force and liveliness of impressions, or, as Hume puts it, ‘produce the new impressions’ which he calls ‘impressions of reflection’ and which he enumerates as passions, desires and emotions. Reflection is, thus, derived from sensation, although its impressions in their turn give rise to new ideas. All mental contents (in Hume’s language, all ‘perceptions’) are derived from sense impressions, and these arise from unknown causes. Simple ideas are distinguished from simple impressions merely by their comparative lack of force and liveliness; but these fainter data tend to group themselves in an order quite different from that of their corresponding impressions. By this ‘association of ideas’ are formed the complex ideas of relations, modes and substances.

Such are the elements of Hume’s account of human nature; out of these elements, he has to explain knowledge and morality; and this explanation is, at the same time, to be ‘a complete system of the sciences.’ He is fully alive to the problem. In knowledge, ideas are connected together by other relations than the ‘association’ which rules imagination; and he proceeds at once to an enquiry into ‘all those qualities which make objects admit of comparison.’ These, he calls ‘philosophical relations,’ and he arranges them under seven general heads: resemblance, identity, space and time, quantity, degree of quality, contrariety, cause and effect.

All scientific propositions are regarded as expressing one or other of these relations. Hume regards the classification as exhaustive; and, at least, it is sufficient to form a comprehensive test of his theory. Since we have nothing to go upon but ideas and the impressions from which ideas originate, how are we to

explain knowledge of these relations? Hume's enquiry did not answer this question even to his own satisfaction; but it set a problem which has had to be faced by every subsequent thinker, and it has led many to adopt the sceptical conclusion to which the author himself was inclined.

The 'philosophical relations,' under his analysis, fall into two classes. On the one hand, some of them depend entirely on the ideas compared: these are resemblance, contrariety, degrees in quality and proportions in quantity or number. On the other hand, the relations of identity, space and time, and causation may be changed without any change in the ideas related; our knowledge of them thus presents an obvious difficulty, for it cannot be derived from the ideas themselves. Hume does not take much trouble with the former class of relations, in which this difficulty does not arise. He is content to follow on Locke's lines and to think that general propositions of demonstrative certainty are, obviously, possible here, seeing that we are merely stating a relationship clearly apparent in the ideas themselves. He does not ask whether the relation is or is not a new idea, and, if it is, how it can be explained—from what impression it took its rise. And he gives no explanation of the fixed and permanent character attributed to an idea when it is made the subject of a universal proposition. It is important to note, however, that he does not follow Locke in holding that mathematics is a science which is at once demonstrative and 'instructive.' The propositions of geometry concern spatial relations, and our idea of space is received 'from the disposition of visible and tangible objects'; we have 'no idea of space or extension but when we regard it as an object either of our sight or feeling' (*i.e.* touch); and, in these perceptions, we can never attain exactness: 'our appeal is still to the weak and fallible judgment which we make from the appearance of the objects, and correct by a compass or common measure.' Geometry, therefore, is an empirical science; it is founded on observations of approximate accuracy only, though the variations from the normal in our observations may be neutralised in the general propositions which we form. Hume does not apply the same doctrine to arithmetic, on the ground (which his principles do not justify) that the unit is something unique. He is thus able to count quantity and number in his first class of relations and to except algebra and arithmetic from the effect of his subtle analysis of the foundations of geometry. In his *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, however, he deserts, without a word of justification, the earlier

view which he had worked out with much care and ingenuity, and treats mathematics generally as the great example of demonstrative reasoning. In this later work, in which completeness is sacrificed to the presentation of salient features, he speaks, not of two kinds of relations, but of 'relations of ideas' and 'matters of fact'; and, in each, he seeks to save something from the general ruin of the sciences to which his premises lead. The last paragraph of the book sets forth his conclusion:

When we run over our libraries, persuaded of these principles, what havoc must we make? If we take in our hand any volume; of divinity or school metaphysics, for instance; let us ask, *Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number?* No. *Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact and existence?* No. Commit it then to the flames; for it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion.

This passage, startling and ruthless as it sounds, is chiefly remarkable for its reservations. It was easy to condemn 'divinity or school metaphysics' as illusory; they had for long been common game. But to challenge the validity of mathematics or of natural science was quite another matter. Hume did not temper the wind to the shorn lamb; but he took care that it should not visit too roughly the sturdy wethers of the flock. Yet we have seen that, according to his principles, mathematics rest upon observations which fall short of accuracy, while natural science, with its 'experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact,' depends upon the relation of cause and effect.

The examination of this relation occupies a central position in both his works; and its influence upon subsequent thought has been so great as, sometimes, to obscure the importance of other factors in his philosophy. He faced a problem into which Locke had hardly penetrated, and of which even Berkeley had had only a partial view. What do we mean when we say that one thing is cause and another thing its effect, and what right have we to that meaning? In sense perception, we have impressions of flame and of heat, for instance; but why do we say that the flame causes the heat, what ground is there for asserting any 'necessary connection' between them? The connection cannot be derived from any comparison of the ideas of flame and of heat; it must come from impression, therefore; but there is no separate impression of 'cause' or 'causation' which could serve as the link between two objects. What, then, is the origin of the connection? To use the terminology of the *Enquiry*, since cause is not a 'relation of ideas,' it must be a 'matter of fact'—an impression. But it is not itself a separate or simple impression; it must, therefore, be due to the

mode or manner in which impressions occur. In our experience, we are accustomed to find flame and heat combined; we pass constantly from one to the other; and the custom becomes so strong that, whenever the impression of flame occurs, the idea of heat follows. Then, we mistake this mental or subjective connection for an objective connection. Necessary connection is not in the objects, but only in the mind; yet custom is too strong for us, and we attribute it to the objects.

This is a simple statement of the central argument of Hume's most famous discussion. The 'powers' which Locke attributed to bodies must be denied—as Berkeley denied them. The consciousness of spiritual activity on which Berkeley relied is equally illusory on Hume's principles.

'If we reason *a priori*,' says Hume, 'anything may appear able to produce anything. The falling of a pebble may, for aught we know, extinguish the sun, or the wish of a man control the planets in their orbits.'

This striking utterance is, strictly, little better than a truism. No philosopher ever supposed that such knowledge about definite objects could be got in any other way than by experience. But Hume's negative criticism goes much deeper than this. We have no right to say that the extinction of the sun needs any cause at all, or that causation is a principle that holds of objects; all events are loose and separate. The only connection which we have a right to assert is that of an idea with an impression or with other ideas—the subjective routine which is called 'association of ideas.' Hume's constructive theory of causation is an explanation of how we come to suppose that there is causal connection in the world, although there is really nothing more than customary association in our minds.

If we admit Hume's fundamental assumption about impressions and ideas, it is impossible to deny the general validity of this reasoning. Any assertion of a causal connection—the whole structure of natural science, therefore—is simply a misinterpretation of certain mental processes. At the outset, Hume himself had spoken of impressions as arising from 'unknown causes'; and some expressions of the sort were necessary to give his theory a start and to carry the reader along with him; but they are really empty words. Experience is confined to impressions and ideas; causation is an attitude towards them produced by custom—by the mode of sequence of ideas; its applicability is only within the range of impressions or ideas; to talk of an impression as caused by something that is neither impression nor idea may have a very

real meaning to any philosopher except Hume; but to Hume it cannot have any meaning at all.

The discussion of causation brings out another and still more general doctrine held by Hume—his theory of belief. When I say that flame causes heat, I do not refer to a connection of ideas in my own mind; I am expressing belief in an objective connection independent of my mental processes. But Hume's theory of causation reduces the connection to a subjective routing. Now, some other impression than 'flame' might precede the idea of heat—the impression 'cold,' for instance. How is it, then, that I do not assert 'cold causes heat'? The sequence 'cold—heat' may be equally real in my mind with the sequence 'flame—heat.' How is it that the former does not give rise to belief in the way that the latter does? Hume would say that the only difference is that the association in the former case is less direct and constant than in the latter, and thus leads to an idea of less force and liveliness. Belief, accordingly, is simply a lively idea associated with a present impression. It belongs to the sensitive, not to the rational, part of our nature. And yet it marks the fundamental distinction between judgment and imagination.

In the *Treatise*, at any rate, there is no faltering of purpose or weakening of power when the author proceeds to apply his principles to the fabric of knowledge. It is impossible, in this place, to follow his subtle and comprehensive argument; but its issue is plain. With objections not unlike Berkeley's, he dismisses the independent existence of bodies, and then he turns a similar train of reasoning against the reality of the self:

When I enter most intimately into what I call *myself*, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I can never catch *myself* at any time without a perception, and never can observe anything but the perception. When my perceptions are removed, for any time, as by sound sleep, so long am I insensible of *myself*, and may truly be said not to exist.

According to Hume's own illustration, the mind is but the stage on which perceptions pass and mingle and glide away. Or, rather, there is no stage at all, but only a phantasmagory of impressions and ideas.

Hume's purpose was constructive; but the issue, as he faces it, is sceptical. And he is a genuine sceptic; for, even as to his scepticism, he is not dogmatic. Why should he assent to his own reasoning? he asks; and he answers, 'I can give no reason why I should assent to it, and feel nothing but a *strong* propensity to consider objects *strongly* in that view.' The propensity, however,

is strong only when the 'bent of mind' is in a certain direction; a dinner, a game of backgammon, makes such speculations appear ridiculous; and 'nature' suffices to 'obliterate all these chimeras.' A year later, Hume referred again to this sceptical *impasse*, in an appendix to the third volume of his *Treatise*; and there, with remarkable insight, he diagnosed the causes of his own failure. The passage deserves quotation, seeing that it has been often overlooked, and is, nevertheless, one of the most significant utterances in the history of philosophy.

In short there are two principles, which I cannot render consistent; nor is it in my power to renounce either of them, viz. *that all our distinct perceptions are distinct existences, and that the mind never perceives any real connexion among distinct existences.* Did our perceptions either inhere in something simple and individual, or did the mind perceive some real connexion among them, there would be no difficulty in the case. For my part, I must plead the privilege of a sceptic, and confess that this difficulty is too hard for my understanding. I pretend not, however, to pronounce it absolutely insuperable. Others, perhaps, or myself, upon more mature reflexions, may discover some hypothesis that will reconcile those contradictions.

Hume seems himself to have made no further attempt to solve the problem. His followers have been content to build their systems on his foundation, with minor improvements of their own, but without overcoming or facing the fundamental difficulty which he saw and expressed.

The logical result of his analysis is far from leading to that 'complete system of the sciences' which he had anticipated from his 'new medium'; it leads, not to reconstruction, but to a sceptical disintegration of knowledge; and he was clearsighted enough to see this result. Thenceforward, scepticism became the characteristic attitude of his mind and of his writings. But his later works exhibit a less thorough scepticism than that to which his thinking led. Even his *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* shows a weakening of the sceptical attitude, in the direction of a 'mitigated scepticism' which resembles modern positivism and admits knowledge of phenomena and of mathematical relations.

When he came to deal with concrete problems, his principles were often applied in an emasculated form. But the 'new medium' is not altogether discarded: appeal is constantly made to the mental factor—impression and idea. This is characteristic of Hume's doctrine of morality. 'Here is a matter of fact; but 'tis the object of feeling not of reason. It lies in yourself not in the object.' And from this results his famous definition of virtue: 'every quality of the mind is denominated virtuous which gives pleasure by the mere survey; as every quality which produces

pain is called vicious.' The 'sentiments of approbation or blame' which thus arise depend, in all cases, on sympathy; sympathy with the pleasures and pains of others is, thus, postulated by Hume as an ultimate fact; the reasonings of Butler and Hutcheson prevented him from seeking to account for it as a refined form of selfishness, as Hobbes had done; and yet, upon his own premises, it remains inexplicable. In his *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, his differences from Hobbes, and even from Locke, are still more clearly shown than in the *Treatise*; he defends the reality of disinterested benevolence; and the sentiment of moral approbation is described as 'humanity,' or 'a feeling for the happiness of mankind,' which, it is said, 'nature has made universal in the species.' This sentiment, again, is always directed towards qualities which tend to the pleasure, immediate or remote, of the person observed or of others. Thus, Hume occupies a place in the utilitarian succession; but he did not formulate a quantitative utilitarianism, as Hutcheson had already done. He drew an important distinction, however, between natural virtues, such as benevolence, which are immediately approved and which have a direct tendency to produce pleasure, and artificial virtues, of which justice is the type, where both the approval and the tendency to pleasure are mediated by the social system which the virtue in question supports.

Hume exerted a profound influence upon theology, not only by the general trend of his speculation but, also, through certain specific writings. Of these writings, the most important are the essay 'Of Miracles' contained in *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, the dissertation entitled 'The Natural History of Religion,' and *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*. The first-named is the most famous; it produced a crowd of answers, and it had a good deal to do with public attention being attracted to the author's works. It consists of an expansion of a simple and ingenious argument, which had occurred to him when writing his *Treatise of Human Nature*, but which, strangely enough, is inconsistent with the principles of that work. It regards 'laws of nature' as established by a uniform experience, 'miracles' as violations of these laws and the evidence for these miracles as necessarily inferior to the 'testimony of the senses' which establishes the laws of nature. Whatever validity these positions may have on another philosophical theory, the meaning both of laws of nature and of miracles as conflicting with these laws evaporates under the analysis by which, as in Hume's *Treatise*, all events are

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seen as 'loose and separate.' 'The Natural History of Religion' contains reflections of greater significance. Here, Hume distinguishes between the theoretical argument which leads to theism and the actual mental processes from which religion has arisen. Its 'foundation in reason' is not the same thing as its 'origin in human nature'; and he made an important step in advance by isolating this latter question and treating it apart. He held that religion arose 'from a concern with regard to the events of life, and from the incessant hopes and fears which actuate the human mind,' and, in particular, from the 'melancholy' rather than from the 'agreeable' passions; and he maintained the thesis that polytheism preceded theism in the historical development of belief.

'The whole is a riddle, an enigma, an inexplicable mystery.' Such is the concluding reflection of this work. But a further and serious attempt to solve the riddle is made in *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*. This small book contains the author's mature views on ultimate questions. It is written in his most perfect style, and shows his mastery of the dialogue form. There is none of the usual scenery of the dramatic dialogue; but the persons are distinct, the reasoning is lucid, and the interest is sustained to the end. The traditional arguments are examined with an insight and directness which were only equalled afterwards by Kant; but, unlike Kant, and with insight more direct if not more profound, Hume finds the most serious difficulties of the question in the realm of morals. The form of the work makes it not altogether easy to interpret; and some commentators have held that Hume's own views should not be identified with those of the more extreme critic of theism. Hume himself says as much at the close of the work; but his habitual irony in referring to religious topics is part of the difficulty of interpretation. All the speakers in the *Dialogues* are represented as accepting some kind of theistic belief; and it is not necessary to attribute expressions of this kind simply to irony. The trend of the argument is towards a shadowy form of theism—'that the cause or causes of order in the universe probably bear some remote analogy to human intelligence'; and, in a remarkable footnote, the author seems to be justifying his own right to take up such a position:

No philosophical Dogmatist denies, that there are difficulties both with regard to the senses and to all science; and that these difficulties are in a regular, logical method, absolutely insolvable. No Sceptic denies, that we lie under an absolute necessity, notwithstanding these difficulties, of thinking, and believing, and reasoning with regard to all kind of subjects, and even of frequently assenting with confidence and security.

In other words, his logic leads to complete scepticism; but, just because the 'difficulties' are insoluble, he claims a right to disregard them, and to act and think like other men, when action and thought are called for.

For this reason, his theory of knowledge has little effect upon his political and economical essays, although they are closely connected with his ethical and psychological views. The separate essays were published, in various volumes, between 1741 and 1777; and, in the interval, political philosophy was profoundly influenced by the works of Montesquieu and Rousseau. The essays do not make a system, and economics is in them not definitely distinguished from politics; but both system and the distinction are suggested in the remarks on the value of general principles and general reasonings which he prefixed to the essays on commerce, money and other economical subjects. 'When we reason upon *general* subjects,' he says, 'our speculations can scarcely ever be too fine, provided they be just.'

In both groups of essays, Hume was not merely a keen critic of prevailing theories and conceptions; his knowledge of human nature and of history guided his analysis of a situation. A growing clearness of doctrine, also, may be detected by comparing his earlier with his later utterances. In later editions, he modified his acceptance of the traditional doctrines of the natural equality of men, and of consent as the origin of society. The essay 'Of the Origin of Government,' first published in 1777, makes no mention either of divine right or of original contract. Society is traced to its origin in the family; and political society is said to have been established 'in order to administer justice'—though its actual beginnings are sought in the concert and order forced upon men by war. Again, whereas, in an earlier essay, he had said that 'a constitution is only so far good as it provides a remedy against maladministration,' he came, later, to look upon its tendency to liberty as marking the perfection of civil society—although there must always be a struggle between liberty and the authority without which government could not be conducted. His political thinking, accordingly, tends to limit the range of legitimate governmental activity; similarly, in economics, he criticises the doctrine of the mercantilists, and on various points anticipates the views of the analytical economists of a later generation. Perhaps, however, nothing in these essays shows better his insight into the principles of economics than the letter which, shortly before his death, he wrote to Adam Smith upon receipt of a copy of *The*

• *Wealth of Nations*. In this letter, after a warm expression of praise for, and satisfaction with, his friend's achievement, he makes a single criticism—'I cannot think that the rent of farms makes any part of the price of the produce, but that the price is determined altogether by the quantity and the demand'—which suggests that he himself had arrived at the theory of rent commonly associated with the name of Ricardo.

II. ADAM SMITH

Adam Smith was born at Kirkcaldy on 5 June 1723. He was educated at the university of Glasgow, where he had Hutcheson as one of his teachers, and, in 1740, he proceeded to Oxford, where he resided continuously through term and vacation for more than six years. Like Hobbes in the previous century, and Gibbon and Bentham shortly after his own day, he has nothing that is good to say of the studies of the university. His own college of Balliol gave small promise of its future fame: it was, then, chiefly distinguished as a centre of Jacobitism, and its authorities confiscated his copy of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*; but its excellent library enabled him to devote himself to assiduous study, mainly in Greek and Latin literature. After some years spent at home, he returned to Glasgow as professor of logic (1751) and, afterwards, (1752) of moral philosophy. In 1759, he published his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, which brought him immediate fame. Early in 1764, he resigned his professorship in order to accompany the young duke of Buccleuch on a visit to France which lasted over two years. This marks the beginning of the second and more famous period of his literary career. He found Toulouse (where they first settled) much less gay than Glasgow, and, therefore, started writing a book 'in order to pass away the time¹'. This is probably the first reference to the great work of his riper years. But it does not mark the beginning of his interest in economics. By tradition and by his own preference, a comprehensive treatment of social philosophy was included in the work of the moral philosophy chair at Glasgow; and there is evidence to show that some of his most characteristic views had been written down even before he settled there². When, in 1765—6, Smith resided for many months in Paris with his pupil, he was received into the remarkable society of

¹ Cf. Rae, J., *Life of Adam Smith*, p. 179.

² Cf. Stewart, Dugald, *Life and Writings of Adam Smith in Works*, vol. x, pp. 67, 68.

'economists' (commonly known as the 'physiocrats'). Quesnay, the leader of the school, had published his *Maximes générales de gouvernement économique* and his *Tableau économique* in 1758; and Turgot, who was soon to make an effort to introduce their common principles into the national finance, was, at this time, writing his *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses*, although it was not published till some years later. Smith held the work of the physiocrats, and of Quesnay in particular, in high esteem; only death robbed Quesnay of the honour of having *The Wealth of Nations* dedicated to him. The exact extent of Smith's indebtedness to the school is matter of controversy. But, two things seem clear, though they have been sometimes overlooked. He shared their objection to mercantilism and their approval of commercial freedom on grounds at which he had arrived before their works were published; and he did not accept their special theory that agriculture is the sole source of wealth, or the practical consequence which they drew from the principle that the revenue of the state should be derived from 'a single tax' on land. After his return from France, Smith settled down quietly with his mother and cousin at Kirkcaldy and devoted himself to the composition of *The Wealth of Nations*, which was published in 1776. In 1778, he removed to Edinburgh as commissioner of customs; he died on 17 July 1790.

Apart from some minor writings, Adam Smith was the author of two works of unequal importance. These two works belong to different periods of his life—the professorial, in which he is looked upon as leading the ordinary secluded life of a scholar, and the later period, in which he had gathered wider knowledge of men and affairs. And the two works differ in the general impression which they are apt to produce. According to the earlier, sympathy, or social feeling, is the foundation of morality; the ideal of the later work is that of 'a social system in which each person is left free to pursue his own interest in his own way, and the author throws gentle ridicule upon the 'affectation' of 'trading for the public benefit.' Undue stress has, however, been laid upon the difference; it is superficial rather than fundamental, and results from the diversity of subject and method in the two works rather than from an opposition between their underlying ideas. Indeed, it may be argued that the social factor in the individual, which is brought out in the ethical treatise, is a necessary condition of

¹ This term was invented by Dupont de Nemours (1769—1817), a younger member of the school.

that view of a harmony between public and private interests which underlies the doctrine of 'natural liberty' taught in *The Wealth of Nations*.

The Theory of Moral Sentiments covers much ground already traversed by preceding British moralists. It is an elaborate analysis of the various forms and objects of the moral consciousness. It is written in a flowing and eloquent, if rather diffuse, style; it is full of apt illustration; and the whole treatise is dominated by a leading idea. Smith's central problem, like that of his predecessors, is to explain the fact of moral approval and disapproval. He discards the doctrine of a special 'moral sense,' impervious to analysis, which had been put forward by Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. Like Hume, he regards sympathy as the fundamental fact of the moral consciousness; and he seeks to show, more exactly than Hume had done, how sympathy can become a test of morality. He sees that it is not, of itself, a sufficient test. A spectator may imaginatively enter into the emotional attitude of another man, and this is sympathy; but it is not a justification of the man's attitude. The spectator may have misunderstood the circumstances, or his own interests may have been involved. Accordingly, the only sympathy that has ethical value is that of an 'impartial and well-informed spectator.' But this impartial and well-informed spectator, whose sympathy with our passions and affections would be their adequate justification, is not an actual but an ideal person; and, indeed, Smith recognises as much when he says that we have to appeal from 'the opinions of mankind' to 'the tribunal of [our] own conscience'—to 'the man within the breast.' The great merit of the theory, as worked out by Smith, is its recognition of the importance of the social factor in morality, and of sympathy as the means by which this social factor operates. The individual man, in his view, is a being of social structure and tendencies. But the social side of his nature is not exaggerated: if man 'can subsist only in society,' it is equally true that 'every man is by nature first and principally recommended to his own care.' These points modify the contrast between the teaching of his first work and the 'individualism' of his economic theory.

Adam Smith is frequently spoken of as the founder of political economy. By this is meant that he was the first to isolate economic facts, to treat them as a whole, and to treat them scientifically. But, nine years before the publication of *The Wealth of Nations*, another work appeared which may be regarded as having anticipated it in this respect—Sir James Steuart's *Inquiry into the*

Principles of Political Economy. Steuart was a Jacobite laird, who, in 1763, returned from a long exile abroad. He had travelled extensively, and his work contains the result of observation of different states of society as well as of systematic reflection; but it is without merit in respect of literary form. It is presented to the public as 'an attempt towards reducing to principles, and forming into a regular science, the complicated interests of domestic policy.' It deals with 'population, agriculture, trade, industry, money, coin, interest, circulation, banks, exchange, public credit, and taxes'; and the author has a definite view of scientific method. He speaks, indeed, of 'the art of political economy,' using the term 'political economy' in much the same sense as that in which Smith used it in dealing with 'systems of political economy' in the fourth book of his great work. But this art is the statesman's business; and behind the statesman stands 'the speculative person, who, removed from the practice, extracts the principles of this science from *observation and reflection*.' Steuart does not pretend to a system, but only to 'a clear deduction of principles.' These principles, however, are themselves gathered from experience. His first chapter opens with the assertion, 'Man we find acting uniformly in all ages, in all countries, and in all climates, from the principles of self-interest, expediency, duty and passion.' And, of these, 'the ruling principle' which he follows is 'the principle of self-interest.' From this point, the author's method may be described as deductive, and as resembling that of Smith's successors more than it does Smith's own. Further, he recognises that the conclusions, like the principles from which they proceed, are abstract and may not fit all kinds of social conditions, so that 'the political economy in each [country] must necessarily be different.' How far Smith took account of Steuart's reasonings we cannot say; he does not mention his name: though he is reported to have said that he understood Steuart's system better from his talk, than from his book.

Adam Smith does not begin with a discourse on method; he was an artist in exposition; and he feared, perhaps unduly, any appearance of pedantry. He plunges at once into his subject: 'The annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes.' These first words suggest the prevailing theme. Wealth consists not in the precious metals, but in the goods which men use or consume; and its source or cause is labour. On this foundation, he builds the structure of his science;

and—although he says nothing about it—we can trace the method which he regarded as appropriate to his enquiry. It may be described shortly as abstract reasoning checked and reinforced by historical investigation. The main theorems of the analytical economics of a later period are to be found expressed or suggested in his work; but almost every deduction is supported by concrete instances. Rival schools have, thus, regarded him as their founder, and are witnesses to his grasp of principles and insight into facts. He could isolate a cause and follow out its effects; and, if he was apt sometimes to exaggerate its prominence in the complex of human motives and social conditions, it was because the facts at his disposal did not suggest the necessary qualifications of his doctrine, although more recent experience has shown that the qualifications are needed.

Adam Smith isolates the fact of wealth and makes it the subject of a science. But he sees this fact in its connections with life as a whole. His reasonings are grounded in a view of human nature and its environment, both of which meet in labour, the source of wealth and also, as he thinks, the ultimate standard of the value of commodities. In the division of labour, he sees the first step taken by man in industrial progress. His treatment of this subject has become classical, and is too well known for quotation; it is more to the purpose to point out that it was an unerring instinct for essentials which led him, in his first chapter, to fix attention on a point so obvious that it might easily have been overlooked and yet of far-reaching importance in social development generally. The division of labour, according to Smith, is the result of 'the propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another.' But his analysis of motives goes deeper than this; and, so far as they are concerned with wealth, human motives seem to be reduced by him to two: 'the passion for present enjoyment' which 'prompts to expense,' and 'the desire of bettering our condition' which 'prompts to save.' Both are selfish; and it is on this motive of self-interest, or a view of one's own advantage, that Smith constantly relies. He constructs an economic commonwealth which consists of a multitude of persons, each seeking his own interest and, in so doing, unwittingly furthering the public good—thus promoting 'an end which was no part of his intention.'

'The natural effort of every individual to better his own condition,' he says, 'when suffered to exert itself with freedom and security, is so powerful a principle, that it is alone, and without any assistance, not only capable of

carrying on the society to wealth and prosperity, but of surmounting a hundred impertinent obstructions with which the folly of human laws too often encumbers its operations.'

Smith, like many other philosophers of the time, assumed that there was a natural identity of public and private interest. It is a comfortable belief that society would be served best if everybody looked after his own interests; and, in an economist, this belief was, perhaps, an inevitable reaction from a condition in which state regulation of industry had largely consisted in distributing monopolies and other privileges. In Smith's mind, the belief was also bound up with the view that this identity of interests resulted from the guidance of 'the invisible hand' that directs the fate of mankind. But the belief itself was incapable of verification, and subsequent industrial history refutes it. Indeed, in various places in his work, Smith himself declines to be bound by it. He thinks that the interests of the landowners and of the working class are in close agreement with the interest of society, but that those of 'merchants and master manufacturers' have not the same connection with the public interest. 'The interest of the dealers,' he says, 'is always in some respects different from, and even opposite to, that of the public.' The harmony of interests, therefore, is incomplete. Nor would it be fair to say that Smith had relinquished, in *The Wealth of Nations*, his earlier view of the social factor in human motive. What he did hold was, rather, that, in the pursuit of wealth, that is to say, in industry and commerce, the motive of self-interest predominates; in famous passages, he speaks as if no other motive need be taken into account; but he recognises its varying strength; and it is only in the class of 'merchants and master manufacturers' that he regards it as having free course: they are acute in the perception of their own interest and unresting in its pursuit; in the country gentleman, on the other hand, selfish interest is tempered by generosity and weakened by indolence.

From the nature of man and the environment in which he is placed, Smith derives his doctrine of 'the natural progress of opulence.' Subsistence is 'prior to conveniency and luxury'; agriculture provides the former, commerce the latter; the cultivation of the country, therefore, precedes the increase of the town; the town, indeed, has to subsist on the surplus produce of the country; foreign commerce comes later still. This is the natural order, and it is promoted by man's natural inclinations. But human institutions have thwarted these natural inclinations,

and, 'in many respects, entirely inverted' the natural order. Up to Adam Smith's time, the regulation of industry had been almost universally admitted to be part of the government's functions; criticism of the principles and methods of this regulation had not been wanting; the theory of 'the balance of trade,' for instance, important in the doctrine of the mercantilists, had been examined and rejected by Hume and by others before him. But Smith made a comprehensive survey of the means by which, in agriculture, in the home trade and in foreign commerce, the state had attempted to regulate industry; these attempts, he thought, were all diversions of the course of trade from its 'natural channels'; and he maintained that they were uniformly pernicious. Whether it acts by preference or by restraint, every such system 'retards, instead of accelerating, the progress of the society towards real wealth and greatness; and diminishes, instead of increasing, the real value of the annual produce of its land and labour.' When all such systems are swept away, 'the obvious and simple system of natural liberty establishes itself of its own accord.'

The ideas and arguments of Adam Smith were influential, at a later date, in establishing the system of free trade in Great Britain; and, perhaps, it would be not far wrong to say that a generation of economists held his views on this question to be his most solid title to fame. He regarded liberty as natural in contrast with the artificiality of government control; and the term 'natural' plays an ambiguous part in his general reasonings, changing its shade of meaning, but always implying a note of approval. In this, he only used the language of his time—though Hume had pointed out that the word was treacherous. But it has to be borne in mind that, while he extolled this 'natural liberty' as the best thing for trade, he did not say that it was in all cases the best thing for a country. He saw that there were other things than wealth which were worth having, and that of some of these the state was the guardian. Security must take precedence of opulence, and, on this ground, he would restrict natural liberty, not only to defend the national safety, but, also, for the protection of individual traders.

III. OTHER PHILOSOPHICAL WRITERS

As we look back upon the development of philosophical problems, it might seem that, for a philosophical writer after Hume, there was but one thing worth doing—to answer him, if possible; and, if that were not possible, to keep silent. But the

issue was not quite so clear to his contemporaries. Indeed, his own example did not press it home. It showed, on the contrary, that work of importance might be done in certain departments even when the contradiction was ignored to which Hume had reduced the theory of knowledge. Soon after the publication of *A Treatise of Human Nature*, valuable writings appeared on psychology, and on moral and political theory; there were also critics of Hume in considerable number; and one of that number had both the insight to trace Hume's scepticism to its logical origin and the intellectual capacity to set forth a theory of knowledge in which the same difficulty should not arise.

Among the psychologists, the most important place belongs to David Hartley, a physician, and sometime fellow of Jesus college, Cambridge, whose *Observations on Man: his frame, his duty, and his expectations* appeared in 1749. The rapid march of philosophical thought in the previous forty years was ignored by, and probably unknown to, the author. The whole second part of his book in which he works out a theological theory may be regarded as antiquated. He does not mention Berkeley; he seems never to have heard of David Hume. But the first or psychological part of the book has two striking features: it is a systematic attempt at a physiological psychology, and it developed the theory of the association of ideas in a way which influenced, far more than Hume did, the views of the later associational school of James Mill and his successors. The physiological doctrine was suggested by certain passages in Newton's *Optics*. Hartley supposes that the contact of an external object with the sensory nerves excites 'vibrations in the æther residing in the pores of these nerves'; these vibrations enter the brain, are 'propagated freely every way over the whole medullary substance,' and sensations are the result; further, they leave vestiges or traces behind them, and this is the origin of ideas which depend on minute vibrations or 'vibratiuncles.' Motor activity is explained in a similar way. This physiological view is the basis of his whole doctrine of mind, and, more particularly, of the doctrine of association. In respect of the latter doctrine, Hartley wrote under the influence of Locke; but he has left it on record that the suggestion to make use of association as a general principle of psychological explanation came from John Gay, who had written *A Dissertation* prefixed to Law's English translation of archbishop King's *Origin of Evil* (1731), in which the doctrine was used to explain the connection of morality with

* private happiness. Hartley offered a physiological explanation of association itself, gave a generalised statement of its laws and applied it to the details of mental life. He did not see, as Hume had seen, the special difficulty of applying it so as to explain judgment, assent, or belief.

Abraham Tucker was a psychologist of a different temper from Hartley. He was a constant critic of Hartley's physiological doctrines, and he excelled in that introspective analysis which has been practised by many English writers. Tucker was a country gentleman whose chief employment was a study of the things of the mind. The first fruit of his reflection was a fragment *Freewill, Foreknowledge and Fate* (1763), published under the pseudonym of Edward Search; certain criticisms of this piece produced, also in 1763, *Man in quest of Himself: or a Defence of the Individuality of the Human Mind*, 'by Cuthbert Comment.' Thereafter, he did not turn aside from his great work, *The Light of Nature pursued*, of which the first four volumes were published by himself (again under the name of Search) in 1765, and the last three appeared after his death (1774). The author was a man of leisure himself, and he wrote for men of leisure; he was not without method; but his plan grew as he proceeded; when new fields of enquiry opened, he did not refuse to wander in them; and he liked to set forth his views *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. Indeed, it is a work of inordinate length, and the whole is of unequal merit. Many of the long chapters have lost their interest through lapse of time and the changes which time has brought. Others, perhaps, may appeal to us only when we can catch the author's mood. Such are the speculations—put forward as purely hypothetical—concerning the soul's vehicle, the mundane soul and the vision of the disembodied soul. Mysticism is apt to appear fantastic when expressed in language so matter of fact; but the writer has a rare power of realising his fancies. The chapters, however, which deal more specifically with human nature are a genuine and important contribution to the literature of mind and morals. The writer was as innocent of Hume as was Hartley; he criticised Berkeley, though seldom with insight and never with sympathy; and he took Locke as his master. But he was not a slavish follower; it would be difficult to instance finer or more exhaustive criticism than his examination of the Lockean view that all action has for its motive the most pressing uneasiness. His moral doctrine is, perhaps, still more remarkable

for the candour and elaboration with which he discussed the problem which faced all followers of Locke—the consistency of an analysis of action in terms of personal pleasure and pain with a theory of morality in which benevolence is supreme. Herein, he provided most of the material afterwards made use of by Paley. Into the details of his teaching it is impossible to enter. But, perhaps, it is not too much to say that only his diffuseness has prevented him from becoming a classic. The mere mass of the book is deterrent. Yet he would be an unlucky reader who could spend half-an-hour over its pages without finding something to arrest his attention and even to enthrall his interest. The author sees mankind and the human lot with a shrewd but kindly eye; his stores of illustration are inexhaustible and illuminate subjects which in other hands would be dull; even the subtlest points are made clear by a style which is free and simple and varied; there is never any trace of sentimentality; but there are passages of humour and of pathos worthy of Goldsmith.

Richard Price, a native of Glamorgan, who became a unitarian minister in London, left his mark on more than one department of thought. His *Observations on Reversionary Payments* (1771) made a distinct advance in the theory of life assurance. His *Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt* (1771) is said to have contributed to the reestablishment of the sinking fund. He was drawn into the current of revolutionary politics and became a leading exponent of their ideas. His *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America* made him famous in two continents. The preface to the first edition was dated 8 February, that to the fifth edition 12 March, 1776. *Additional Observations* on the same subject appeared in 1777, and a *General Introduction and Supplement* to the two tracts in 1778. The revolution in France was the occasion for *A Discourse on the Love of our Country, delivered on Nov. 4, 1789*; and this he closed with a *Nunc dimittis*: 'After sharing in the benefits of one Revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two other Revolutions, both glorious.' This *Discourse* had the further distinction of provoking Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. But, famous as his political partisanship made him at the time, Price has a better title to be remembered for his first work, *A Review of the Principal Questions in Morals* (1757; 3rd edn, revised and enlarged, 1787).

Price has the mathematician's interest in intellectual concepts and his power of dealing with abstractions. In philosophy, he is a successor of Cudworth and Clarke, and the theories of knowledge of both Locke and Hume are attacked at the roots. The understanding or reason (he argues) has its own ideas, for which it does not depend upon sense-impression. Necessity, possibility, identity, cause are instances of such abstract ideas. They are 'intelligible objects' discovered by 'the eye of the mind.' Reason is thus 'the source of new ideas'; and among them are the ideas of right and wrong; these are simple ideas and perceived by an immediate 'intuition' of the understanding: 'morality is a branch of necessary truth.' The system which Price bases on this view has become, more than any other, the type of modern intuitional ethics.

Joseph Priestley had many points of sympathy with Price. They belonged to the same profession—the unitarian ministry—and they were prominent on the same side in the revolutionary politics of the day. But, in spite of this similarity and of their personal friendship, they represent different attitudes of mind. Price was a mathematician, familiar with abstract ideas, and an intellectualist in philosophy. Priestley was a chemist, busied in experiments, a convinced disciple of the empirical philosophy and a supporter of materialism. He was the author of *The History and present State of Electricity* (1767), and, afterwards, of numerous papers and treatises on chemical subjects, which recorded the results of his original investigations and have established his fame as a man of science. He came early under the influence of Hartley and published a simplification of his book—omitting the doctrine of vibrations and laying stress solely on the principle of the association of ideas; but he rejected Hartley's view of mind as an immaterial principle and held that the powers termed mental are the result 'of such an organical structure as that of the brain.' His philosophical views were expressed and defended in *Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit* (1777), in *The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity* (1777) and in *A Free Discussion* (1778) on these topics with Price; and he also published (1774) *An Examination* of the doctrines of Reid and others of the new school of Scottish philosophers. Of greater interest than these, however, is the short *Essay on the First Principles of Government* (1768). This forms a contrast to the *a priori* arguments in which Price delighted—although its practical tendency is the same. It propounds 'one general idea,' namely, 'that all people live in

society for their mutual advantage,' and draws the conclusion that their happiness is 'the great standard by which every thing relating to that state must finally be determined.' Priestley thus set the example, which Bentham followed, of taking utilitarian considerations for the basis of a philosophical radicalism, instead of the dogmas about natural rights common with other revolutionary thinkers of the period. He did not anticipate Bentham in using the famous utilitarian formula (as he is often said to have done¹), but he did precede him in taking the happiness of the majority as the test in every political question, and he made it easier for Bentham to use the same standard in judging private conduct.

In a somewhat similar way, the exhaustive analyses of Tucker led to the theological utilitarianism of William Paley, sometime fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, and senior wrangler in 1763. Paley was not a writer of marked originality. If, in his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785), he owed much to Tucker, in his *View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1794), he depended on the *Criterion* (1752) of John Douglas, bishop of Salisbury—a reply to Hume's argument against miracles—and on Nathaniel Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History* (1723—55); and, in his *Natural Theology* (1804), he drew much material from John Ray's *The Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation* (1691), from William Derham's *Physico-Theology* (1713) and from the work of the Dutchman Nieuwentyt, which had been translated into English in 1730 as *The Religious Philosopher*. His *Horæ Paulinæ* (1790) is said to be the most original, and to have been the least successful, of his publications. These four books form a consistent system. Probably, no English writer has ever excelled Paley in power of marshalling arguments or in clearness of reasoning; and these merits have given some of his works a longer life as academic text-books than their other merits can justify. Paley was, essentially, a man of his time and his views were its views, though expressed with a skill which was all his own.

In his *Moral Philosophy*, there is no trace of the vacillation at critical points which marks most of his empirical predecessors. The only criticism to which it lies open is that morality vanishes when reduced to a calculation of selfish interests. A man's own happiness is always his motive; he can seek the general happiness only when

¹ See *ante*, vol. ix, p. 302 note.

that way of acting is made for his own happiness also; and this can be done only by the rewards and punishments of a lawgiver. Locke distinguished three different sorts of law, and Paley followed him rather closely. But the law of honour is insufficient, as having little regard to the general happiness; and the law of the land is inadequate for it omits many duties as not fit objects for compulsion, and it permits many crimes because incapable of definition; there remains, therefore, only the law of Scripture (that is, of God) which, alone, is obviously sufficient. Hence, the famous definition, 'Virtue is the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness.'

This conclusion leads up to the argument of his later works. His *Horæ Paulinæ* and *Evidences* have to demonstrate the credibility of the New Testament writings and the truth of the Christian revelation; and this position assumes the existence of God which, in his *Natural Theology*, he proves from the marks of design in the universe and, in particular, in the human body. In these works, we see how complete is the shifting of interest to which reference has been previously made¹. Attention is concentrated on the question of external evidences, and the content of religion is almost entirely overlooked. God is the superhuman watchmaker who has put the world-machine together with surprising skill, and intervenes miraculously, on rare occasions, when the works are getting out of order. Paley developed a familiar analogy with unequalled impressiveness; he should not be blamed for failing to anticipate the effect upon his argument which has been produced by the biological theory of natural selection; but he did not pause to examine the underlying assumptions of the analogy which he worked out; he had no taste for metaphysics; and his mind moved easily only within the range of the scientific ideas of his own day.

The most powerful reply to Hume—indeed, the only competent attempt to refute his philosophy as a whole—came from a group of scholars in Aberdeen who had formed themselves into a philosophical society. Of this group, Thomas Reid, a professor in King's college, was the most notable member, and he was the founder of the school of Scottish philosophy known as the commonsense school. With him were associated George Campbell and James Beattie², professors (the former afterwards principal) in Marischal college, as well as other men of mark in

¹ See *ante*, vol. ix, p. 289.

² As to Beattie's poetry cf. chap. vii, pp. 154 f., *ante*.

their day. The earliest contribution to the controversy—Campbell's *Dissertation on Miracles* (1763)—dealt with a side issue; but it is of interest for its examination of the place of testimony in knowledge; whereas experience (it is argued) leads to general truths and is the foundation of philosophy, testimony is the foundation of history, and it is capable of giving absolute certainty. Campbell's later work, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776), contains much excellent psychology. Beattie's *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth* (1770) is not a work of originality or of distinction; but it is a vigorous polemic; it brought him great temporary fame, and he has been immortalised by the art of Reynolds as serenely clasping his book whilst Hume and other apostles of error are being hurled into limbo. About the same time, James Oswald, a Perthshire clergyman, published *An Appeal to Common Sense in behalf of Religion* (1766—72). Reid, Beattie and Oswald were placed together by Priestley for the purpose of his *Examination*; and the same collocation of names was repeated by Kant; but it is entirely unjust to Reid.

Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* was published in 1764; shortly afterwards, he removed to Glasgow, to fill the chair vacated by Adam Smith. His later and more elaborate works—*Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* and *Essays on the Active Powers of Man*—appeared in 1785 and 1788 respectively. In his philosophical work, Reid has the great merit of going to the root of the matter, and he is perfectly fair-minded in his criticism. He admits the validity of Hume's reasonings; he does not appeal to the vulgar against his conclusions; but he follows the argument back to its premises and tests the truth of these premises. This is his chief claim to originality. He finds that the sceptical results of Hume are legitimate inferences from 'the ideal theory' which Locke took over from Descartes, and he puts to himself the question, 'what evidence have I for this doctrine, that all the objects of my knowledge are ideas in my own mind?' He points out (what is undoubtedly true) that neither Locke nor Berkeley nor Hume produced any evidence for the assumption. They started with the view that the immediate object of knowledge is something in the mind called ideas; and they were consequently unable to prove the existence of anything outside the mind or even of mind itself. 'Ideas,' says Reid, 'seem to have something in their nature

unfriendly to other existences.' He solves the difficulty by denying the existence of ideas. There are no such 'images of external things' in the mind, but sensation is accompanied by an act of perception, and the object of perception is the real external thing.

Hume had said that his difficulties would vanish if our perceptions inhered in something simple and individual, or if the mind perceived some real connection among them; and Reid proposes a positive theory of knowledge which will give the required assurance on this point. Every sensation is accompanied by a 'natural and original judgment' which refers the sensation to mind as its act. We do not need, first of all, to get the two things 'mind' and 'sensation' and then to connect them; 'one of the related things—to wit sensation—suggests to us both the correlate and the relation.' Reid's terminology is not happy. The word 'suggests' is badly chosen, though he distinguishes this 'natural suggestion' from the suggestion which is the result of experience and habit. And his term 'common sense' has given rise to more serious misunderstandings, for which he is by no means blameless. Even his doctrine of immediate perception is far from clear. But, if we read him sympathetically, we may see that he had hold of a truth of fundamental importance. The isolated impressions or ideas with which Locke and Hume began are fictions; they do not correspond to anything real in experience. The simplest portion of our experience is not separate from its context in this way; it implies a reference to mind and to an objective order, and thus involves the relations which Reid ascribed to 'natural suggestion' or 'common sense.'

CHAPTER XV

DIVINES

WITH the beginning of the eighteenth century, we reach a period in English theological literature of which the character is not less definite because there were individual writers who struggled against it. The matter and the style alike were placid and unemotional, rational rather than learned, tending much more to the commonplace than to the pedantic, and, above all, abhorrent of that dangerous word, and thing, enthusiasm. Johnson's definition gives a significant clue to the religious literature in which his contemporaries had been educated. Enthusiasm, in his *Dictionary*, is (from Locke) 'a vain belief of private revelation, a vain confidence of divine favour,' to which even the nonconformists, if one may judge by the subjects of their books, had, in the early eighteenth century, abandoned all special claim; and, also, it implied, in Johnson's own view, 'heat of imagination' and 'violence of passion.' From this, the main current of theological writing, for more than fifty years, ran conspicuously away. The mystics, such as William Law, as has been shown in an earlier chapter¹, were strange exceptions, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto* of this decorous self-restraint or complacency. It was not till Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians completed the impression which *A Serious Call* had made on the heart of John Wesley that the literature of religion received a new impetus and inspiration; and the old school fought long and died hard. It was not till the word enthusiasm could be used in their condign praise that English theologians began to feel again something of the fire and poetry of their subject, and, once more, to scale its heights and sound its depths. And yet, as we say this, we are confronted by evident

¹ See vol. ix, chap. xii, *ante*, and cf. Byrom's poem 'Enthusiasm,' with introduction on the use of the word, in *The Poems of John Byrom*, ed. Ward, A. W., vol. II (1895). See, also, *ibid.* vol. III (1912), p. 118 and note.

exceptions. No one can deny the power of Butler's writing, whatever it may be the fashion to assert as to the depth of his thought; and, while there was fire enough in Atterbury, in Wilson there was certainly the delicate aroma of that intimate sincerity which has in all literature an irresistible charm. Some earlier writers may be left aside, such as Richard Cumberland, who, though a bishop, was rather a philosopher than a theologian, and Samuel Johnson, the Ben Jochanan of Dryden, whose divinity was not more than an excrescence on his fame as a whig pamphleteer who suffered excessively for his opinions. His manner of writing was unquestionably savage. *Julian the Apostate: Being a Short Account of his Life; the sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession; and their Behaviour towards him. Together with a comparison of Popery and Paganism* (1682), is more vehement and obnoxious than most of those bitter attacks on James duke of York with which the press groaned during the last years of Charles II; yet its author hardly deserved degradation from the priesthood, the pillory and whipping from Newgate to Tyburn. As the chaplain of Lord William Russell, Johnson might be expected to speak boldly: and his writing was full of sound and fury, as a characteristic sentence—a solitary one, be it observed—from his *Reflections on the History of Passive Obedience* may show.

I have reason to enter a just Complaint against the pretended Church-of-England Men of the two last Reigns, who not only left me the grinning Honour of maintaining the establish'd Doctrine of the Church all alone, (which I kept alive, till it pleased God to make it a means of our Deliverance, with the perpetual hazard of my own life for many years, and with suffering Torments and Indignities worse than Death) but also beside this, were very zealous in running me down, and very officious in degrading me, as an Apostate from the Church of England for this very Service: While at the same time, they themselves were making their Court with their own Renegado Doctrine of Passive Obedience; and wearing out all Pulpits with it, as if it had been not only the First and Great Commandment, but the Second too; and cramming it down the reluctant throats of dying Patriots, as the Terms of their Salvation.

We may begin the tale with Francis Atterbury. He was born in 1663, and his upbringing, at the quiet Buckinghamshire rectory of Milton Keynes, by a father who had been suspect of disloyalty for his compliance with the commonwealth and, probably, atoned for it by an exaggerated attachment to the restored Stewarts, was in the strictest principles of the establishment in church and state. A Westminster boy and student of Christ Church, he became prominent among the scholars of his day, and his contribution to the

Phalaris controversy¹ made him famous. He took holy orders in 1687, and, before long, reached high preferment. Soon after the beginning of the century, he was archdeacon of Totnes and chaplain in ordinary to queen Anne. He became dean of Carlisle (1704), of Christ Church (1712) and of Westminster and bishop of Rochester (1713). Seven years later, he was imprisoned in the Tower, without much evidence against him, for having been concerned in a plot to restore the Stewarts. Banishment followed, and he definitely threw in his lot with the exiled family. He lived till 1732. For fifty years, he was an influential, though not a voluminous, writer. Politically, he was vehement; in religion, he was wholehearted; and the two interests seemed to him inseparable. What weighed most with him in politics, truly says his latest biographer², was 'the consequence that the Whigs' latitudinarianism would have, and as a matter of fact did have, on the Church of England.' He was, indeed, from first to last, a 'church of England man,' of the type which the sunshine of queen Anne's favour ripened. The Hanoverian type of protestantism was uncongenial to him: he distrusted and feared its rationalising influence. In his view, as he said in the dedication of his sermons to Trelawny (famous as one of the seven bishops), 'the Fears of Popery were scarce remov'd, when Heresy began to diffuse its Venom.' Thus, he came to the position which Addison expressed in an epigram, but which, perhaps, was not so inconsistent as it seemed—'that the Church of England will always be in danger till it has a Popish king for its defender.'

If his contribution to the Phalaris controversy best exhibits his wit, and his political writing his trenchant diction, his sermons may, perhaps, be regarded as his permanent contributions to English literature. There is no conspicuous merit in their style or in their argument; but they are lucid, argumentative and, on occasion, touched by real feeling. Perhaps, his sincerity never appeared to more advantage than in the quiet pathos of his *Discourse on the death of the Lady Cutts* (1698), the opening passage of which gave at least a hint to Sterne for a very famous sermon.

Much the same may be said of Atterbury's friend George Smalridge, who succeeded him as dean of Christ Church. Smalridge was a less active Jacobite and a less vehement

¹ See vol. ix, chap. xiii, p. 383, *ante*.

² Beeching, H. C., *Francis Atterbury* (1909), p. 268.

man, and died peaceably, though in disgrace, as bishop of Bristol. He

toasted the Pretender in the privacy of his rooms at Christ Church, but gave him no other support; recognising, no doubt, that anything but a Platonic affection was incompatible with the Church principles of non-resistance to established authority, of which he and Atterbury had been among the foremost champions.

Some of this quietude gives tone to his sermons, which Johnson praised for their elegant style; and Addison wrote in 1718 'he is to me the most candid and agreeable of all the bishops.' Dedicated to Caroline princess of Wales—who, as queen, had a striking talent for the discovery of clever clergymen—and produced in print for an extraordinarily large number of subscribers, the sermons are more remarkable for sound sense than for eloquence or argument. The English is pure and unaffected; Addison, perhaps, is the model; but his excellence is far from being attained. Smalridge was indignant when some one thought to flatter him by suggesting that he wrote *A Tale of a Tub*: a very moderate knowledge of his style should have convinced the most obtuse that he could not have written the *Tale* if he would. In truth, he is typical of his period. The theological writings of the day had none of the learning, or the attempt at it, which had marked the Caroline epoch; they had no charm of language, no eloquence or passion. The utmost they aimed at was lucidity, and, when this was achieved, we are left wondering whether what could be so expressed was worth expressing at all. Atterbury had stood alone against the benumbing influence of Tillotson.

It needed controversy to stir the placid contentment of the early Hanoverian dignitaries. And, of controversy, vehement enough, they had their share. If Sacheverell did not contribute anything of value to English literature, the same cannot be said of Wake or even, perhaps, of Hoadly. In 1715, William Wake succeeded Tenison as archbishop. His predecessor had possessed a certain skill in anti-Roman controversy, and he had the very rare accomplishment of being able to write a good collect; but Wake was altogether his superior. In history, his translation of the Apostolic Fathers and his very important contributions to the discussion on the powers of convocation give him a place in the short list of English archbishops who have been learned men. Nor was his learning anglican only; he was better known in Germany and France, as well as in the eastern church, than any of his successors till quite modern times.* As a controversialist, he was lucid and

graceful; but when he hit he could hit hard. The convocation controversy, though it employed the powers of Atterbury, Burnet, Hody, Kennett and Matthew Hutton of Aynho, hardly belongs to the history of literature. But it gave great opportunity for the display of that kind of antiquarian knowledge in which many of the English clergy of the time excelled. Few of those who joined in it were not; at the same time, writers of eminence in their own fields: Wake was distinguished for his studies of the Apostolic Fathers, Hody as a Hebraist, Kennett, in that admirable book *The Parochial Antiquities of Ambrosden*, a very model for local historians. And the convocation controversy was soon merged in the discussion as to the orthodoxy of certain ecclesiastics, some prominent, some undistinguished, which began with Hoadly and his views of church authority.

Benjamin Hoadly was a clergyman in whom the objectionable features of Gilbert Burnet were exaggerated to the verge of caricature. He was a whig and a follower of the government in power first of all, a controversialist in consequence, and only after that was he an ecclesiastic. As a political writer, he opposed Atterbury and Blackall in 1709—10; on the Hanoverian succession being accomplished, he was rewarded by the see of Bangor, which he hardly ever visited. In 1717, his famous sermon entitled *The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ* caused the acid controversy which was named after him; *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors*, a treatise published by him in 1716, called forth the drastic criticism of William Law; and *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament* (1735), the massive treatise of Waterland on the doctrine of the Eucharist. He seemed to live for dispute and preferment; and he accepted both with the placid dignity which is inimitably rendered in Hogarth's immortal portrait. As a writer, he carries the sobriety of Tillotson to the extreme of pompous dulness; it is safe to say that the volumes of his sermons and other argumentative works which line many old libraries have rested for a century and a half undisturbed by any reader's hand. Their manner, which is devoid of any original touch, contrasts strangely with their matter. Hoadly's theory of churchmanship reduced itself to pure individualism tempered by toleration. He was a conscientious advocate for the repeal of the whole range of test acts. He was, in fact, a much better thinker in matters of state than in those which belonged more directly to his own profession. From under

the cloud of words and the skilful tangle of qualifications in which his thought is enveloped, there emerges the certainty that he had no coherent idea of a religious society at all. If he had points of affinity with Thomas Arnold, he is, perhaps, not very far away from the reforming theologians or even the theorists of the Middle Age. Church and state are one in his mind; but it is the state which turns church communion into something quite vague, general and ultimately unmeaning; yet he has not risen to the idea of a federation; he remains in a conception of essential fluidity. On the other hand, his advocacy of toleration, on true principles, was, if not an advance in theory on the position of several earlier English writers, of different parties, at least one in actual practice, before whig statesmen as well as anglican bishops were prepared to accept it. Hoadly became bishop of Winchester in 1734 and held the see till his death in 1761. It cannot be said that he rendered any service to the church, and the controversies of which he was the centre had no small share in that eclipse of her literary glory, which was the conspicuous characteristic of the Hanoverian, as opposed to the Stewart, age.

If Hoadly typifies the comfortable Erastianism of the leaders of the establishment, William Law's enthusiasm and depth were reproduced in not a few of the later nonjurors. It was some time before the inspiring self-sacrifice of Sancroft and Hicke and their colleagues died down into the sordid insignificance which Johnson professed to have witnessed. The spirit of literary audacity which had fled the established church was still to be found among the nonjurors. The two Thomas Wagstaffes—the father (1645—1712) nonjuring bishop of Ipswich, the son (1692—1770) English chaplain to the banished Stewarts—were writers of considerable power. The *Vindication*, by the pen of the elder, of Charles I's authorship of *Eikon Basilike*, followed by *A Defence of the Vindication*, is a work of considerable, though not of convincing, force. Both were noted as antiquaries, and belong, indeed, to the school, as we may call it, of Carte, Leslie, Rawlinson and Hearne. Thomas Deacon, again, was a scholar of no mean order with a range of theological knowledge unusual in his day. By profession a physician, he was ordained by the nonjuring bishop Gandy in 1716, and consecrated, probably in 1733, by Archibald Campbell, bishop of Aberdeen, whom Dr Johnson described as 'very curious and inquisitive but credulous.' The nonjurors (as has been seen in the case of

Hickes) were close students of liturgiology, and the revised communion office of the 'Usagers,' with the *Compleat Devotions* of 1734, bear witness to the accuracy of Deacon's study and influenced the important liturgies of the Scottish and American churches of the present day.

As may seem natural for men who found themselves compelled to live more and more apart from the general religious and even the social life of their day, the nonjurors turned to antiquarianism as a solace for their seclusion as well as a support for their doctrines. The older race of those who withdrew from communion with the national church were often men of great learning as well as steadfast principle. Henry Dodwell is a typical example. He held a fellowship at Trinity college, Dublin, but resigned it, being unwilling to take holy orders. He then resided in England, in London or Oxford at first, in later years in Berkshire. From 1688 to 1691, he was Camden professor of history at Oxford. He was deprived because he would not take the oaths; but William III is said to have declared that he would not make him a martyr—'He has set his heart on being one and I have set mine on disappointing him.' Hearne considered him 'the greatest scholar in Europe when he died,' and even such an opponent as White Kennett respected his learning. His writings are partly 'occasional' and vehement, partly deliberate and scholastic. To the former class belongs what he wrote about the schism; to the latter, his work on Irenaeus and on ancient history in general. It cannot be said that he left any permanent impression on English literature or scholarship, though his writings were long remembered and utilised by lesser men. His friends Nelson, Hearne, Cherry and the rest preserved his memory in their circle of devout ecclesiasticism. But the whole mass of the nonjurors' literary output, even work so good as that of Brett and Leslie, belongs to a backwater in English letters. One fragrant survival, however, may be mentioned here for its exquisite and simple pathos, *A Pattern for Young Students in the University, set forth in the Life of Mr Ambrose Bonwicke, sometime Scholar of St John's College in Cambridge* (1729)¹. It is the record of a young nonjuror's life, told by his father, in an unaffected, but deeply touching, manner which no man of letters of the day could have surpassed. One is tempted to put beside it, for their record of devotion to duty in circumstances very different, the *Journals* of the Scottish bishop Robert Forbes (in 1762 and

¹ Edited by Mayor, J. E. B., Cambridge, 1870.

1770)¹, a divine whose 'primitive piety' and ecclesiastical principles were supported by the same doctrines of church obedience as directed the life of the young Cambridge scholar. Men such as these must in all ages live remote from public haunt. Joseph Bingham, the greatest ecclesiastical antiquary of his time and for long after it, was incessantly active as a writer, but (save that he was unjustly stigmatised as a heretic and had to resign his fellowship at Oxford in consequence) was entirely neglected by those whose business it should have been to know what scholars wrote. His *Origines Ecclesiasticae, or The Antiquities of the Christian Church* (published in successive volumes from 1708 to 1722) is a mine of learning, to which writers everywhere had recourse till the Cambridge scholars of the later nineteenth century began the critical rewriting of the history of the early church. Bingham, it may be said, did for church history what Pearson did for the creed. He showed what it meant at the time of its beginning and he illustrated its growth by a store of learning which none in his own time could rival, and few since have surpassed. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it was, certainly, in learning rather than in pure letters that the *clerus Angliae* preserved its reputation.

Returning from this interesting by-path, we find the main field of theology in possession of writers of scarcely a single literary merit. *The Annual Register*, when it commemorated Hoadly on his death, allowed him the virtue that, in all his controversies with his brethren ('and no one surely ever held more'), he never lost his equanimity of temper or descended to any railing accusation. In the same way, Thomas Sherlock, bishop of London, was praised in that

he too had his controversies, and those carried on with warmth and spirit, but without any injury to his temper, or any interruption to his thoughts and mind.

He was, indeed, an opponent of Hoadly even more persistent than Law. He was chairman of the committee of the lower house of convocation which considered the book that was the *fons et origo mali*; and, though, owing to the suspension of the sessions of convocation, the report was never published, its substance, no doubt, appeared in *Remarks on the Bishop of Bangor's treatment of the Clergy and Convocations*, issued by him anonymously in 1717,

¹ Edited by Craven, J. B., 1876.

and in other pamphlets. Sherlock's politics, in early life, were, like those of his more famous father (master of the Temple and dean of St Paul's), not above suspicion with those in power: the wits compared the two thus:

As Sherlock the elder with *jure* divine
Did not comply till the battle of Boyne;
So Sherlock the younger still made it a question
Which side he should take till the battle of Preston.

But, in later life, he was a steady supporter of Walpole, and his politics even more than his preaching brought him to high place. He was appointed bishop of London in 1748, and it is said that he had declined even higher preferment. Before this, nearly all his important literary work had been done. He had engaged in the deist controversy in 1725, and his *Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus* (1729) was a very notable apologetic, on quite modern lines, in answer to Woolston. Next to Butler, he was the most powerful opponent, and the most rational, whom the deists encountered. His last work, which enjoyed the popularity of a modern novel, was *A Letter to the Clergy and People of London and Westminster on occasion of the late Earthquake* (1750). Nichols, the bookseller, tells that 100,000 copies were sold in less than a month; and the trenchant vigour of its denunciation of vice and appeal for amendment make it still worthy of perusal.

But books and pamphlets such as Sherlock's are at least on the fringe of that sad class of writings which Lamb stigmatised as *biblia abiblia*. We rise far above it when we come to the work of men so different as bishop Wilson, bishop Butler and Daniel Waterland. The three men were profoundly different. Wilson, in much of his thought and life, was a survival of the early seventeenth century and, indeed, of far earlier times. Waterland, in many respects, was typical of the early eighteenth century. Butler had affinities with the nineteenth—with Newman, for example, and Gladstone. The life of Wilson was uneventful. He took his degree from Trinity college, Dublin, and was ordained in the church of Ireland, served a Lancashire curacy, became chaplain to the earl of Derby and preceptor to his son at the salary of thirty pounds a year, to which was added the mastership of the Latham almshouse, twenty pounds more—whereupon he had 'an income far beyond his expectations, far beyond his wishes, except as it increased his ability to do good'—and, in

1697, was appointed by his patron to the bishopric of Sodor and Man, in spite of his refusal. At Bishop's court, Kirk Michael, he lived, for nearly sixty years, the life of a primitive saint, devoted entirely to works of piety, the father of his people, not neglecting to punish as well as to protect. His collected works were not published till 1781; but many of them had long achieved a remarkable popularity. Of the eight volumes, four contain sermons, of a directness of appeal and simplicity of language unusual for the time. The English is forcible and unaffected; there are no pedantic expressions, or classical phrases, or lengthy words. Everyone could understand what Wilson said, and everyone might profit by it. He wrote, not to astonish, but to convince; yet the simplicity of his manner avoids the pit of commonplace into which such writers as Tillotson not rarely fall. No one could call the good bishop a great writer; but no one could call him a poor one. In his *Maxims* and his *Parochialia*, he shows a knowledge of human nature not very common among clergymen; while his *Sacra Privata*, which explains (to an intelligent reader) how this knowledge was obtained, places him with bishop Andrewes among the masters of English devotional literature.

Very different is the ponderous solidity of Daniel Waterland. He was a controversialist, a scholar and an archdeacon—callings which tend to dryness and pomposity and seldom encourage literary excellence. Master of Magdalene college, Cambridge, and vice-chancellor, he was recommended, says his biographer, 'to the favour of the government' by his 'wise and moderate sentiments,' but he did not attain to any great position in the church. He preferred, it may well be, to remain an adept in university business and a wielder of the cudgel against the heretics of his age, among whom several, such as Biddle, Firmip and Gilbert Clerke (to repeat the phrase used by bishop van Mildert nearly a century ago) 'now scarcely retain a place in our recollection.' Samuel Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712), amid all the heavy literature which it evoked, had no more successful rival than Waterland's *Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, which is almost worthy to be placed beside the work of bishop Bull; and this was but one of the writings of the Cambridge scholar which dealt with the subject. Waterland had long given attention to the claims of semi-Arians to hold office in the church of England, and, in a famous disputation, when he 'kept a Divinity Act for his Bachelor of Divinity,' had had for his opponent (who was, of

course, merely assuming the post of *advocatus arianismi*) Thomas Sherlock,

'one of the greatest ornaments of the Church, and finest writers of the age, who gave full play to his abilities, and called forth,' says a contemporary, 'all that strength of reason of which he was the master.'

Here, in spite of a certain favour which royalty was inclined to bestow upon Arianism, Waterland was safe from censure by great personages of the day. His moderation appears less favourably in his abstention from action throughout the long period during which Bentley was unjustly suspended. His learning, on the other hand, in his treatise on the Athanasian creed, a vindication of that much-contested symbol, which is even now not out of date, appears in its most favourable aspect, and the book deserved the eulogy of archbishop Dawes of York, a prelate who did not fear, even when suspected of Jacobitism, to express his opinions:

'With great pleasure I read it,' wrote the primate of England, 'both on account of the subject matter of it, and the manner in which you have treated it; the one, of the greatest importance to the Christian faith; the other, a pattern to all writers of controversy in the great points of religion.'

In 1727, he became canon of Windsor; in 1730, vicar of Twickenham and archdeacon of Middlesex; and he enjoyed 'his retirement at Twickenham,' his visits to Cambridge and the honour of being prolocutor of the lower house of the convocation of Canterbury, till his death in 1740, when an opponent offered the curious testimony to his merits that

notwithstanding his being a contender for the Trinity yet he was a benevolent man, an upright Christian and a beautiful writer; exclusive of his zeal for the Trinity, he was in everything else an excellent clergyman and an admirable scholar.

But the most famous of his writings is, undoubtedly, his *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, which was for long regarded as the classic work of anglican theology on its subject. It is only necessary to say of the doctrine, as stated by Waterland, that it does not proceed beyond the qualified statement of the judicious Hooker and would not have satisfied Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor, or Cosin—not to mention so typical an anglican as George Herbert—among his predecessors; still less does it rise to the views which found expression in the notable work of John Johnson, *The Unbloody Sacrifice*. In his own words, Waterland advocates not a sacrificial, but a federal, view of the Eucharist. As a writer, he is lucid without being commonplace and learned without being pedantic. His prose is better than Tillotson's, easier than Butler's;

but no one would quote it for its excellence, as, in his day, men quoted the archbishop, or remember it for its massive power, as Butler must always be remembered.

Joseph Butler is, indeed, even as a master of English, conspicuously the greatest of the three writers whom we have chosen to illustrate the character of English theology during this period. The explanation is that Butler was, what the others were not, a great writer and a great man. His prose has a massive force, a sheer weight, to which no English writer of his time approaches. Under its severe restraint burns the fire of a deep and intense conviction. He has been but poorly understood by those who have regarded him as a convincing critic, a master of logical acuteness. He was far more; and what he was is revealed in every paragraph of his writing. On the one hand, his view of life and thought was synthetical, not merely inquisitive or analytic: on the other, he was inspired with a supreme belief, a mastering optimism, a triumphant faith. In the cold marble of his prose, there are veins of colour, touches of rich crimson, caerulean blue, or sunny gold, such as one sees on some beautiful ancient sarcophagus. He is a master of calm exposition, as well as of irony; but he is, even more notably, a writer of profound and unquenchable passion. His heart no less than his head is in what he has written; and it is this which gives him his place among the masters of English prose. Butler has enriched English literature with many a striking apophthegm; but his use of the language can only be adequately tested by long passages. It is difficult to select from him; he has no purple patches; page after page shines with the same massive splendour. The manner of the *Sermons* is as admirable as the matter: it is typical of the prose of his age at its very best. The style of the *Analogy* is more difficult, more compressed and concise, so that it seems at first sight to be stiff and involved; but a little study of it shows that it is intentionally, and admirably, adapted to its matter. The steps, as Gladstone said, are as carefully measured out as if we were climbing the hill of the *Purgatorio*; and each single sentence has been well compared to 'a well-considered move in chess.' From another point of view, we may again adopt the statesman's quaint retort to the criticism of Matthew Arnold:

The homely fare, upon which Butler feeds us, cannot be so gratifying to the palate as turtle, venison, and champagne. But it has been found wholesome by experience: it leads to no doctor's bills; and a perusal of this 'failure' is admitted to be 'a most valuable exercise for the mind.'

No religious book of the eighteenth century, save only Law's *Serious Call*, had so much influence as the *Analogy*, and the influence of each, different though they were, has proved abiding in English literature as well as English religion. It came without question from the same source. It has been said of Joseph Butler, that he was known to be given to religious retirement and to reading the biographies of holy persons; and, though the one was a bishop and the other a nonjuror, the words are equally applicable to William Law¹.

The work of Butler is the high watermark of English theology in the middle of the eighteenth century. The descent from it is almost abrupt. Two names only remain to be specially noticed before we pass to a new period—those of Thomas Herring and Thomas Secker, both archbishops of Canterbury, who were born in the same year 1693, and died, the former in 1757, the latter in 1768. Archbishop Herring was a complete contrast to the leading prelates of his day. His sermons at Lincoln's inn gave him fame, and he passed, in a career of unemotional benevolence, from the deanery of Rochester to the sees of Bangor, York and Canterbury. He did not contend with deists or Arians, and the Athanasian controversy had for him no charms. He was prepared to revise the *Prayer-Book* and the Articles, and to exchange pulpits with dissenters. He befriended the Jews, and Hume tells us, in his *Essays*, that the archbishop praised him for his *History*. He raised a large sum for the government during the '45. But his literary work, save his rather pleasing letters, is uninteresting and ineffective. His successor at York and Canterbury, Matthew Skelton, was little thought of and soon forgotten. But with Thomas Secker, bishop in turn of Bristol and of Oxford, and archbishop of Canterbury for ten years, from 1758, we reach a higher grade. Like Butler, with whom he had been at school, and like not a few in the list of English primates, he was not till manhood converted to the English church, and, to the delicate taste of Horace Walpole, he seemed to retain to the last something of the 'tone of fanaticism' which had belonged to his early training. Yet the beginning of methodism filled him with alarm: whatever he may have shown of 'fanaticism,' he was certainly no 'enthusiast.' On his sermons, which, with his *Lectures on the Church Catechism*, were his chief work, the opinion of his

¹ Cf., as to Butler's *Fifteen Sermons* and *Analogy*, *ante*, vol. ix, pp. 308 f.* As to Law, see *ibid.* chap. xii.

*contemporaries, for once, very fairly represents what would be thought today. Hurd, the favourite bishop of George III, said that they had 'a certain conciliatory calmness, propriety, and decency of language, with no extraordinary reach of thought, vigour of sentiment, or beauty of expression.' And Christopher Pitt, when, in *The Art of Preaching*, he advises young preachers, describes the impression made by the archbishop, in words that no doubt sum up his merits :

•Speak, look, and move with dignity and ease
Like mitred Secker, you'll be sure to please.

Secker, however, did not wear a mitre—he only wore a wig, and the literary style in which he excelled has passed away with his headgear. It was the methodist movement which swept away what seemed to it to be solemn trifling. From the middle of the eighteenth century, the new influence which passed over English religion had its effect, gradual and much contested, upon English literature also. The age of Wesley and Whitefield introduced what may be called a new romanticism in religion, just as the Lake school, half a century later, may be said to have destroyed the classic tradition of the older poetry. A word is needed as to the historical setting of this new departure in English theology.

The methodist movement was a reaction against the calmness with which English theologians had accepted, and suppressed, many of the vital elements of the Christian creed. Divinity is the most progressive of the sciences, and no literature becomes so rapidly out of date as theology—all but the highest. Admirably straightforward though much of the writing of English divines in the early eighteenth century was, it had fewer of the elements of permanence than any of the systems that had preceded it; to appropriate words of Johnson, it had not sufficient vitality to preserve it from putrefaction. A new theology, or, at least, a revival of the old, was needed, which should base its appeal on the verities of the Christian life. The young Oxford students who founded methodism were, above all things, anxious to rule their daily doings by the standard, ascetic and devotional, of the English church. It has been, in recent years, generally believed that the tendency of the movement was from the first towards separation. This is hardly true. In practice, no doubt, much that Wesley did tended to separatism; but, in theory, never. The movement which now bears his name was at first, distinctly, a church movement, owing its impetus to long neglected doctrines of the church;

and Wesley's own first direction of life came from Jeremy Taylor.^o The story of the movement, during the period now under survey, may be briefly told. John Wesley, son of the rector of Epworth, went to Charterhouse in 1713 and to Christ Church in 1720, and became a fellow of Lincoln college in 1726. The society founded, very soon after, by his brother Charles, a student of Christ Church, was composed of a few pious young men who desired to live by the church's rules of fasting, almsgiving and prayer, and received the holy communion weekly. Southey, writing nearly a century later, thought that 'such conduct would at any time have attracted observation in an English university.' Unpopular, these beginnings certainly were, but it was not long before they passed beyond the petty criticisms of Oxford. John Wesley joined this 'Holy Club' on his return to college in 1729, and he remained at Oxford for some years, actively engaged in works of piety.

Among the earlier members of the society were two destined for great public fame. The first was George Whitefield, perhaps the greatest popular orator of the eighteenth century. He had traced in himself, he tells, from cradle to manhood, nothing but 'a fitness to be damned'; but the fiery enthusiasm of his nature seems always to have been turned toward the light, and, from his entrance into the methodist company, he became a devoted worker and preacher. John Wesley went to America in 1735, Charles in 1736, Whitefield in 1738. The freedom of missionary work rendered each of them disposed to new religious influences, and John Wesley and George Whitefield gradually drifted apart from each other and from the accepted theology of the English church. Wesley was greatly influenced by the Moravians and especially by their very attractive apostle count Zinzendorf, Whitefield by the Calvinism which seemed to be dying a natural death in the church of England till his influence revived it. Wesley dated his conversion from 24 May 1738; and, soon afterwards, he began his wonderful journeys, which lasted almost to his death. During the half-century, he preached forty thousand sermons, and travelled (it is said) a quarter of a million of miles. His brother Charles equalled him in devotion, if not in tireless health, and Whitefield in enthusiasm. In 1740, Wesley severed his connection with the Moravians, and, in 1743, the followers of Whitefield became distinguished as Calvinistic methodists. In 1764, the separation between the two methodist bodies became permanent, and, from that time, perhaps, it may be correct to date the creation, from the original movement, of a newly organised

assent. Though Wesley himself passionately desired, to the end, to belong to the church of his baptism and ordination and vigorously denounced all who separated from it, in 1784 (when his brother Charles, who deeply regretted the act, thought him to be in his dotage) he ordained ministers, and, from that moment, the separation was complete. Whitefield, who was the founder of the Calvinistic methodists, Lady Huntingdon's connection, died in 1770. At that date, it may be well to conclude our brief survey. The prominent names which belong especially to this earlier period, when what came to be called evangelicalism was hardly distinguishable from methodism, are those of the two Wesleys, Whitefield, Hervey, Toplady and Fletcher of Madeley. The influence of Newton, Venn, Romaine and others, more definitely evangelical than methodist, belongs chiefly to a later period.

Whitefield was not a man of letters, but an orator. His literary work is negligible, though not uninteresting; but it marks more decisively than that of any of his contemporaries the earliest reaction against the commonsense religious writing of the age. Whitefield wrote plain English, the vernacular of his day, with a touch of the university added, just as Latimer did two hundred years before. But he was not nearly so great a writer as was the reformer, probably because of his being a far greater preacher. To quote from his sermons or his controversial writings would be useless: he began a venture rather than led a school. And not all his friends followed his style.

The first to be mentioned after Whitefield was almost a complete contrast to him. There can be no doubt that the most popular writer among those who were influenced by the earlier stages of the methodist movement was James Hervey, who was at Lincoln college, Oxford, as an undergraduate when John Wesley was a fellow and, after serving in Cornwall, became rector of two parishes, not adjoining each other, Collingtree and Weston Favell, in Northamptonshire. He was a most excellent man and an exemplary parish priest, but he escaped controversy as little as did any other of the evangelical company. His disputes with Wesley are of no importance in literary history, and his curious dialogues, on his favourite doctrine of 'imputed righteousness' and other opinions which he extracted from the Gospels, entitled *Theron and Aspasia*, have long ceased to interest even the most assiduous student. But his *Meditations Among the Tombs*, *Reflections on a Flower-garden* and *Contemplations on the Night*, which met

with extraordinary success in their day, illustrate most effectively the fantastic and affected style which the most sincere writers of the time, save the robust John Wesley himself, seemed to assume with their 'pulpit manner,' till it became a second nature to them. A passage from Hervey's *Contemplations on the Night* may be quoted here, since it would be difficult to find a more striking example of the descent of popular taste in the darkest period of English letters. The thoughts might be found in Jeremy Taylor; but how different is the pompous and posturing performance with which Hervey seeks to impress the reader from the poignant feeling which inspires Taylor even in his richest and most gorgeous prose! In Hervey, the ideas are impoverished and the expression is at once affected and commonplace.

We need not go down to the charnel house, nor carry our search into the repositories of the dead, in order to find memorials of our impending doom. A multitude of these remembrancers are placed in all our paths, and point the heedless passengers to their long home. I can hardly enter a considerable town but I meet a funeral procession, or the mourners going about the streets. The hatchment suspended on the wall, or the crape streaming in the air, are silent intimations that both rich and poor have been emptying their houses, and replenishing their sepulchres. I can scarce join in any conversation, but mention is made of some that are given over by the physician, and hovering on the confines of eternity; of others that have just dropt their clay among weeping friends, and are gone to appear before the Judge of all the earth. There's not a newspaper comes to my hand, but, amidst all its entertaining narrations, reads several serious lectures of mortality. What else are the repeated accounts—of age, worn out by slow-consuming sicknesses—of youth, dashed to pieces by some sudden stroke of casualty—of patriots, exchanging their seats in the senate for a lodging in the tomb—of misers, resigning their breath, and (O relentless destiny!) leaving their very riches for others! Even the vehicals of our amusement are registers of the deceased! and the voice of Fame seldom sounds but in concert with the knell!

From this, the transition to John William Fletcher is agreeable. He is one of the examples, more common in the seventeenth, than in the eighteenth, century, of the attractive power of the English church, its system and its theology, for he was born in Switzerland (his name was de La Flechère); but he became a priest of the English church and gave his life to the work of an English village. His anti-Calvinist views severed him from Lady Huntingdon's connection, with which, for a time, he was associated as superintendent of her training college at Trevecca, but endeared him the more to Wesley, who preached his funeral sermon from the text 'Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.' Never was there a controversialist more honest or more gentle. The title of his

* *Zelotus and Honestus Reconciled; or an Equal Check to Pharisæism and Antinomianism*, which includes parts I. and II. of *Scriptures Scales to weigh the gold of Gospel truth, and to balance a multitude of opposite Scriptures*, gives a misleading idea of the wit and charm of its contents. Fletcher writes gracefully and truthfully. He has the tendency to gloom in which Hervey revelled; but he does not parade it. He has a wholesome detestation of his opponent's Calvinism; but it leads him, not to sound and fury, but to placid and conciliatory argument. Southey well summed up the character of Fletcher's writing when he said that

his talents were of the quick mercurial kind; his fancy was always active, and he might have held no inconsiderable rank, both as a humorous and as an impassioned writer, if he had not confined himself wholly to devotional subjects.

He was the St Francis of early methodism, and it seems the most natural thing in the world to be told that, one day, he took a robin for his text. If other leaders of the movement were stern, his was always the voice of tenderness and charity. By way of contrast, we may, like Southey, take the vehement denunciations of Augustus Toplady, who deserves to be remembered for the immortal hymn 'Rock of Ages,' while his *The Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England* best remains buried in oblivion. He wrote with coarse vigour, smartness and *abandon*, in complete contrast alike to the preciousness of Hervey and to the calm of Fletcher. His quarrel with John Wesley, which from theological became personal, makes curious reading today. Wesley declared that Toplady's doctrine might be summed up thus—

One in twenty of mankind is elected; nineteen in twenty are reprobated. The elect shall be saved, do what they will; the reprobate shall be damned, do what they can. Reader, believe this, or be damned.

Toplady replied by accusing his critic of satanic guilt and shamelessness in thus describing his opinion and answered him, after the manner of Martin Marprelate, with *An Old Fox tarred and feathered* and suchlike pamphlets. Wesley, he declared, was an Arminian, which meant that he had

an equal portion of gross Heathenism, Pelagianism, Mahometanism, Popery, Manichæism, Banterism and Antinomianism, culled, dried, and pulverised, and mingled with as much palpable Atheism as you can scrape together.

Literary squabbles do not lose their bitterness when they become theological.

Of John Wesley himself, as a writer, it need only be said that he was, with the pen as with the tongue, a master of direct English and simple strength. Southey chose a passage in which he summed up his chief answer to the Calvinists, as 'the most remarkable and powerful in all his works' to illustrate his theology. It, also, illustrates his style. A few sentences will suffice to show the kind of writer he was. His manner is eminently that of an orator. The sentences are short, the points clear, the assertion incisive, the repetition emphatic: 'Here I fix my fort'—'Let it mean what it will it cannot mean that'—'Hold! what will you prove by Scripture? That God is worse than the devil? It cannot be.' Here we have the familiar trick of the special pleader. He asks his opponent a question, supplies an answer on his behalf, and then knocks him on the head for it. This manner has the appearance of logic; but, often, a fallacy lurks behind. As a theologian, whatever else he is, he is smart, direct, deeply serious and utterly uncompromising.

But Wesley is not only remembered by his theological writings and his work as an evangelist. His *Journal* has all the charm of a pious Pepys, and, now that it is being published as it was written, the world can see through it closely into the writer's heart, as in the curious account of his love for Grace Murray¹. In pathos and descriptive power, its simple narrative shows the rugged force of Walt Whitman: the word is not sought for, it comes naturally, and, one feels, is inevitable. Whether one reads the Savannah journal, with its marvellous record of faith, inconsistency and courage, or the unvarnished record of the long years of laborious ministry, one meets the same straight-forward, clear-eyed observer, enthralled by the Divine vision which he saw and tried to make known among men, yet full of humour and observant, to the very minutest detail, of everything that concerns the daily life of mankind. When he scolded or denounced, he thought that he was showing 'that childlike openness, frankness, and plainness of speech manifest to all in the Apostles and first Christians.' He had no doubt of himself, nor any of God's constant guidance and protection. This gives to his everyday life, in all its realism, a touch of romance, which shines through the stupendous record of what he did and said. In the *Journal*, we see how English

¹ See Leger, Augustin, *John Wesley's Last Love* (1910).

•divinity was breaking from the trammels of its literary convention, and the deliverer was John Wesley. If we judge the *Journal* with the life which it lays bare, it is one of the great books of the world.

No one would call John Wesley a man of letters. He had no horror, such as Hervey's, of literature which was not spiritual. He read Prior, and Home (of *Douglas* fame), Thomson, Lord Chesterfield and Sterne: he delighted to quote the classics. But he had not the taste for 'style' which was born in his brother Charles. John was no poet; but Charles, among his six thousand hymns, has left some verses that will never die. In his case, we see that, after all, methodism was not entirely apart from the literature of its day. He reminds us, again and again, of his contemporaries, especially, perhaps, of Shenstone, for whose rather thin sentiment he substitutes a genuine piety. He can be virile, felicitous, vivid; if his sweetness often cloy, he has a depth of feeling which frequently brings him within the ranks of the poets. Though he might feel strange in the company of Crashaw or George Herbert, of Newman or Keble, Christina Rossetti would take him by the hand. In English literature, so long as the hymns of Charles, and the *Journal* of John, Wesley are read, methodism will continue to hold an honoured place.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LITERATURE OF DISSENT

1660—1760

THE narrowness of intellectual life and sterility of spiritual life which fell upon the dissenting churches after the exclusion of 1662 were the outcome of a long chain of historical development. When dissent succumbed, yielding itself, body and soul, to the dehumanising genius of Calvin, it entered upon two—indeed, nearer three—centuries of wandering in a stony wilderness. During its birthtime in the middle and latter part of the sixteenth century, during the period of its trial in the early seventeenth century and during the short span of its chequered and flickering triumph under the commonwealth, the main concern and preoccupation of dissent was with the mere question of church membership. The arid discussions on church polity centred in this idea; the still more arid discussions on doctrine were aroused simply by the demand for a standard of the church member's doctrinal purity, and the chief contention with the state was waged round the demand for a church control of admission to the sacrament—the wielding of the wooden sword of excommunication. The rock upon which this inveterate purpose split was not so much Erastianism as the national consciousness of the English race itself; and when, as the logical result of a century of historical development, dissent was driven out in 1662, it was pitting itself not so much against the church of England as against this English national consciousness. Throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century, and nearly through the whole of the eighteenth century, dissent remained true to the cramped and narrow basis on which it had been reared. If the church of England was sunk in lethargy, dissent was sunk in puny congregational and individual selfishness. Of any true missionary sense, of any conception of humanity as

apart from religious system, dissent was even more devoid—because more deliberately devoid—than was the established church. With the one noble exception of Philip Doddridge (and, possibly, a generation earlier, of Richard Davis of Rothwell), it was not until the missionary fervour, the wide and intense humanity, of the methodist movement had revived the church, that it, also, and in the last instance, revived dissent. From that moment—towards quite the close of the eighteenth century, and with gathering force in the nineteenth—dissent has deserted its historical basis of dogma and polity, has ceased to war with the national consciousness, and has taken up the burden of Christ.

This main aspect of the historical evolution of dissent will be found mirrored in its literature. But there are two other aspects of that evolution which, also, demand attention, and these are aspects which found relatively much greater expression in that literature. The free churches claim the credit of the assertion of the principle of toleration. Historically, the claim is untenable, for, during its transient triumph under the commonwealth, dissent was intolerant and persecuting, or tried to be. The enunciation of the principle came from laymen, and from those sectaries whom the entrenched and enthroned presbyterian wished to persecute. Dissent was converted to the principle only by itself passing under the fiery sword; and, when, in the eighteenth century, it became the mouthpiece of the demand for toleration, it was such merely as asserting for itself a principle, and claiming for itself the protection and benefit of that principle, which was in the air, and which grew organically with the self-consciousness of the nation. But, in so far as they put forth these claims, the free churches gave birth to a considerable literature, which, though controversial in purpose, is not the less of account in any record of English eighteenth century literature at large.

Secondly—and this is most important of all—the process of disintegration, which, after 1662, overtook all three dissenting bodies—presbyterians, congregationalists and baptists—alike loosened the bands of doctrinal narrowness. One and all, they took the path which led through Arianism to unitarianism. To tell the story of that development is to recount not merely the general history of the three bodies themselves, but, also, the particular history of a very large proportion of the individual congregations nominally composing those bodies. Such a survey would, of course, be out of place here. But the literature which grew out of that

development is of the greatest importance on a higher plane, as literature pure and simple, as a contribution to human thought, as well as on the lower plane of mere theological controversy.

Professedly, the three denominations of protestant dissenters are the presbyterians, the congregationalists and the baptists. But, as a matter of fact, after the secession of 1662, these terms—or the churches they profess to designate—are in a state of incessant flux; and it is dangerous to use the names in a general sense as applicable to three bodies with defined boundaries. The presbyterian churches became, perforce, congregational; some of the congregational churches became, of choice, baptist, or *vice versa*; and all three types took on Arianism as a garb. According to the particular bias or intellectual momentum of a particular pastor, a congregation might pass from one extreme limit to the other. In dealing, therefore, with the mere personal side of dissenting literature, we shall find it unsafe and difficult to employ the ordinary terminology of dissent.

Although a theological literature of a certain sort, originating in separation and directed against secular rule in spiritual things, was in existence even before the period under present consideration, it may be safely asserted that the ultimate basis of the conception of toleration rested on the unadulterated Erastianism of the English reformation settlement. Such a literature¹, on the one side, and, equally, Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying* (1646), on the other, alike betray their genesis by their birth-time. Those who were not tolerated pleaded for toleration; and from this necessity sprang the bare assertion of the principle of liberty of conscience. Their advocacy, therefore, has not the value in the history of human thought which the pure and naked assertion of the principle possesses in the mouth of Henry Robinson, merchant and economist, of Hobbes², of Milton³ or of Locke⁴. But the final achievement of the pure principle of toleration and freedom of conscience came neither from the theologian nor from the philosopher. It came from the social secular sense of the race, and fought its way to victory through the mere mechanism and clash of church and state politics. And, so far as the result achieved is concerned, the only difference between the enforced, if restricted, tolerance established by Cromwell, and the gradually won legislative tolerance of eighteenth and nineteenth century

¹ For some of the productions belonging to it, see bibliography.

² *Leviathan*, pt III, chaps. 41 and 42.

³ *Areopagitica*.

⁴ *Letters on Toleration*.

dissent, consists in the fact that, under Cromwell, the executive constrained and led the social sense, while, in later ages, the social sense constrained and led the legislature. With the mere political history of the principle we are, however, not concerned, but only with the expression which that history found in dissenting literature.

Broadly speaking, the literary battle about the principle of toleration passes through two quite distinct phases in the period here under review. If we pass by the earlier toleration controversy in Charles II's reign, as not possessing any permanent importance either in literature or in ecclesiastical history, its first real phase covers the episodes of the Toleration act of William III's reign, the Occasional Conformity bill and the Schism act. In this phase, dissent is on the defensive and concerned merely with vindicating its claim to civil and religious rights and freedom. In the second and later phase, it boldly challenges the very principle of an established church, or, as we should say today, raises the question of disestablishment.

Naturally enough, the earlier phase of this battle, from the point of view of literature, lacks the high ethical quality that marks the later phase. For, in the various skirmishes concerning the Toleration and Schism acts, the attitude of dissent was paltering and opportunist. In truth, the achievement of the Toleration act of 1689 was rather the work of such exponents of the secular or civil sense of the nation as Burnet, Somers, Maynard and Sir Isaac Newton; and the dissenters, who, because of their hatred of Rome, had refused the indulgences of Charles II and James II, were content to accept meekly the state-given toleration of 1689, while, as a body, supinely looking on at the legislative interment of the comprehension scheme of the same year. Only Baxter and Calamy and Howe could see far enough, and high enough, to deplore the failure of that scheme, remaining, in this respect, true to their unwavering attitude in the comprehension scheme of 1667—8, as well as in the controversy with Stillingfleet of 1680. And, during the interval between the Toleration act and the Schism act, dissent showed its mettle and its conception of the pure principle of toleration, by intolerantly attacking Socinianism, as if all the intervening years, from the Westminster assembly to the Exeter meetings, had gone for nothing.

Out of this limited conception and attitude of mere political opportunism, dissent was rudely awakened by a layman. From the point of view of consistency and principle—of logic and

morality—Defoe condemned the practice of occasional conformity¹. His completely unanswerable *Enquiry into the occasional Conformity of Dissenters in Cases of Preferment* (1697) drew from John Howe a deplorably ill-tempered and futile reply, *Some Considerations of a Preface to an Enquiry* (1701). With Defoe's rejoinder to this in the same year, *A Letter to Mr Howe by way of Reply*, the controversy temporarily closed. But, unintentionally, Defoe had delivered his friends into the hands of the enemy. The tory reactionaries of Anne's reign seized with avidity the weapon he had forged, and, coupling the subject of dissenting academies with the subject of occasional conformity, delivered a furious onslaught on the whole front of dissent. The scurrilous and rabid attack on dissent generally, and on dissenting academies in particular, which was opened by Sacheverell and Samuel Wesley, was met, on the one hand, by Defoe's *Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702)² and, on the other hand, by Samuel Palmer's *Vindication* (1705). But, neither matchless sarcasm nor sober logic could avail. The theological torrent became a popular tory avalanche. The publication of Calamy's *Abridgement of the Life of Baxter* (1702) only added fuel to the fire. It was answered by Olyffe, and, again, by Hoadly (in *The Reasonableness of Conformity*, 1703), to whom Calamy replied in his *Defence of Moderate Nonconformity* (1703). Other tracts on both sides followed; but the mere literary strife was quickly swallowed up in the popular agitation about Sacheverell's case.

The Hanoverian succession broke the storm; and, with the reversal of the Schism act and the Occasional Conformity act, the religious existence and civil freedom of dissent were safe. But the paltering and merely opportunist attitude of the leaders of the free churches was responsible for the failure to secure the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts. Accordingly, for the remainder of our period, dissent went halting, content with the *regium donum* and with a religious tolerance tempered by partial civil disability. Samuel Chandler's *History of Persecution* (1736) and *The Case of Subscription* (1748) are fairly typical of this attitude. Had it not been for the genius of Watts and Towgood, eighteenth century dissent would appear to have exhausted its zeal for freedom of conscience in the mere selfish assertion of its own right to existence; for, so far as the purely political battle for freedom is concerned, it did not achieve any further triumph until the dawn

¹ Cf. *ante*, vol. ix, chap. i, pt 7.

² Cf. *ibid.* p. 9.

of the nineteenth century. But, in 1731, a completely new turn was given to the old controversy by Isaac Watts's *Humble attempt towards the Revival of Practical Religion among Christians*. In this work, and in his later *Essay on Civil Power in Things Sacred*, Watts defended the general position of dissenters by arguing on lofty grounds against any civil establishment of a national church. While thus, in one sense, reverting to the standpoint of seventeenth century philosophy, Watts, in another sense, opens a new era in these publications. They foreshadow the claim of dissent for the achievement of equality by the way of disestablishment. The cause of a national church—of the connection between the episcopal church and the English state—was taken up by William Warburton in his *Alliance between Church and State* (1736), written from the point of view of the state rather than of the church, and presenting, surely, the most utilitarian theory of the English church ever produced by a representative churchman¹.

From the lower ground of mere hand to mouth polemics, Watts's treatises were also answered by John White in his *Three Letters to a Gentleman Dissenting from the Church of England*—letters which, in spite of the popularity which they enjoyed with the church party, would be otherwise inconsiderable, were it not that they gave birth to one of the most enduring monuments of the polemics of dissent. White's *Letters* were demolished by Micajah Towgood, presbyterian minister at Crediton. In *The Dissenting Gentleman's Answer to the Reverend Mr White's Letter* (1746—8), Towgood gave to the world one of the most powerful and widely read pleas for disestablishment that dissent ever produced. So far as the literature of dissent on the subject of toleration and freedom of conscience is concerned, this monumental work is the last word spoken in the period here treated; for the activity of the dissenters' committee of deputies (a dissenters' defence board in the matter of civil disabilities) was entirely legal and secular in its motive and expression².

The controversial literature of dissent on the subjects of church polity and dogma covers the field of a whole series of successive disputes. Although, in these disputes, there is a constant shifting of the ground, yet the driving impulse, at bottom, is only one of

¹ As to Warburton, cf. *ante*, vol. ix, pp. 296—7.

² This is shown, for instance, by such cases as the corporation of London v. Sheafe, Streatfield and Evans (1754—67). Lord Mansfield's judgment in this important case is only another proof—if further proof were needed—that freedom was achieved not so much by dissent leading the national civic sense as by the national civic sense leading church and dissent alike.

freedom. At the outset, this freedom is purely ecclesiastical, the irresponsibility of a congeries of churches now, at last, cut asunder from the establishment. But it was inevitable that, in the end, such ecclesiastical freedom should loosen the bonds of dogmatic authority also, and so pave the way for pure free thought. Although the two paths of development often ran side by side, and crossed and recrossed, yet, historically, the ecclesiastical is the precedent and necessary condition of dogmatic freedom. By ecclesiastical freedom is here meant, not merely that, after the ejection of 1662, dissent was, or was to become, free of the yoke of the episcopal church, but that, within the limits of dissent itself, all bonds of authority had been destroyed. In the seventeenth century, a presbyterian system which had not the sanction of the state behind it was left without any compulsory force at all; and, as a system, it instantly fell to pieces. In addition, dissent had inherited from the commonwealth days the heritage of the curse of Cain—the internecine warfare of independent and presbyterian. In the later days of the commonwealth, feeble attempts had been made to heal that strife, and, when thirty years of later persecution had chastened their mood, the attempts were revived with the passing of the Toleration act. In the so-called ‘happy union,’ which was established in London in 1691 by agreement between the independent and presbyterian bodies, it was fondly hoped that, at last, the foundation had been laid for a church polity of dissent. But the disintegrating force of irresponsibility soon laid low these builded hopes. In London, the association of the two bodies endured only a brief four years, and, although in the country ‘the heads of the agreement’ of this union became somewhat widely adopted, and were worked out into the scheme of county or provincial associations and unions, these lived but a palsied and flickering life, and possess little true organic connection with modern county unions.

Although the deep underlying causes of this disruption were inherent in the life history of dissent, it was natural that the actual expression which the disintegrating principle took on should be one of controversy. The first form which this took was the so-called neonomian controversy. In 1690, the sermons of Tobias Crisp, a royalist but Calvinistic divine, were republished by his son with certain additional matter, to which he had obtained the *imprimatur* of several London dissenting ministers. The popularity of the book revived the spirit of the ultra-Calvinist section of dissent, at a time when Calvinism was losing its hold. To check the rising

'spirit of antinomianism which Crisp's fantastic Calvinism encouraged, the presbyterian ministers of London deputed Daniel Williams to reply to the book. His reply, *Gospel Truth stated and vindicated* (1692), though moderate and non-partisan in tone, and aiming only at the establishment of a *via media* between legalism and antinomianism, merely increased the storm. Williams's own orthodoxy was impeached, charges of neo-nomianism, of Arminianism and Socinianism were hurled against him by Stephen Lobb and by Isaac Chawney, an independent, in his *Neo-Nomianism Unmasked* (1693), and Williams's *Defence* (1693) failed to still the commotion¹. In the following year, Williams was prohibited from preaching his 'turn' to the united ministers at the merchants' lecture in Pinners' hall. The presbyterians, accordingly, withdrew and established their own lecture at Salters' hall, leaving the independents in possession of the Pinners' hall lectures. In spite of all attempts at reconciliation, the dispute wrecked the 'happy union,' to which the independents' self-defence, in their *History of the Union* (1698), and Williams's own *Peace with Truth, or an end to Discord* (1699) only served as funeral elegies.

To this controversy succeeded that concerning occasional conformity which has been already mentioned above. But all these pale in their significance before the Subscription controversy—the doctrinal dispute aroused by the spread of Arianism. Under the commonwealth, Socinianism (represented by Paul Best and John Biddle), Sabellianism (by John Fry), Arianism (by John Knowles, Thomas Collier and Paul Hobson) and universalism (by Richard Coppin, John Reeve and Ludowicke Muggleton), had been alike banned and persecuted. The intolerant attitude of both presbyterians and independents was continued after the restoration; and to this was now added the rigour of the reestablished English church. * To Richard Baxter, not less than to John Owen or to Stillingfleet, the Socinians were on a par with 'Mohammadans, Turks, atheists and papists. But, in spite of persecution, the discrete strands of varying anti-Trinitarian thought remained unbroken. Gilbert Clerke of Northamptonshire, a mathematician and, in a sense, a teacher of Whiston, Noval of Tydd St Giles near Wisbech, Thomas Firmin (Sabellian), William Penn, Stephen Nye (Sabellian), William Freke (Arian), John Smith, the philomath, of St Augustine's London (Socinian), Henry Hedworth, the

¹ See Calamy, *Account*, vol. 1, p. 387, where 'the one side' may be roughly read as independents and 'the other side' as presbyterians.

disciple of Biddle, and William Manning, minister of Peasenhall (1630—1711) (independent), form a direct and unbroken, though irregular, chain of anti-Trinitarian thought, extending from the commonwealth days to those of toleration—not to mention the more covert but still demonstrable anti-Trinitarianism of Milton and Locke.

With the passing of the Toleration act of 1689, the leaven of this long train of anti-Trinitarian thought made itself strongly felt. It first appeared in the bosom of the church of England itself, in the so-called Socinian controversy. In 1690, Arthur Bury, a latitudinarian divine, was deprived of the rectorship of Lincoln college, Oxford, for publishing his *Naked Gospel*. The proceedings gave rise to a stream of pamphlet literature on both sides. In the same year, 1690, John Wallis, Savilian professor of mathematics at Oxford, was involved in a controversy with a succession of anonymous Arian and Socinian writers (among them William Jones) by the publication of his *Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity briefly Explained*. Simultaneously, Sherlock's *Vindication of the Holy and ever Blessed Trinity*, although directed against the same group of writers, called forth another outburst of pamphleteering from quite another quarter; South leading the attack with his *Animadversions upon Dr Sherlock's Vindication*. The first portion of the anti-Trinitarian literature produced in this triangular contest is collected in *The Faith of one God Who is only the Father* (1691). In the ranks of dissent, the same controversy manifested itself in the disputes which wrecked the independent and presbyterian 'happy union' and, contemporaneously, it appeared in the baptist body. In 1693, Matthew Caffyn, baptist minister at Horsham, Sussex, was for a second time accused before the 'Baptist General Assembly' of denying Christ's divinity; and, when the assembly refused to vote his expulsion, a secession took place, and the rival 'Baptist General Association' was formed. In the same year, the anti-Trinitarians published a *Second collection of tracts proving the God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only true God* (1693). The tenth, and last tract, in this volume was a reply to South's *Animadversions* on Sherlock's *Vindication*. In the following year (1694), the presbyterian John Howe entered the field with his *Calm and sober Enquiry* directed against the above tract, and, to make the fight triangular, Sherlock replied to South and Howe together in *A Defence of Dr Sherlock's notion of a Trinity in Unity*. The anti-Trinitarians' *Third collection of Tracts*, which

*followed immediately, was a reply at once to Howe, on the one hand, and to Sherlock, on the other.

This first Trinitarian or so-called Socinian controversy, practically, came to an end in 1708. It received its deathblow, in 1698, by the act for the more effectual suppression of blasphemy and profaneness, which remained on the statute book till 1813. With the exception of John Smith's *Designed End to the Socinian Controversy* (1695), the whole of the anti-Trinitarian contributions to it had been anonymous (both Locke and Sir Isaac Newton are supposed to have contributed under the cover of this anonymity); and, with the exception of Howe, no representatives of the professed dissenting denominations had joined in the fray. It is therefore to be regarded, primarily, as a church of England controversy, in which the churchmen had weakened the Trinitarian cause by a triangular and virtually conflicting defence: Sherlock *versus* South *versus* Tillotson and Burnet, and all four *versus* the enemy. The agitation which the controversy produced among the dissenters was mainly reflex, and is apparent more in their domestic quarrels, noted above, than in their published literature. But, disproportionately small as was the dissenting share of the combatants in mere point of literature, the intellectual ferment which ensued in following years showed itself more in the bosom of dissent than in the life and thought of the church of England. Thomas Emlyn, a presbyterian, who was tried at Dublin, in 1693, for publishing his *Humble Enquiry into the Scripture account of Jesus Christ*, attributed his own Arianism to Sherlock's *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*.

But the Arian controversy, properly so-called, does not owe anything to Emlyn. It was, rather, opened by William Whiston's *Historical Preface* (1710), prefixed to his *Primitive Christianity* (1711), and Samuel Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712). Although, however, Whiston finally joined the general baptists and claimed to have influenced Peirce of Exeter, the importance of this second controversy is, so far as dissent is concerned, rather practical or constitutional than literary. Among the dissenters, it assumed a particularly accentuated form of the subscription controversy. In 1717, James Peirce and Joseph Hallett, presbyterian ministers of Exeter, were taken to task locally for Arianism. In the Exeter assembly of May 1719, an attempt to enforce subscription to the first of the thirty-nine articles brought about a split. In the same year, *the matter came before the committee of the deputies of the three denominations of protestant dissenters at Salters' hall

meeting-house, London—the so-called Salters' hall synod. Here, the question of subscription followed a clean-cut line of cleavage. The congregationalists, in the main, under the lead of Thomas Bradbury, insisted on subscription; the presbyterians, in the main, under the lead of John Barrington Shute, afterwards viscount Barrington, resisted the proposal as an unnecessary imposition of a creed. As a result, the whole body of dissent was divided into three parties—non-subscribers, subscribers and neutrals. The minority of subscribers, being defeated, withdrew from the synod and formed a distinct meeting under Bradbury, while the majority of non-subscribers despatched a letter of advice to Exeter, which, by virtue of its statement of reasons for non-subscribing, is regarded by unitarians as their charter of dogmatic freedom. The mere momentary controversy concerning these synod proceedings gave birth to more than seventy pamphlets.

It is claimed by presbyterian writers that there was no avowed heterodoxy among the London ministers for half a generation after Salters' hall. This means little more than that the great luminaries of dissent of the era following on the Toleration act had passed away, and that, between 1720 and 1740, no successors had arisen worthy of the memory of those giants—outside, that is to say, of the world of academic teaching. But, underneath the surface deadness and mental lethargy of this later period, the leaven of anti-Trinitarian thought continued incessantly at work, and, when the interim of quiescence had ended, it was found to have been merely a phase of growth, an intermediate stage between the Arianism of 1720 and the later unitarianism. In matter of literature, the intermediate phase was distinguished by the writings of John Taylor of Norwich, a professed presbyterian (*Defence of the Common rights of Christians*, 1737; *The Scripture doctrine of Original Sin*, 1740), and of Samuel Bourn (*Address to Protestant Dissenters*, 1737).

In itself, the literary importance of this period of nonconformist history is not great, save and in so far as it marks the stepping-stone to the latest phase of the development of unitarian thought—that phase, namely, which is distinguished by the names of Nathaniel Lardner, Richard Price, Joseph Priestley and Theophilus Lindsey—a movement which lies outside the scope of the present chapter¹.

It is not to be supposed that the evolution of a distinctively

¹ As to Price and Priestley cf. chap. xiv, pp. 344—6, *ante*. 6

unitarian church was the sole outcome of the train of development which has been briefly sketched above. The sections of dissent—in all its three denominations—which stood aloof from the distinctively unitarian development, yet remained profoundly affected by the spirit of it. The presbyterian, independent and baptist churches alike showed, in their loose internal organisations, the disintegrating force of the unitarian movement. Both in individual congregations and in the loose and feeble associations, the spirituality of dissent, which had been its glory and motive force in the seventeenth century, had sunk into atrophy; and, had it not been for the reviving influence of methodism, all three denominations would probably, at the close of the eighteenth century, have offered a melancholy spectacle. The intellectual gain to English thought generally, quite apart from dissenting theology in particular, was incalculable; but the spiritual loss was none the less to be deplored.

In emphasising, however, the free thought side, or effect of the unitarian movement within dissent, it is not to be understood that this was a free thought movement in the sense of twentieth century science or philosophy. The eighteenth century unitarian movement was, in the main, theological, not rationalistic. If any comparison were called for, it should rather be with the spread of Arminianism in the English church in the seventeenth century. Both movements had for their motive springs one impulse, that is to say, a protest against Calvinism, and, when dissent, by means of unitarian thought, had thrown off the fetters of that Calvinism, it remained, on the whole, during the period here surveyed, quiescent and content. And, as a result, when the deistic controversy, a purely rationalistic movement, engaged the English church and English thought in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the leading exponents of dissent, whether orthodox or Arian, are to be found on the conservative side. James Foster, baptist minister of the Barbican chapel, and Nathaniel Lardner, then presbyterian minister in Poor Jewry lane, the accomplished presbyterians William Harris, Joseph Hallett, Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge—all these dissenting writers¹ contributed not less powerfully, if less sensationally and attractively, to the rout of the deists than did Butler and Berkeley themselves.

Finally, outside and apart from the field of pure thought, eighteenth century England owes a heavy debt to dissent for its educational system, to which reference has already been made in

¹ For a list of nonconformist contributions to the deistic controversy, and of works of other nonconformist writers, see bibliography.

an earlier volume¹, but which seems to deserve further notice here in its connection with the influence of nonconformity upon literature. Although the presbyterians had but one or two free schools (public charity schools) in London before 1714, and, although the baptists and independents joined forces in that and the succeeding year to establish a similar free school at Horsleydown (subsequently the Maze Pond school), the academy system of the dissenters, in the main, had reference only to the private and domestic problem of the supply of educated ministers for their respective denominations. Accordingly, each one of the more widely recognised academies, during some period of its generally chequered and brief career, takes on a denominational colour. As a system, these academies date entirely from the era of the Toleration act. Prior to that date, dissenting ministers engaged in education acted as private tutors in families or contented themselves with opening small private schools in their own houses. After the Toleration act, however, individual ministers started private schools of their own of which it is now impossible to ascertain the number or, in many instances, the circumstances of origin and growth. Where the minister was a man of learning and power, these schools endured for a generation and sometimes longer, and linked their names with the history of dissent through the personality alike of pupils and of tutors. And it is herein that they claim special recognition; for, in their totality, they present a brilliant galaxy of talent in fields of learning far removed from mere theological studies. Such a result could not have been achieved, had it not been for the powerful solvent of intellectual freedom which the unitarian movement brought in its train. Few of the academies, whatever their denominational colour at the outset, escaped contact with it, and those of them which assimilated the influence most freely produced great tutors and scholars. In this matter, the academies trod the same historical path as that followed by the individual dissenting churches. Their intellectual activity blazed so fiercely that it tended to burn up the spiritual life; and herein lies the secret at once of their first success, their chequered and bickering career and, in most cases, their ultimate atrophy.

The attitude of the church of England towards these academies has already been detailed². But the fear which the establishment

¹ See *ante*, vol. ix, chap. xv.

² See *ante*, vol. ix, pp. 394—5. A reference might have been added to the later important and illuminating case of the strife between chancellor Reynolds and Philip Doddridge concerning the academy of Northampton.

entertained that these academies would starve the universities proved baseless. In their early days, indeed, they attracted a lay *clientela* as well as candidates for the ministry. But, the bent towards unitarianism which provided the intellectual stimulus to tutors and ministerial candidates frightened off the layman, and effectually prevented the dissenting academies from leaving the deep mark on the English race and on the English educational system that might have been expected from the individual talent and prestige of their tutors¹.

Whatever the theological basis of the three denominations of which this chapter has mainly treated, there is one general field of literary activity which they cultivated in common—that of hymn-writing and religious poetry. A list of their chief contributors to this branch of literature will be found elsewhere². But, apart from this phase, in so far as the devotional literature of dissent is merely devotional, whether it be ‘practical’ or ‘theological,’ it does not enter into the wider subject of English literature as such. All the same, there are certain outstanding products of this portion of the writings of dissent (Baxter’s *Saints’ Everlasting Rest*, 1650; Doddridge’s *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, 1745) which, by their mere literary, as well as spiritual, quality, challenge a place in the annals of our literature by the side of the masterpieces of Bunyan and Milton. Broadly speaking, however, the course of the history of dissent, from 1660 to 1760, militated against the production of purely devotional literature. The race of giants who had seen the great commonwealth days, and who went out in 1662, were mainly preachers. The succeeding generation, likewise one of giants, was occupied with dogmatic wrangles, practical questions of church organisation, or actual political dealings with the state. From 1720 to 1740, there followed a period of almost unbroken spiritual deadness; and, when this partially came to an end with the advent of Doddridge, the spiritual impress is from without, from methodism, rather than from within, from the inherent spirituality of dissent itself. During this period, therefore, English nonconformity rather looks forward, as anticipating that later general revival of the national religious life which was born of methodism, than backward to that stern spirituality of Calvinistic dissent which had puritanised the great revolution.

¹ For a list of some of the chief of these academies, in the period under survey, see appendix to the present chapter.

² See bibliography.

APPENDIX

LIST OF NONCONFORMIST ACADEMIES (1680—1776)

Within the period here treated, the following are some of the chief of these academies. The publication in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1672-8, and in C. L. Turner's *Original Records*, 2 vols., 1911, of the whole series of dissenters' licences, has revealed the astonishing extent to which the ejected ministers applied themselves to the work of teaching. This material still needs to be worked up, and it is obviously impossible to quote the licences here. The following list, therefore, contains only such academies as are referred to in sources other than, or extraneous to, the Entry Book of licences—in other words, in the general sources of the history of dissent. The classification among the three denominations must be taken as very loose and uncertain, except in certain wellknown cases. It need only be added that many of the tutors briefly mentioned here were men of great intellectual power, who had held high academic positions under the commonwealth.

Independent academies

Exeter a. (Opened by Joseph Hallett, sen., who was orthodox. Under his son, who was an avowed Arian, the a. became a nursery of Arianism. It dwindled away after his death and was reopened in 1760 by Micajah Towgood.)

Moorfields (Tenter alley) a. (Started by the independent fund, about 1700, under Isaac Chauncey. After 1712, under Dr Ridgeley and John Eames, F.R.S., friend of Sir Isaac Newton, to whom succeeded Dr David Jennings and Dr Morton Savage, 1744.)

King's Head society a. (Started in 1732 by the King's Head society, as a protest against the freedom of thought prevailing in the fund a. It was at first under Samuel Parsons, and from 1735 under Abraham Taylor, and then John Hubbard and Zephaniah Marryat; after several changes of place, it settled at Homerton in 1772.)

Kibworth a. (Started by John Jennings, 1715-22, with the help of the Coward trustees. This school was continued at Northampton by Philip Doddridge with the help of William Coward, 1729-51. It removed to Daventry, and after 1751 became Arian in tone, under Dr Caleb Ashworth, tutor of Joseph Priestley. Dissolved 1798.)

Dr David Jennings' private a. in Well Close square. (After his death in 1762, it changed its theological character under Dr Samuel Morton Savage, Dr Andrew Kippis and Dr Abraham Lees and was moved to Hoxton, becoming Arian. Dissolved 1785, and succeeded by a fresh orthodox a. there.)

Ottery a. (Started under John Lavington in 1752 by the joint endeavour of the fund board and the King's Head society.)

- Heckmondwike a.** (Started in 1756, as anti-Socinian in character, by the Education society of the Northern counties—or rather of the West riding of Yorkshire. At first under James Scott, Timothy Priestley (the brother of Dr Joseph Priestley), and Timothy Waldegrave. It is today represented by the Yorkshire United college, Bradford.)
- Warrington a.** (Started in 1757 on the extinction of an a. at Kendal. It was from the outset frankly rationalistic in purpose, being promoted by 'rational' dissenters on their own principles under Dr John Taylor of Norwich. John Seddon of Warrington provided it with a 'rational' liturgy. Among its tutors were Dr J. Aikin, Gilbert Wakefield, Joseph Priestley, and Dr Enfield—all Arians. Priestley himself left in 1767.)
- Bedworth (co. Warwick) a.** (Under Julius Saunders, ?1730-40; who was succeeded by John Kirkpatrick.)
- Saffron Walden a.** (Under John (or Thomas) Payne, 1700 c.)
- Pinner (co. Middlesex) a.** (Under Thomas Goodwin, jun., from 1699. Theophilus Lobb was one of his pupils.)
- Hackney (London) a.** (Under Thomas Rowe, 1681-3, removed to London and then to Jewin street; from 1703 in Ropemakers' alley in Moorfields.)
- Newington Green a.** (Under Theophilus Gale, 1665 to his death in 1678. Succeeded by Thomas Rowe; but closed on his death, 1705, after having been removed to Clapham and again to Little Britain, London. Dr Watts and Josiah Hort were pupils.)
- Wapping a.** (Under Edward Veal, before 1678 to ?1708; closed shortly before his death, having been temporarily broken up in 1681. Nathaniel Taylor, John Shower and Samuel Wesley were among his pupils.)
- Nettlebed (co. Oxford) a.** (Under Thomas Cole, 1662-72. John Locke and Samuel Wesley were his pupils.)

Presbyterian academies

- London: Hoxton square a.** (Its first origin appears to be traceable in the city of Coventry, where Dr John Bryan and Dr Obadiah Grew founded an a. To them succeeded Dr Joshua Oldfield (the friend of Locke). Oldfield, with Mr Tong, transferred it to London. Elsewhere the Hoxton square a. is stated to have been founded by John Spademan, Joshua Oldfield and Lorimer. Spademan was succeeded by Capel: but the a. became extinct after Oldfield's death in 1729.)
- Bridgnorth a.** (Started in 1726 by Fleming, with whom it died. Possibly this was the John Fleming who conducted an a. at Stratford-on-Avon.)
- Highgate a.,** afterwards removed to Clerkenwell. (Under John Kerr or Dr Ker, ?presbyterian.)
- Colyton (co. Devon) a.** (Under John Short till 1698; then, under Matthew Towgood, till his removal in 1716.)
- Alcester (co. Warwick) a.** (Under Joseph Porter: removed to Stratford-on-Avon under John Alexander, who died 1740 c.)
- Manchester a.** (Opened in 1698, after Henry Newcome's death, under his successor, John Chorlton. Dissolved under his successor, James Coningham.)
- Islington a.** (Under Ralph Button, at Brentford after 1662: from 1672 at Islington. He died in 1680. Sir Joseph Jekyll was a pupil.)
- Coventry a.** (Started 1663 by Dr Obadiah Grew and Dr John Bryan. After Grew's death it was continued by Shewell (d. 1693) and Joshua Oldfield. In 1699, William Tong took over a few of Oldfield's pupils; but on his removal to London, 1702, the a. came to an end.)

Rathmell (Yorka.) a. (Under Richard Frankland. Opened at Rathmell, March 1669-70; removed, 1674, to Natland near Kendal; 1683, to Calton in Craven; 1684, to Dawsonfield near Crosthwaite in Westmorland; 1685, to Hartleborough in Lancs.; 1685-6, suspended; 1686-8, reopened at Attercliffe near Sheffield; 1689, at Rathmell. Frankland died in 1698, and his a. was then dissolved. Of his pupils left at his death, some went to John Chorlton at Manchester and some to Timothy Jollie at Attercliffe.)

Attercliffe a. (Under Timothy Jollie, 1691, who rented Attercliffe hall and called his a. Christ's college; among his many pupils, was Dr Thomas Secker. J. died in 1714, when he was succeeded by Wadsworth. The a. died out long before W.'s death in 1744.)

London a. (Under Dr George Benson, about 1750. Arian.)

Sheriff Hales (co. Salop) a. (Under John Woodhouse, 1676; broken up about 1696. In this a. there were many lay students, among them Robert Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, and Henry St John (afterwards viscount Bolingbroke). Matthew Clarke and Benjamin Robinson were also pupils.)

Hungerford (co. Berks.) a. (Under Benjamin Robinson, 1696, having been open, three years earlier, at Findern in Derbyshire as a grammar school only.)

Islington a. (Thomas Doolittle: started in 1662 as a boarding-school in Moorfields, Doolittle being assisted by Thomas Vincent; in 1665 removed to Woodford Bridge, Essex; in 1672 removed to Islington; closed under the persecution, 1685-8; reopened 1688, but died out before Doolittle's death in 1707. Edmund Calamy and Thos. Emlyn were his pupils.)

Oswestry and Shrewsbury a. (Connected principally with the name of James Owen, 1679 onwards, but actually started by his predecessor, Francis Tallents. After Owen's death continued by Samuel Benion and John Reynolds. Under the latter it was dissolved, before 1718.)

Taunton a. (Started by Matthew Warren and others after 1662. After Warren's death, 1706, it was carried on by joint efforts of Stephen James (d. 1725), Robert Darch and Henry Grove (d. 1738). After 1738 Thomas Amory became head of the whole a.; but, under his Arian tendencies, it collapsed before his removal to London in 1759.)

Gloucester and Tewkesbury a. (Under Samuel Jones, 1712-20. Archbishop Secker, bishop Butler and Samuel Chandler were students here together. After Jones's death the a. was removed to Carmarthen, and there remained under Thomas Perrot till 1733. Then it was under Vavasor Griffiths at Llwynllwyd (co. Brecknock) till 1741; then at Haverfordwest under Evan Davies; then again at Carmarthen under Samuel Thomas and Dr J. Jenkins. Under Samuel Thomas the independents withdrew and formed a new a. at Abergavenny under David Jardine.)

Stoke Newington or Newington Green a. (Under Charles Morton, 1667-85. Defoe, Samuel Wesley and Samuel Palmer were students here. Discouraged by persecution in 1685, Morton went to New England and became vice-president of Harvard. His a. was continued by William Wickens and Stephen Lobb, both of whom died in 1699, and by Thomas Glasscock (d. 1706); but it probably died out not long after 1696.)

Kendal a. (Under Dr Caleb Botherham, 1733-52; possibly as a continuation of the extinct Attercliffe a.)

Bryllylwareh (Llangynwyd, co. Glamorgan) a. (Commonly regarded

as the germ of the Carmarthen Presbyterian college; but this is impossible. Started by Samuel Jones 1672. After his death in 1697, Rager Griffith opened an a. at Abergavenny, which is regarded as a continuation of Brynllwarch. It lasted only three or four years. At Brynllwarch, Rees Price continued either Jones's or Griffith's school but gave up between 1702 and 1704 when the a. was united with a grammar school at Carmarthen started by William Evans, who died 1718. To this school Dr Williams left an annuity. William Evans is considered the founder of the Welsh a. system.)

Stourbridge and Bromsgrove (co. Worcester) a. (Under [? Henry] Hickman, 1665. He was disabled by age, ?1670 c.)

Tubney (Berks.) a. (Under Dr Henry Langley, 1662-72.)

Bridgwater a. (Started by John Moore 1676: became Arian under his son, who died 1747.)

Sulby (co. Northampton) a. (Under John Shuttlewood, about 1678; died 1689.)

Alkington (Whitchurch, co. Salop) a. (Under John Malden, 1668-80.)

Wickham Brook (co. Suffolk) a. (Under Samuel Cradock, from after 1672 to his removal in 1696. Edmund Calamy was one of his pupils.)

Tiverton a. (Under John Moor, 1688 c., or possibly after.)

Shaftesbury (and afterward Semly) (co. Wilts.) a. (Under Matthew Towgood, after 1662. He was the grandfather of Micajah Towgood.)

Besides the above, there are stray references to private schools kept by John Flavel of Dartmouth, [John, son of] Edward Rayner of Lincoln, John Whitlock and Edward Reynolds of Nottingham, Ames Short of Lyme Dorset, Samuel Jones of Llangynydd, John Ball of Honiton.

Baptist academies

In 1702 the General Baptist association resolved to erect a school of universal learning in London, with a view to training for the ministry. It is not known what followed. In 1717 the Particular Baptist fund was started for the support of ministers and for supplying a succession of them.

Trowbridge a. (Opened by John Davison, who died in 1721. His successor was Thomas Lucas, who died in 1740.)

Bristol a. (In its earliest form, founded by several London baptists in 1752 as an education society for assisting students. It was, at first, under Dr Stennett, Dr Gill, Wallin and Brine. Subsequently it was under Bernard Foskett and Hugh Evans; it was taken in hand, in 1770, by the Baptist education society, and firmly established by Dr Caleb Evans. This a. became, subsequently, the Baptist Rawdon college.)

CHAPTER XVII

POLITICAL LITERATURE

(1755—75)

THE death of Henry Pelham in 1754 destroyed the equilibrium of English politics. 'Now,' said king George II, regretting, possibly, the minister more than the man, 'Now, I shall have no peace.' And he was right, for the leading whigs entered on an angry struggle for supreme power which only ended when, in 1757, the domination of the elder Pitt was, virtually, established. Round the duke of Newcastle, formidable by his phalanx of obedient votes, Pitt, the man of genius and of the public confidence, and the shrewd, but far from high-minded, Henry Fox arose a dense dust of controversy.

It was not merely the conflict of personal ambitions that was in question. Great public issues were rapidly raised and discussed, if, as rapidly, let fall again. The sober middle class were weary of the prevailing corruption which handed over the country's government to glaring incompetence. Tories, abandoning their vain hopes of a revolution, were eager to loose England from the Hanoverian tether which involved her in the intricacies of German politics, and to have done with the long feud with France. And both parties were anxious to see power held by men more representative than were the members of the existing narrow whig oligarchy, who, on their side, still believed in their hereditary mission to rule. Material for honest discussion there was in plenty.

At first, it seemed as if this kind of discussion would hold the field. In August 1755, *The Monitor* was founded by a London merchant, Richard Beckford, and was edited, and part written, by John Entick, of dictionary fame¹. Like its predecessors in political journalism, it consisted of a weekly essay on current events and topics: it was all leading article. The maintenance of

¹ His extremely popular *Spelling Dictionary* (1764) was followed by his *Latin and English Dictionary* (1771) and by other useful works. •

Whig principles and the uprooting of corruption formed its policy: good information, good sense and a kind of heavy violence of style were its characteristics. Soon, it was supplemented by a series of tory pamphlets, under the title *The Letters to the People of England*, written by John Shebbeare, a physician of some literary celebrity. They were not his first production; he had for some time been eminent in 'misanthropy and literature'; but they were distinguished beyond his other efforts by bringing him to the pillory. His politics, not the scurrility that tinged them, were in fault. He was a virulent tory, and in his *Sixth Letter* held up the reigning dynasty to public scorn. His highest praise is, that he still remains readable. Logical, rhetorical, laboriously plain and, occasionally, cogent, his short paragraphs pretty generally hit the nail—often, no doubt, a visionary nail—on the head. Later, he was to enjoy court favour and be a capable pamphleteer on the side of George III; but his time of notoriety was gone.

Soon, however, the personal conflict asserted itself. In November 1756, Arthur Murphy, the dramatist, started *The Test*, with a view to capturing public favour for Henry Fox. But his amiable prosing and feeble giggle were soon over-crowded by the Pittite *Con-Test*, a far more able, and, also, more scurrilous, print, in some of the better essays of which we detect the pith and point of Shebbeare.

Save the honest *Monitor*, these Grub-street railers vanished with the whig feud which called forth their exertions, and the splendid success of the great commoner's ministry almost succeeded in silencing criticism. It required a new ferment of public opinion, a new conflict of principles and a renewed struggle for the possession of power to reawaken the fires of controversy, which, this time, were not to be quenched. George III's accession and his personal policy gave the signal. The new king was determined to choose his own ministers and break up the band of ruling whigs. The now loyal tories were to share in the government, and the system of king William's time was to be revived. The first literary sign of the change was a rally of pamphleteers for the defence and propagation of the royal views. In 1761, Lord Bath—the William Pulteney who, in the last reign, had led the opposition to Walpole and helped to set on foot *The Craftsman*—published his *Seasonable Hints from an Honest Man*, which contained an able exposition of the whig system and its vices, and outlined the new programme. Others followed, professional writers for the most part, such as the veteran Shebbeare and the elder Philip Francis—in his

*Letter from the Cocoa-Tree*¹ to the Oubuntry Gentlemen, which was not devoid of skill—and Owen Ruffhead, formerly editor of *The Con-Test*. But, in spite of the real ability displayed by these writers, their frequent ignorance of the true course of events and the lack of good faith habitual to them prevented them from attaining to any real excellence.

Meanwhile, events were moving rapidly. George III had been able to oust Pitt and Newcastle from power and to promote his Scottish favourite, Lord Bute, to the office of prime minister. Bute had seen, from the first, that something beyond sporadic pamphlets was needed for converting public opinion to the new régime, discredited as it was by the dismissal of Pitt. For this, an imitation of *The Monitor* was the only means, a steady drumming of the same views and sentiments into the popular ear. It was all the more necessary, at the moment of Bute's accession to power, to set up a rival weekly journal, since *The Monitor* (in this representing the public) was a bitter opponent of the Scottish minister. Bute, however, cannot be called happy in his choice of means. Eminent literary talent was required, but not any sort of literary talent, and Tobias Smollett, famous as a novelist, was only to earn humiliation as a political controversialist. In vain his sheet, *The Briton*, discharged a weekly broadside of ferocious epithets on the opposition and its journalistic defenders. His persuasive powers were small, and he was fairly distanced in argumentative skill, raillery and vituperation. Arthur Murphy, writer of the dead *Test*, was soon summoned to Smollett's aid with a new paper, *The Auditor*; but, although more bitter than of old, he was not less feeble. The public judgment was only too clear. Neither of the ministerial papers would sell. Of course, Bute's unpopularity was partly at fault; but the scanty merit of the two champions was unable to surmount the weakness of their case.

The publication of *The Briton* provoked the appearance of the only one of these fugitive periodicals which has any reputation, *The North Briton*, edited by John Wilkes. That demagogue, on whom the mob-ruling mantle of Sacheverell descended, was sprung from a middle class family, typical of a respectability alien to the manners of its celebrated scion. He was born in 1727, and was the son of a maltster of Clerkenwell. He received a good education from a presbyterian minister and at the university of Leyden; and, before he was twenty-one, married,

¹ The celebrated Tory club described by Gibbon in his letters.

by his father's desire, an heiress much his senior in years. His wife and her mother were dissenters, and he was gallant and gay. Wilkes grew steadily estranged from his home and soon exceedingly dissipated. A separation from his wife was arranged, and he plunged into a course of profligate living in town. He became a member of the Hellfire club, which met at Medmenham abbey and included the most noted rakes of the day. It was in the midst of these wild orgies that he took up politics. In 1755, he obtained a seat in the commons as a member for Aylesbury, where his wife's estate lay. He was a follower of Pitt and hoped for some promotion—the embassy in Constantinople would have been most congenial to him—from his patron. But George III was king, and Bute intervened. His hopes of repairing his shattered fortunes having thus vanished, Wilkes turned to journalism for his revenge upon the favourite, whose incompetence filled him with indignation. After producing a successful pamphlet concerning the breach with Spain, he proceeded to send contributions to *The Monitor*, in which he developed with much ingenuity the history of contemporary foreign favourites, and left his readers to point the obvious moral. Then, on the appearance of *The Briton*, he, in June 1762, started his rival print, *The North Briton*. Week by week, the new periodical continued its attacks on the government. It showed itself bold, to start with, in printing the ministers' names in full, without the usual subterfuges of dashes and stars; and it grew bolder as it went on, and as the odium into which Bute had fallen became more obvious. Nothing, however, gave a handle to the authorities by which, even under the existing law of libel, the writers could be brought to book, although *The Monitor* was subjected to lengthy legal proceedings. At last, Wilkes overstepped the line in No. 45, which bitterly impugned the truthfulness of the speech from the throne regarding the peace of Paris. The long government persecution of the libeller, which followed the publication of No. 45, and which finally resulted in the abolition of the tyrannic system of general warrants, also snuffed out *The North Briton*. The paper was subsequently revived; but it proved only the ghost of its former self. Wilkes, on the other hand, had yet to play the part of a full-fledged demagogue in his contest with king and parliament concerning the Middlesex election of 1768. Triumphant at last, he ended his life in 1797 as chamberlain of London and a *persona grata* with George III. In all his vicissitudes, he had kept in touch with public opinion.

It is not easy to describe the blackguard charm of Wilkes.

Notoriously self-interested and dissolute, ugly and squinting, he enjoyed a popularity by no means confined to the mob. Much may be ascribed to the singular grace of his manners. Even Johnson fell a victim to these. But he, also, possessed some very obvious virtues. He was brave, good-humoured and adroit. He had a sort of selfish kindliness. He was, moreover, manifestly on the right side: few people had any love for general warrants or for the infringement of the liberty of election. And he turned all these advantages to account.

His paper, *The North Briton*, may be regarded as the best example of its kind, the brief periodical pamphlet. It represents the type at which *The Briton* and the rest aimed, but which they could not reach. Like its congeners, it consisted of a weekly political essay. It was directed entirely to the object of overthrowing Bute and of reinstating the old group of whig families in alliance with Pitt. We notice at once in its polemic the scantiness of serious argument. Satire, raillery, scandal and depreciation in every form are there; but a real tangible indictment does not readily emerge from its effusions. In part, this peculiarity was due to the difficulty under which an opposition writer then lay in securing information and in publishing what information he possessed. When the preliminaries of peace or the jobbery of Bute's loan issues gave Wilkes his opportunity, he could be cogent enough. But a more powerful reason lay in the main object of the paper. Bute was safe so long as he was not too unpopular: he had the king's favour and a purchased majority in parliament. Therefore, he had to be rendered of no value to king and parliament. He was to be written down and to become the bugbear of the ordinary voter, while his supporters in the press were to be exposed to derision and thus deprived of influence. Wilkes and his allies in *The North Briton* were well equipped for this task. They were interesting and vivacious from the first, making the most of the suspicions excited by Bute. As the heat of battle grew and their case became stronger, the violence and abusiveness of their expressions increased till it reached the scale of their rivals. Still, even so, they continued to display an apt brutality wanting in the latter. In the earlier numbers, too, *The Briton* and *The Auditor* fell easy victims to the malicious wit of Wilkes. Perhaps the best instance of his fun is the letter which he wrote under a pseudonym to the unsuspecting *Auditor*, descanting on the value of Floridan peat, a mythical product, for mitigating the severity of the climate in the West Indies. An exposure followed in *The North Briton*;

and poor Murphy could only refer to his tormentor afterwards as 'Colonel Cataline.'

But the scheme of *The North Briton* gave an easy opportunity for ironic satire. The editor was supposed to be a Scot exulting over the fortune of his countryman, and very ingenuous in repeating the complaints of the ousted English. There was nothing exquisite in this horseplay; but it was not badly done, and it had the advantage of appealing to strong national prejudice. The antipathy to the Scots, which was to disappear with startling suddenness during the American war of independence, had not yet undergone any sensible diminution. At root, perhaps, it was the dislike of an old-established firm for able interlopers. Scots were beginning to take a leading share in the common government, and their nationality was always unmistakable. Accordingly, old legends of their national character and a purseproud contempt for their national poverty lived obstinately on; and *The North Briton* worked the vein exhaustively.

In the composition of his journal and in his whole campaign against the minister, Wilkes had for his coadjutor a more eminent man, who, unlike himself, is to be conceived of, not as a pleasant adventurer, but as a principal literary figure of the time, the poet and satirist Charles Churchill. The two men were fast friends, although their lives had flowed in very different streams until they became acquainted in 1761. Churchill was the son of a clergyman, who was curate and lecturer of St John's, Westminster, and vicar of Rainham in Essex. The younger Charles was born in 1731 and early distinguished himself by his ability at Westminster school. Thence, he proceeded, in 1748, to St John's college, Cambridge¹; but his residence there was not for long. With characteristic impulsiveness, when only 18 years of age, he contracted a marriage in the Fleet with a girl named Martha Scott, and his university education had to be discontinued. His kindly father took the young couple into his house and had his son trained, as best he might, for holy orders. In 1754, Churchill was ordained deacon and licensed curate of South Cadbury in Somerset, whence, as priest, he removed, in 1756, to act as his father's curate at Rainham. Two years later, the father died, and the son was elected to succeed him as incumbent of St John's in Westminster, where he increased his income by teaching in a girls' school.

¹ See *Admissions to the College of St John the Evangelist*, pt. II, ed. Scott, R. F., p. 580.

Such is the outline of Churchill's earlier life—bald enough, if stripped of the malicious inventions which gathered round it. His later career is full of evidence both of his good and of his bad qualities. Burdened with two children and an extravagant wife, himself completely unsuited for his clerical profession and inclined to the pleasures of the town, in two years he became bankrupt, and owed the acceptance by his creditors of a composition to the generosity of his old schoolmaster, Pierson Lloyd. Afterwards, Churchill was to show his natural honesty and good feeling, not only by a constant friendship to his benefactor's son, Robert Lloyd, a poet of secondary rank, but, also, by paying his own debts in full, in disregard of his bankruptcy. That he was able to do this was due to his own new profession of poetry. He began, unluckily, with a Hudibrastic poem, *The Bard*, in 1760, which could not find a publisher. His second effort, *The Conclave*, contained matter against the dean and chapter of Westminster so libellous that the intending publisher dared not bring it out. A more interesting subject of satire presented itself in the contemporary stage, and, in March 1761, there appeared, at the author's own risk, *The Rosciad*. Its success was immediate and extraordinary; Churchill was enabled to pay his debts, to make an allowance to his wife, from whom he had now been for some time estranged, and to set up in glaringly unclerical attire as a man about town. But the penalty, too, for indulging in bitter criticism—a penalty, perhaps, welcome to the combative poet—was not long in coming; and, for the rest of his life, he was involved in an acrid literary warfare. Yet, in these tedious campaigns he was a constant victor. Few escaped unbruised from the cudgel of his verse, and, vulnerable though his private life made him to attack, the toughness of his fibre enabled him to endure.

In consequence of this literary celebrity, Churchill made the acquaintance of Wilkes, whose friendship was responsible for the turn his life took in his few remaining years. The last shred of the poet's respectability was soon lost in the Medmenham orgies; yet, his political satires, which, unlike those of his friend Wilkes, do not admit doubt of their sincerity, gave him a permanent place in English literature. Quite half of *The North Briton* was written by him; his keenest satiric poem was *The Prophecy of Famine*, which, in January 1763, raised the ridicule of Bute and his countrymen to its greatest height. Thanks to Wilkes's adroitness, Churchill escaped the meshes of the general warrant, and was afterwards let alone by government: he had not written No. 45. But he ceased to reside permanently in London. We hear of him in Wales in

1763, and, later, he lived at Richmond and on Acton common. The stream of his satires, political and social, continued unabated throughout. His days, however, were numbered. He died at Boulogne, on 4 November 1764, while on his way to visit Wilkes at Paris, and was buried at Dover.

'Life to the last enjoyed, here Churchill lies.' This line of his own was placed on his gravestone, and not inaccurately sums up the man. The burly poet's faults are too manifest to need insisting upon. It is pleasanter to remember that, as already stated, he supported his brother rake, Robert Lloyd, when the unlucky man was dying beggared in the Fleet. His devotion to Wilkes, like the rest of him, was unbounded and whole-hearted. Nor is any mean action recorded of him.

There is no denying that his verse is truculent and loud. What most distinguishes it from contemporary couplets is its spirit and strength. He may ramble, he may prose; but he never exhibits the neat, solemn tripping which tires us in his contemporaries. *The Rosciad*, with which he first won reputation, consists chiefly of a series of severe sketches of the leading actors in 1761. Few, save Garrick, escape unblamed; but the poet, although censorious, can hardly be called unfair. His verse maintains a steady level of force and skill, just within the bounds of poetry, lighted up, now and then, by such shrewd couplets as:

Appearances to save his only care;
So things seem right, no matter what they are;

and, occasionally, phrases of stinging wit intensify the ridicule.

The Rosciad called forth many enemies, and, in reply to an attack in *The Critical Review*, Churchill published *The Apology*, under the impression that the critique was Smollett's. It cannot be called an advance on its forerunner, although sufficiently tart to make Garrick, who was victimised in it, almost supplicate his critic's friendship. As a poem, it is much surpassed by Churchill's next composition, *Night*, which appeared in October 1761. The versification has become easier, the lines more pliant, without losing vigour. There is a suggestion of a poetical atmosphere not to be found in the hard, dry outlines of his earlier work. The substance is slight; it is merely a defence of late hours and genial converse over 'the grateful cup.' Churchill was, in this instance at all events, too wise to defend excess.

A year's rest given to the prose of *The North Briton* seems to have invigorated Churchill for the production of his

best satire, *The Prophecy of Famine*. Its main object was to decry and ridicule Bute and the Scots, although there is an undercurrent of deserved mockery at the reigning fashion of pastoral. Churchill, as he owns, was himself half a Scot¹; but the circumstance did not mitigate his national and perfectly sincere prejudice against his northern kinsfolk. The probable reason was that Bute was Wilkes's enemy, and the warm-hearted poet was wroth, too, in a fascinated sympathy with his friend. The wit and humour of the piece are in Churchill's most forcible and amusing vein. His hand is heavy, it is true; more dreary irony was never written; and he belabours his theme like a peasant wielding a flail; but the eighteenth century must have found him all the more refreshing. Compare him with the prose polemics of his day, and he is not specially venomous. He only repeats in sinewy verse the current topics of reproach against the Scots.

The painter Hogarth now crossed Churchill's path. A satiric print of Wilkes by Hogarth roused the poet's vicarious revenge. The savage piece of invective, *The Epistle to William Hogarth*, was the result, which, if it has not worn so well as Hogarth's pictures, yet, here and there, strikes a deeper note than is usual with its author. Take, for instance, the couplet:

With curious art the brain, too finely wrought,
Preys on herself, and is destroy'd by thought;

although his own fertility shows no sign of exhausting the soil. He was beginning, however, in his own metaphor, to vary the crop. *The Duellist*, published in January 1764, was written, not in the stock heroic couplet, but in octosyllabics suggestive of *Hudibras*. This was an attack on Samuel Martin, one of Wilkes's ministerial enemies, with a few satirical excursions like that on Warburton. The adoption of a new metre was not a success; its straggling movement doubled the risk which Churchill always ran of being tedious, and the extravagance of his vituperation is no antidote. In compensation, the poem contains some of his finest lines. The curse on Martin reveals an old and clearsighted pupil in the school of life:

Grant him what here he most requires,
And damn him with his own desires!

while the malicious criticism of Warburton's defence of Scripture suggests a literary experience which approves itself to the instincts of human nature:

So long he wrote, and long about it,
That e'en believers 'gan to doubt it.

¹ *The Prophecy of Famine*, ll. 221—2.

Contemporaneously with *The Duellist*, Churchill was writing, in the heroic couplet, *Gotham*, a curious farrago, in the three books of which a Utopian realm ruled by himself, a long denunciation of the Stewart dynasty and a description of an ideal king jostle one another. He does not appear at his best in this attempt at non-satiric poetry. The usual mannerisms of eighteenth-century poetry, the personifications, the platitudinous moralising, the hackneyed, meaningless descriptions are all to be found here. That entire absence of any taste for nature outside Fleet street which was characteristic of Churchill as fully as it was of Johnson places him at peculiar disadvantage when he imitates Spenser in a hasty catalogue of flowers, trees, months and other poetic properties. Not less did the straightforward vigour of his usual metre and style disqualify him for the prophet of the ideal. In short, in spite of Cowper's praise, he was off his track.

Only a few months before *Gotham* was printed, Churchill had published a very different poem, *The Conference*. He was accused of merely making his profit out of political satire, and he here, in words of obvious sincerity, repudiates the charge that he was looking for office or pension. At the same time, he refers to a better-grounded cause of censure—his seduction of a girl, whose father is said to have been a stone-cutter of Westminster. Instead of pleading extenuating circumstances, such as, in this case, certainly existed, he only confesses his fault and avows his remorse. On the other hand, his personal conduct throughout this miserable affair must be described as callous.

The rest of Churchill's poems are of less interest. *The Author* is a slashing attack on Smollett and other ministerial publicists and agents. *The Ghost*, in octosyllabics, derives its only interest from being, in part, his earliest work; it is tedious and rambling to a degree. We may allow *The Candidate*, directed against Lord Sandwich, to have deserved its share of praise for the defeat of 'Jemmy Twitcher¹' as he was nicknamed, in the election for the high stewardship of Cambridge university; but its appeal was merely temporary. There is little to remark on any of the other poems—*The Farewell*, *Independence* and *The Journey*—produced by the prolific poet in 1764. They showed an increasing metrical skill, and maintained his reputation, but they did not add to it. *The Times*, which, from its greater fire, might have taken high

¹ 'That Jemmy Twitcher should peach, I own surprises me.' Sandwich, the complete rake of the day, had brought Wilkes's obscene *Essay on Woman* before the House of Lords & a speech of extraordinary hypocrisy.

place among his works, was, unfortunately, both hideous in subject and extravagantly exaggerated in execution.

We find, in fact, that Churchill's talent remained almost stationary during the four years of his poetic industry. Crab-apples, according to Johnson, he produced from the first; and such his fruits remained to the end. He never shows the greater qualities of either of his two chief English predecessors in satire—either those of Pope whom he underrated, or those of Dryden whom he admired. His wit, though strong, is never exquisite. His characters are vividly and trenchantly described; but they do not live to our imagination. His good sense cannot be said to rise to wisdom; and he is deficient in constructive skill. *The Prophecy of Famine* is, after all, an ill-proportioned mixture of satiric epistle and satiric eclogue; while his other satires have little unity except what is provided by the main object of their attack. Although he justly ridicules some of the current phrases of contemporary lesser poetry, he cannot be said himself to rise superior to eighteenth-century conventions. His incessant personifications, 'Gay Description,' 'Dull Propriety,' are, in the end, wearisome; and many of his humorous couplets, constructed after the fashion of the time, rather seem like epigrams than are such. His real *forte* consisted in a steady pommelling of his adversary; with all his fierceness and prejudice, acidity and spite were foreign to his nature.

As a metrist, Churchill can claim some originality. He uses the heroic couplet of the day with fresh freedom and effectivity. At first, in *The Rosciad*, he can hardly be said to form his paired lines into periods. Then, in *The Epistle to William Hogarth*, the last line of his paragraph has a closing sound and really ends a period. Perhaps, it was his long involved sentences, compiled of many clauses, which led him, in later pieces, to a further change. From time to time, he uses *enjambement*, and even, by means of it, breaks up his couplets¹.

Churchill so overtops his rivals in political verse that they scarcely seem worth mentioning. Mason, his frequent butt as a writer of pastorals—'Let them with Mason bleat and bray and coo'—shrouded himself in political satire under the name Malcolm Macgregor². Falconer, a naval officer, attacked Pitt from the court point of view³. But both of these, and even

¹ Cf., for the effect gained by this occasional variation, *Independence*, ll. 199—206.

² As to Mason, cf. *ante*, chap. vi.

³ As to Falconer, cf. *ante*, chap. vii.

Chatterton in his *Consuliad*¹, merely illustrate their inferiority to Churchill.

Prose was far more effective than verse in the political controversies which followed Bute's resignation. The weekly essay, in its old form, died out gradually; but the flood of pamphlets continued. They were in a more serious vein than formerly. Measures rather than men were in dispute, not so much because the public taste had changed, as because the more prominent politicians, with the exception of Pitt, presented few points of interest. The ability of many of these numerous pamphlets is undeniable. Some leading statesmen had a share in them. We find such men as George Grenville, an ex-prime minister, and Charles Townshend, leader of the House of Commons, defending or attacking current policy in this fashion. Others were written by authors of literary eminence. Edmund Burke published a celebrated tract in defence of the first Rockingham ministry²; Horace Walpole was stirred to address the public concerning the dismissal of general Conway in 1764; latest of all, Johnson took part as a champion of the government during the agitation about the Middlesex election, and in opposition to the accusations of Junius. Perhaps, however, the more effective among these pamphlets were due to political understrappers. Charles Lloyd, Grenville's secretary, wrote a series in support of his patron's policy, including a clever reply to Burke. Thomas Whateley, secretary to the treasury, defended the same minister's finance. These and their fellows worked with more or less knowledge of the ground, and, if their special pleading be conspicuous, they also dispensed much sound information.

Two pamphlets, which appeared in 1764, and dealt with the constitutional questions raised by the prosecution of Wilkes, stand well above their fellows in ability and influence. The first appeared, originally, as *A Letter to The Public Advertiser*, and was signed 'Candor.' It was an attack on Lord Mansfield for his charge to the jury in the Wilkes case and on the practice of general warrants. With a mocking irony, now pleasant, now scathing, the author works up his case, suiting the pretended moderation of his language to the real moderation of his reasoning. The same writer, we cannot doubt, under the new pseudonym 'The Father of Candor,' put a practical conclusion to the legal controversy in his *Letter concerning Libels, Warrants, etc.*, published in the same

¹ Cf. *ante*, chap. x.

² *Short Account of a Short Administration*, 1766. (See bibliography.)

year. This masterly pamphlet attracted general admiration, and its cool and lucid reasoning, varied by an occasional ironic humour, did not meet with any reply. Walpole called it 'the only tract that ever made me understand law.' The author remains undiscovered. The publisher, Almon, who must have known the secret, declared that 'a learned and respectable Master in Chancery' had a hand in it¹. Candor's handwriting has been pronounced that of Sir Philip Francis²; but, clearly, in view of Almon's evidence, he can only have been part author; and the placid, suave humour of the pamphlets reads most unlike him, and, we may add, most unlike Junius.

Candor's first letter had originally appeared in *The Public Advertiser*, and there formed one of a whole class of political compositions, which, in the next few years, were to take the foremost place in controversy. Their existence was due to the shrewd enterprise of the printer Henry Sampson Woodfall, who had edited *The Public Advertiser* since 1758. In addition to trustworthy news of events at home and abroad, Woodfall opened his columns to correspondence, the greater part of which was political. He was scrupulously impartial in his choice from his letter-bag. Merit and immunity from the law of libel were the only conditions exacted. Soon, he had several journals, such as *The Gazetteer*, competing with his for correspondents; but *The Public Advertiser's* larger circulation, and the inclusion in it of letters from all sides in politics, enabled it easily to distance the rival prints in the quality and quantity of these volunteer contributions. George III himself was a regular subscriber; it gave him useful clues to public opinion. The political letters are of all kinds—denunciatory, humorous, defensive, solemn, matter-of-fact, rhetorical and ribald. Their authors, too, were most varied, and are now exceedingly hard to identify. Every now and then a statesman who had been attacked would vindicate himself under a pseudonym; more frequently, some hanger-on would write on his behalf, with many professions of being an impartial onlooker. There were independent contributors; and small groups of minor politicians

¹ *Anecdotes of Eminent Persons*, vol. 1, pp. 79, 80. Almon's words obviously imply that the master in chancery was still living in 1797. He wrote again, in 1770, both anonymously and under the name Phileleutherus Anglicanus (*Grenville Correspondence*, vol. III, pp. cxxxvi sqq., where the resemblance in manner to the Candor pamphlets is made obvious by extracts).

² Parkes, *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, vol. 1, pp. 74—81 and 99—101. A facsimile of Candor's handwriting is given in vol. II, plate 5.

would carry on a continuous correspondence for years. But neither single authors nor groups can be easily traced through their compositions. As is natural, their style seldom helps us to identify them. They wrote the current controversial prose, and, after 1770, their prose is tinged with a Junian dye. The pseudonyms throw little light on the matter. There was no monopoly in any one of them, and the same author would vary his pseudonyms as much as possible, chiefly with intent to avoid discovery and the decrease of credit which his communications might undergo if he were known, but, also, to provide sham opponents as a foil to his arguments and to create an illusion of wide public support for his views.

A good instance of the letter-writers was James Scott, a preacher of repute. In 1766, he contributed a series of letters to *The Public Advertiser*, signed 'Anti-Sejanus.' They were written in the interests of Lord Sandwich, and assailed, with much vehemence, the supposed secret intrigues of Bute. Scott used many other pseudonyms, and wrote so well that his later letters, which show Junius's influence in their style, were republished separately. From a private letter written by him to Woodfall¹, we learn that he, too, was a member of a group who worked together. Another writer we can identify was John Horne, later known as John Horne Tooke and as the author of *The Diversions of Purley*. He began to send in correspondence to the newspapers about 1764; but his celebrity only began when he became an enthusiastic partisan of Wilkes in 1768. Under the pseudonym 'Another Freeholder of Surrey,' he made a damaging attack on George Onslow², and, on being challenged, allowed the publication of his name. The legal prosecution which followed the acknowledgment of his identity, in the end, came to nothing, and Horne was able to continue his career as Wilkes's chief lieutenant. But the cool unscrupulousness with which Wilkes used the agitation as a mere instrument for paying off his own debts and gratifying his own ambitions disgusted even so warm a supporter as Horne. A quarrel broke out between them in 1771 concerning the disposal of the funds raised to pay Wilkes's debts by the society, The Supporters of the Bill of Rights, to which both belonged. Letter after letter from the two former friends

¹ Parkes, *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, vol. 1, pp. 180—1. Parkes, as usual with him in the case of the abler letters previous to 1769, attributes 'Anti-Sejanus' to Sir P. Francis. 'Anti-Sejanus' should probably be distinguished from 'Anti-Sejanus junior,' in 1767, who is likely to be Junius.

² Celebrated as the single member of the House of Commons who 'said that No. 45 was not a libel.'

appeared in *The Public Advertiser*. Horne, who, perhaps, had the better case, allowed himself to be drawn off into long petty recriminations on Wilkes's private life. Indiscreet expressions of his own were brought up against him, and the popularity of Wilkes, in any case, made the attempt to undermine him impossible. Yet 'parson Horne' had his triumph, too. The redoubtable Junius entered the controversy on Wilkes's side; Horne retorted vigorously, and proved the most successful critic of the greater libeller's productions. In truth, Junius's letters owed much of their success to his victims' inability to rebut his insinuations by giving the real facts in transactions which were necessarily secret. Horne's record was clear; he had no dignity to lose; he could pin Junius down by a demand for proof. Yet, even allowing for these advantages, his skill in dissecting his adversary's statements and his courage in defying the most formidable libeller of the day are much to his credit as a pamphleteer. Before long, Junius was glad to beat a retreat.

It was in the autumn of 1768 that the political letters of the unknown writer who, later, took the pseudonym of Junius, gained the public ear. But we know from his own statement¹ that, for two years before that date, he had been busy in furtive, assassinating polemic; and it is possible that a careful search of newspaper files would result in the discovery of some of his earlier performances of 1766 and 1767. The time when he appears to have begun letter-writing tallies well with the objects pursued by him during the period of his known writings. He was an old-fashioned whig, and a warm, almost an impassioned, adherent of the former prime minister, George Grenville. Thus, the accession to power, in July 1766, of the elder Pitt, now Lord Chatham, with his satellite, the duke of Grafton, after a breach with Lord Temple, Grenville's brother, and their adherents, most likely, gave the impulse to Junius's activity. It was not, however, till October 1768 that he became clearly distinguishable from other writers in *The Public Advertiser*. By that time, Chatham's nervous prostration had rendered him incapable of transacting business, and the duke of Grafton was acting as prime minister in an administration which had become mainly tory. For some reason or other, Junius nursed a vindictive and unassuageable hatred against the duke, which it seems difficult to attribute only to the rancour of a partisan. The weakness of the loosely constructed ministry, too, would tempt their adversary to complete their rout by a

¹ *Grenville Correspondence*, vol. iv, p. 380.

storm of journalistic shot and shell. So, Junius, sometimes under his most constant and, perhaps, original signature 'C.', sometimes under other disguises, continued to add to the fury and cruel dexterity of his attacks. 'The Grand Council' ridiculed the ministers' Irish policy and their methods of business. A legal job which was attempted at the duke of Portland's expense furnished another opportunity. Nor was Junius content with these public efforts to discredit his foes. In January 1768, he sent Chatham an unsigned letter, full of flatteries for the sick man and of suggestions of disloyalty on the part of his colleagues. For the time being, however, Chatham continued to lend his name to the distracted ministry, which staggered on from one mistake to another. Those on which Junius, under his various *aliases*, seized for animadversion were small matters; but they were damaging, and his full knowledge of them, secret as they sometimes were, gave weight to his arguments. His ability seemed to rise with the occasion: the 'prentice hand which may have penned 'Poplicola's' attacks on Chatham in 1767 had become a master of cutting irony and merciless insinuation, when, as 'Lucius,' he, in 1768, flayed Lord Hillsborough. The time was ripe for his appearance as something better than a skirmisher under fleeting pseudonyms, and the series of the letters of Junius proper began in January 1769. They never, however, lost the stamp of their origin. To the last, Junius is a light-armed auxiliary, first of the Grenville connection, then, on George Grenville's death in 1770, of the opponents of the king's tory-minded ministry under Lord North. He darts from one point of vantage to another. Now one, now another, minister is his victim, either when guilty or when unable to defend himself efficiently. Ringing invective, a deadly catalogue of innuendoes, barbed epigrams closing a scornful period, a mastery of verbal fencing and, here and there, a fund of political good sense, all were used by the libeller, and contributed to make him the terror of his victims. The choice and the succession of the subjects of his letters were by no means haphazard. His first letter was an indictment of the more prominent members of the administration. It created a diversion which made the letter-writer's fortune, for Sir William Draper, conqueror of Manilla, rushed into print to defend an old friend, Lord Granby. Thoroughly trounced, ridiculed, humiliated and slandered, he drew general attention to his adversary, who then proceeded to the execution of his main design. In six letters, under his customary signature or the obvious alternative

Philo-Junius, he assailed the duke of Grafton's career as man and minister. Meanwhile, the agitation provoked by Wilkes's repeated expulsion from the commons, and his repeated election for Middlesex, was growing furious; and, in July 1769, Junius, following the lead of George Grenville, took up the demagogue's cause. For two months, in some of his most skilful compositions, he urged the constituency's right to elect Wilkes. Then, as the theme wore out, he chose a new victim. Grafton's administration depended on his alliance with the duke of Bedford, one of the most unpopular men in England. Junius turned on his foe's ally with a malignity only second to that which he displayed against Grafton himself. A triumphant tone begins to characterise the letters, for it was obvious that the Grafton ministry was tottering to its fall; and Junius decided on a bolder step. His information was of the best, and he was convinced that the king had no intention of changing his ministerial policy, even if Grafton resigned. The king, then, must be terrorised into submitting to a new consolidated whig administration. The 'capital and, I hope, final piece,' as it was called by Junius, who was conscious of his own influence with the public though he much overrated it, was an address to the king which contained a fierce indictment of George III's public action since his accession. It was an attempt to raise popular excitement to a pitch which would compel George to yield. But the libeller placed too much trust in his power over the ruling oligarchy and gave too little credit to the dauntless courage and resolution of the king. Lord North took up the vacant post of prime minister; and his talent and winning personality, assisted by the all-prevailing corruption and by the very violence of the opposition in which Junius took part, carried the day. It was the House of Commons which kept Lord North in power, and to its conquest the angry opposition turned. Junius now appears as one of the foremost controversialists on Wilkes's election, and as champion of the nascent radical party forming under Wilkes's leadership in the city of London. Other matters, also, were subjects of his letters, such as the dispute with Spain concerning the Falkland islands, and the judicial decisions of Lord Mansfield; but they are all subordinate to his main end. Ever and anon, too, he returns, now with little public justification, to the wreaking of his inexplicable hatred on the duke of Grafton, 'the pillow upon which I am determined to rest all my resentments.' But the game was up. Clearly, neither king nor commons could be coerced by an outside agitation, which, after all, was of no great extent. The quarrel of

Wilkes and Horne wrecked the opposition in the city. Junius saw his scale kick the beam, and it was only the too true report conveyed by Garrick to the court, in November 1771, that he would write no more, which induced him to pen his final attack on Lord Mansfield, with which the collected letters close.

Junius vanishes with the publication of the collected edition of his letters. It was far from complete. Not only are the letters previous to 1769 omitted, but many of inferior quality or of transient interest, written during the continuance of the great series, usually under other pseudonyms, are absent. And, more remarkable still, there are certain letters of 1772, after the Junian series had closed, which he very anxiously desired not to be known as his, and which passed unidentified for years. Under fresh pseudonyms, such as 'Veteran,' he poured forth furious abuse on Lord Barrington, secretary at war. The cause, in itself, was strangely slight. It was only the appointment of a new deputy secretary, formerly a broker, Anthony Chamier, and the resignations of the preceding deputy, Christopher D'Oyly, and of the first clerk, Philip Francis. But, trifling as the occasion might be, it was sufficient to make the cold and haughty Junius mouth with rage.

Junius follows the habit of his fellow-correspondents in dealing very little with strictly political subjects. Personal recrimination is the chief aim of his letters, and it would hardly be fair to contrast them with those of a different class of authors, such as Burke, or even with the product of the acute legal mind of Candor. Yet, when he treats of political principles he does so with shrewdness and insight. He understood the plain-going whig doctrine he preached, and expounded it, on occasion, with matchless clearness. What could be better as a statement than the sentences in the dedication of the collected letters which point out that the liberty of the press is the guarantee of political freedom and emphasise the responsibility of parliament? And the same strong common sense marks an apophthegm like that on the duke of Grafton—

Injuries may be atoned for and forgiven; but insults admit of no compensation. They degrade the mind in its own esteem, and force it to recover its level by revenge.

Yet these sentences betray in their sinister close the cast of Junius's mind. There is an evil taint in his strength, which could not find satisfaction in impartial reasoning on political questions. This partisanship merges at once into personal hatred, and his rancour against his chief victim, Grafton, can hardly be accounted

for on merely political grounds. His object is to wound and ruin,⁴ not only to overthrow. Scandal, true or false, is the weapon of his choice. 'The great boar of the forest,' as Burke called him, loved the poison in which he dipped his tusks, and took a cruel pleasure in the torture he inflicted. Secure in his anonymity, no insult or counter-thrust could reach him. With frigid glee, he retorts upon accusations, which, of necessity, were vague and wide, by plausible insinuations against his opponents. 'To him that knows his company,' said Dr Johnson, 'it is not hard to be sarcastic in a mask.' And Junius, thus gripped with the obvious realities of his position, found no reply to this sarcasm.

But, however much he owed to his concealment and to his remarkable knowledge of the vulnerable points of his quarry (and, be it added, to the cunning with which he selected for his attack men who could not produce their defence), Junius holds a high position on his own literary merits. He was the most perfect wielder of slanderous polemic that had ever arisen in English political controversy. Not lack of rivals, but eminent ability, made him supreme in that ignoble competition. In invective which is uninformed by any generosity of feeling he stands unequalled. His sentences, brief, pithy and pungent, exhibit a delicate equilibrium in their structure. Short as they are, their rhythm goes to form the march of a period, and the cat-like grace of their evolution ends in the sudden, maiming wit of a malign epigram. Direct invective, lucid irony, dry sarcasm mingle with one another in the smooth-ranked phrases. A passage on George III and Grafton will show to what excellence Junius can rise:

There is surely something singularly benevolent in the character of our sovereign. From the moment he ascended the throne there is no crime of which human nature is capable (and I call upon the recorder¹ to witness it) that has not appeared venial in his sight. With any other prince, the shameful desertion of him in the midst of that distress, which you alone had created, in the very crisis of danger, when he fancied he saw the throne already surrounded by men of virtue and abilities, would have outweighed the memory of your former services. But his Majesty is full of justice, and understands the doctrine of 'compensations'; he remembers with gratitude how soon you had accommodated your morals to the necessities of his service; how cheerfully you had abandoned the engagements of private friendship, and renounced the most solemn professions to the public. The sacrifice of Lord Chatham was not lost upon him. Even the cowardice and perfidy of deserting him may have done you no disservice in his esteem. The instance was painful, but the principle might please.

Junius possessed to perfection the art of climax.

¹ Jas. Eyre, later chief justice, in whose court there had lately been condemned for murder two or three persons, who received the royal pardon.

* The anonymity which he marvellously preserved enabled Junius to maintain that affectation of superiority which distinguished him. Never before were mere scandals and libellous diatribes presented with such an air of haughty integrity and stern contempt for the baseness of jacks-in-office. We have to make an effort in order to remember that this lofty gentleman, above the temptation of 'a common bribe,' is really engaged in the baser methods of controversy, and cuts a poor figure beside Johnson and Burke. But, from his impersonal vantage ground, he could deliver his judgments with more authority and more freely display the deliberate artifice of his style. Its general construction will appear from the passage on Grafton which has been quoted above. But he also uses a more shrouded form of innuendo than he there employs. He was very ingenious in composing a sentence, or even a whole period, of double meaning, and in making his real intent peculiarly clear withal. Perfect lucidity, indeed, is one of his chief literary qualities. In his most artificial rhetoric, his meaning is obvious to any reader. His wit, too, is of high quality, in spite of his laboured antitheses. It has outlived the obsolete fashion of its dress. It far transcends any trick of words; as often as not, it depends on a heartless sense of comedy. 'I should,' he wrote to the unhappy Sir William Draper, 'justly be suspected of acting upon motives of more than common enmity to Lord Granby, if I continued to give you fresh materials or occasion for writing in his defence.' He needs, we feel, defence himself. The best apology, perhaps, that can be offered for him is that he was carrying on an evil tradition and has to be condemned chiefly because of his excellence in a common mode.

Something, too, of his celebrity is due to the mystery he successfully maintained. The wildest guesses as to his identity were made in his own day and after. It was thought at first that only Burke could write so well, and most of the eminent contemporaries of Junius have, at one time or another, been charged with the authorship of the letters. Fresh light was cast on the problem by the publication, in 1812, of his private letters to Woodfall, with specimens of his handwriting, and subsequent research has at least laid down some of the conditions which must be satisfied if his identity is to be proved. Among them, we may take it that a coincidence of the real life of the author with the hints regarding himself thrown out in the letters is not to be expected. It was part of Junius's plan to avoid giving any real clue, and he was anxious to be thought personally important. But there are more certain

data to go upon. The very marked handwriting of Junius is well known, although, to all seeming, it is a feigned hand. The dates of the letters show when the author must have been in London. His special knowledge is of importance. He had an inner acquaintance with the offices of secretary at war and secretary of state, and he was very well informed on much of the doings of contemporary statesmen and on the court. His politics show him to have been an adherent of George Grenville, who was anxious to draw Lord Chatham into alliance with the thoroughgoing whigs, and turn out the king's chosen ministers. The latter he hated to a man; but he had a singular antipathy to Grafton and Barrington¹. His power of hating is characteristic. We must find a man proud and malignant, yet possessed of considerable public spirit and of a desire for an honest, patriotic administration. Finally, we require a proof of ability, in 1770, to write the letters with their merits and defects. Later writings, even when tinged with the admired Junian style, are but poor evidence. Nor is the inferior quality of a man's later productions an absolute bar to his claims. He may have passed his prime.

Perhaps it is not too bold to say that the only claimant who fulfils the majority of these conditions is Sir Philip Francis. In his case, also, there are corroborative circumstances of weight; and, although, with our present knowledge, we cannot definitely state that he was the author of the letters, yet it is pretty clear that he was concerned in their production. Sir Philip was an Irishman, the son of that elder Philip Francis who was also a pamphleteer. He was born in Dublin on 22 October 1740, but was bred in England at St Paul's school. In 1756, he obtained a clerkship in the secretary of state's office, and accompanied Lord Kinnoul on his embassy to Portugal in 1760. From 1762 to 1772, he held the post of first clerk at the war office, which he resigned in obscure circumstances only to be appointed a member of the governor-general's council in India next year. His long feud there with Hastings brought him into public notice, and, after his return to England in 1781, he became the relentless engineer of the prosecution of his enemy. Failure, however, alike attended these efforts and his hopes of political office. He gave up, in 1807, the seat in parliament which he had held from 1784. He survived to see the claim put forward that he was the author of Junius; but he died, without either admitting or denying the fact, on 23 December

¹ 'Next to the Duke of Grafton, I verily believe that the blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to Lord Barrington.' Junius to Woodfall, Letter, 61.

- 1818. He had married twice and left descendants by his first wife.

Though this career was not humdrum, yet the earlier part of it by no means corresponded with the fancied importance of Junius, and John Taylor, who declared for Francis's authorship in 1814, showed an adventurous spirit in his thesis. Nevertheless, the arguments he collected then, and those since added by his adherents, form a strong array. The all-important handwriting has been assigned to Francis by expert evidence; four or five Junian seals were used by him, and, since Francis's undisguised hand appears in a dating on the Junian proofs along with the feigned, while the feigned hand directs the envelope of a copy of verses dated 1771 and shown, by absolutely independent evidence¹, to be of Francis's composition, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that Francis was Junius's collaborator, if not Junius himself. The same result is obtained from the facts that Junius used, and vouched for, a report made by Francis of one of Chatham's speeches in December 1770, and that an unacknowledged Junian letter signed 'Phalaris' can hardly have been written without Francis's cooperation, employing, as it does, Francis's very words in a letter to Chatham². Again, Francis's presence in London tallies remarkably with the dates of the letters³. When he is absent, Junius is silent. In less external matters, Francis had that experience of the offices of war and state which is marked in Junius. His politics were identical with those of the libeller, and he was at the time engaged as a jackal of the declining politician Calcraft, in the labour of effecting a junction of Chatham and the Grenvilles. Calcraft and Lord Temple, the latter a veteran patron of libellers, may well have given him court intelligence not otherwise obtainable. Calcraft, again, at the time of his death in 1772, was, obviously, under great obligations to Francis for services rendered: he leaves him a legacy and prescribes his nomination to a pocket-borough of his own. If Junius's remorseless hatred of the duke of Grafton

¹ The verses, copied out by Francis's cousin, Tilghman, and addressed in the feigned Junian hand, were sent to a Miss Giles at Bath, in the winter of 1770—1. Later, before this copy was the subject of investigation, Sir P. Francis gave his second wife another copy, in his own hand and on a portion of the same sheet of paper as Miss Giles's copy, among other specimens of his early verses.

² See the article by Sir Leslie Stephen in *The English Historical Review*, April 1888. The letter to Chatham was sent through Calcraft.

³ Yet the evidence here is rather negative than positive. See Hayward, *More about Junius*.

remains unexplained¹—though some insult received by Francis in the course of his official duties is an easy supposition—the fury he manifests against Barrington in 1772 is in precise harmony with the mysterious retirement of D'Oyly and Francis which partly forms the theme of that attack. Then, the characters of Junius and Francis markedly coincide. The same pride, the same fierce hatreds, the same implacable revenge and the same good intention towards the public interest meet us in both. Even the seeming improbability of Junius's hostile reference to Calcraft is paralleled by Francis's readiness, when piqued, to put the worst construction on his friends. At the same time, a difficulty arises in the question as to Francis's ability to write the letters. True, there are Junian turns in his productions of later date. He shares that trait with many writers, and, high though his reputation as a pamphleteer was, we must admit that, if he was Junius in 1770, under his own name in 1780 he was a cooling sun.

To sum up, the letters of Junius seem to be brought home to a small group which included Calcraft, Francis and, perhaps, Lord Temple². They passed through Francis's hands, and he is their most likely author. He evidently wished to be thought so; but, if he was, the malignant talent they displayed could only develop in secrecy, or, perhaps, his prime was short. He remains in his real character a pretender only, in his assumed, a shade: *stat nominis umbra*.

In Junius, we have the culmination of a series of political writings; but his merits and defects do not exhaust theirs. Abuse and slander and political hatred are continually to be found in all. These blameworthy features should not obscure the quantity of solid facts and serious argument put forward for the public information, in many able and honest pamphlets and letters. It is easier for posterity than it was for the writers to judge of their fairness and accuracy; not so easy, perhaps, to perceive that, with their open discussion and criticism, they were the chief safeguards of the responsibility of government to public opinion.

¹ The explanation may lie hid in the lost Junian letter to the duke, signed 'Lucius,' and seen by Henry Bohn (Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*, see bibliography).

² Temple has even been claimed as the author of the *Letters* (Smith, W. J., *Grenville Papers*, see bibliography); but, beyond the facts that he, doubtless, approved, their purpose and was a patron of virulent pamphleteers and himself a pamphleteer, there does not seem to be corroboration of this theory. It is true that Lady Temple's handwriting had a strong resemblance to that of Junius. But Temple would hardly have sent anonymous letters to his brother-in-law, Chattham, written in a hand which the latter must have known well.

Estmere must overwhelm the soldan; Susy Pye (in *Young Beichan*) and Hind Horn must win their loves. These are entertaining verse. *Earl Brand*, however, like *Babylon*, like the Scandinavian versions, is tragic in the matter; although a closely related ballad, *Erlinton*, killing fifteen of the pursuers, spares the father, and lets the lovers go off happy to the greenwood. *Lady Isabel*, too, escapes by whatever stratagem from her savage wooer; and here, of course, are borrowed motives, as in the 'three cries' for help. There is a glimpse, too, of supernatural aid, as, in some versions, that of the talking birds. In a ballad of similar theme, but, quite prosaic details, *The Fair Flower of Northumberland*, it is hard to say whether the supernatural elements have been toiled down or lost, or else were never in the piece at all. Among other elopement stories of the primitive sort, mainly situation but with a few romantic details, *Gil Breilton*, a sterling old ballad, is worthy of note; the type, however, easily passed into mere sensation, into mawkish and cheap sentiment and into the rout of tales about runaways fair or foul, mainly localised in Scotland. There is even sadder stuff than this. *Brown Robin*, *Willie and Earl Richard's Daughter* (purporting to account for the birth of Robin Hood), *Rose the Red and White Lily*, *The Famous Flower of Serving Men* and *Tom Potts*, are a descending series with very low fall. The singing-ropes of balladry are here in rags, and tawdry rags too. There is recovery of old traditions, however, in the Scottish ballads of bride-stealing or elopement like *Katharine Jaffray*—whether Scott's own doing, or compiled from traditional fragments, in any case the model of his *Young Bochinvar*—and in like pieces of varying merit, *Bonny Baby Livingston*, *Eppie Morrie* and *The Lady of Arngosh*—the last named known in many of its details, both as an event about 1736 and as a popular song, but unfortunately recovered only in fragments. Very different, finally, is the tone of two good ballads, *Willie's Lykk-Wake* and *The Gay Goshawk*, where love finds out the way by stratagem and inspires robust verse of the old kind.

Complications of kin make up ballads of domestic tragedy, a most important group; and even the inroads of a doggerel poet upon the old material, even the cheap 'literature' of the stalls, cannot hide that ancient dignity. The motive of *Bewick and Graham*, outwardly a story of two drunken squires near Carlisle, their quarrel, and the sacrifice of two fine lads to this quarrel in the conflict of filial duty with ties of friendship—told, by the way, in verse that often touches the lowest levels—redeems the ballad

from its degraded form and gives it the pathos of a *Cid*. The cry of the dying victor—

Father, cou'd ye not drunk your wine at home,
And letten me and my brother be?

is not impressive, perhaps, as a quotation ; but in its context and climax it stands with the great things of the great poems. *Andrew Lamie*, enormously popular in the north of Scotland, represents another class of homely ballads, more or less vulgarised by their form, their overdone sentiment and their efforts at literary grace, but not without appeal and a certain force of tradition. Tradition at its purest, and an appeal to which few readers fail in responding, characterise the great ballads of domestic tragedy. *Edward*, for example, is so inevitable, so concentrated, that sundry critics, including the latest editor of Scott's *Minstrelsy*, would refer it to art ; but tradition can bring about these qualities in its own way. *Lord Randal*, with its bewildering number of versions ; *Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard*, a favourite in Shakespeare's day and often quoted ; *Glasgerion* (who may be the 'Glascurion' mentioned in Chaucer's *House of Fame* and may represent the Welsh *Glas Keraint*), a simple but profoundly affecting ballad on a theme which no poet could now handle without either constraint or offence ; *Child Maurice* ; *The Cruel Brother* ; *The Twa Brothers*—with a particularly effective climax—offer tragedy of the false mistress, the false wife, the false servant, and tragedy of more complicated matter. Wives false and wives true are pictured in two sterling Scottish ballads, *The Baron o' Brackley* and *Captain Car*, both founded on fact. *The Braes o' Yarrow* knew another faithful wife. Darker shadows of incest, mainly avoided by modern literature, fall in possibility on *Babylon*, quoted above, and in real horror upon *Sheath and Knife* and *Lizzie Wan*. The treacherous nurse, again, with that bloody and revengeful *Lamkin*—a satiric name—long frightened Scottish children ; and a case of treachery in higher station, involving trial by combat and giving many hints of mediæval ways, is preserved in the old story of *Sir Aldingar*, familiar to William of Malmesbury. Finally, there is the true-love. The adjective is beautifully justified in *The Three Ravens*, unfortunately less known than its cynical counterpart, *The Twa Corbies*. True-love is false in *Young Hunting* ; and fickle lovers come to grief in *Lord Lovel*, *Fair Margaret* and *Sweet William*, and *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet*. Fate, not fickleness, however, brings on the tragedy in *Fair Janet*, *Lady Maisey*,

Clerk Saunders; while fickleness is condoned and triumphant in ballads which Child calls 'pernicious': *The Broom o' Cowdenknowe* and *The Wylie Wife of the Hie Toun Hie*. Better is the suggestion of *The Wife of Bath's Tale* in the popular *Knight and Shepherd's Daughter*. *Child Waters*, which both Child and Grundtvig praise as the pearl of English ballads, belongs to the well known group of poems celebrating woman's constancy under direst provocation; neither Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale* nor that dramatic poem of the *Nut Brown Maid* pleads the cause of woman with more eloquence. Ellen in the stable, with her new-born child, appeals to any heart:

Lullabye, my oun deere child!
Lullabye, deere child, deere!
I wold thy father were a king,
Thy mother layd on a beere!

While this ballad has wandered far from the dramatic and choral type, the survival in its structure is marked enough; and its incremental repetition, in several sequences, is most effective.

Ballads of the funeral, echoes of the old *coronach*, *vocero*, whatever the form of communal grief, are scantily preserved in English; *Bonnie James Campbell* and *The Bonny Earl of Murray* may serve as types; but the noblest outcome of popular lament, however crossed and disguised by elements of other verse it may seem in its present shape, is *Sir Patrick Spens*, which should be read in the shorter version printed by Percy in the *Reliques*, and should not be teased into history. The incremental repetition and climax of its concluding stanzas are beyond praise. Less affecting is the 'good night'—unless we let *Johnny Armstrong*, beloved of Goldsmith, pass as strict representative of this type. *Lord Maxwell's Last Good-Night*, it is known, suggested to Byron the phrase and the mood of Childe Harold's song. To be a ballad, however, these 'good nights' must tell the hero's story, not simply echo his emotion.

Superstition, the other world, ghost-lore, find limited scope in English balladry. Two ballads of the sea, *Bonnie Annie* and *Brown Robyn's Confession*, make sailors cast lots to find the 'fey folk' in the ship, and so to sacrifice the victim. Commerce with the other world occurs in *Thomas Rymer*, derived from a romance, and in *Tam Lin*, said by Henderson to be largely the work of Burns. *Clerk Colvill* suffers from his alliance with a mermaid. *The Great Silkie of Sule Skerry*, a mournful little ballad from Shetland, tells of him who is 'a man upo' the lan'; but a seal,

'a silkie in the sea.' Other transformation ballads are *Kemp Owyne*, *Allison Gross* and *The Laily Worm*. In *Sweet William's Ghost*, however, a great favourite of old, and in the best of all 'supernatural' ballads, *The Wife of Usher's Well*, dignified, pathetic, reticent, English balladry competes in kind, though by no means in amount, with the riches of Scandinavian tradition.

Epic material of every sort was run into the ballad mould. *King Orfeo* finds Eurydice in Shetland; the ballad is of very old structural type. Sacred legends like that of *Sir Hugh*, and secular legends such as *Hind Horn*, occur; while *Sir Cawline* and *King Estmere* are matter of romance. Possibly, the romances of Europe sprang in their own turn from ballads; and *Sir Lionel*, in the Percy folio, with its ancient type of structure, may even reproduce the kind of ballads which formed a basis for *Sir Cawline* itself. Minstrels, of course, could take a good romance and make it over into indifferent ballads; three of these are so described by Child—*The Boy and the Mantle*, *King Arthur and King Cornwall* and *The Marriage of Sir Gawaine*. With the cynical *Crow and Pie* we reach the verge of indecency, also under minstrel patronage, though it is redeemed for balladry by a faint waft of tradition. This piece, along with *The Baffled Knight* and *The Broomfield Hill*, is close to the rout, from which Tom D'Urfey selected his *Pills to Purge Melancholy*. Thoroughly debased is *The Keach in the Creel*; but *The Jolly Beggar*, especially in the 'old lady's' manuscript, is half-redeemed by the dash and swing of the lines. Old ladies, as one knows from a famous anecdote of Scott, formerly liked this sort of thing, without losing caste, and saw no difference between it and the harmless fun of *Get Up and Bar the Door*, or the old story, which Hardy seems to record as still a favourite in Dorsetshire, of *Queen Eleanor's Confession*.

With this ballad we come to history, mainly perverted, but true as tradition. *Lord Delamere*, debased in broadsides, *Hugh Spencer's Feats in France* and the vastly popular *John Dory*; naval ballads like the poor *Sweet Trinity* and the excellent *Sir Andrew Barton*; Scottish *King James and Brown*, and that sterling ballad *Mary Hamilton* which Andrew Lang has successfully called back from Russia to its place at queen Mary's own court, with twenty-eight versions still extant to attest its vogue—all these are typical in their kind. But the historical ballad, recited rather than sung epic in all its purposes and details, and far removed from the choral ballad of dramatic situation, is best studied in those pieces which have become

traditional along the Scottish border. Not all, however, are of the chronicle type. In 1593, a certain freebooter was hanged, and his nephew took good vengeance for him, calling out a ballad; whatever its original shape, one finds it still fresh with the impression of actual deeds; and, in its nervous couplets, its lack of narrative breadth, the lilt and swing of it, one is inclined to call *The Lads of Wamphray* a case of *ipsi confingunt*—a phrase of which Leslie was making use, not far from this date, as to the Borderers and their songs. The dialogue is immediate, and has the old incremental repetition :

O Simmy, Simmy, now let me gang,
And I vow I'll ne'er do a Crichton wrang.

O Simmy, Simmy, now let me be,
And a peck o' goud I'll gie to thee.

O Simmy, Simmy, let me gang,
And my wife shall heap it wi' her hand;

This was not made at long range. Epic, on the other hand, and reminiscent, is *Dick o' the Cow*—cited by Tom Nashe—a good story told in high spirits; long as it is, it has a burden, and was meant to be sung. *Archie o' Canfield*, *Hobie Noble*, *Jock o' the Side* and others of the same sort are narratives in the best traditional style; Scott's imitation of these is *Kilmont Willie*—at least it is so much his own work as to deserve to bear his name. Still another class is the short battle-piece, of which *Harlaw*, *Bothwell Bridge* and even *Flodden Field*, preserved by Deloney, may serve as examples. *Durham Field*, in sixty-six stanzas, was made by a minstrel. Refusing classification, there stand out those two great ballads, probably on the same fight, *Cheviot* and *Otterburn*. The version of the former known as *Chevy Chase*, 'written over for the broadside-press,' as Child remarks, was the object of Addison's well known praise; what Sidney heard as 'trumpet sound' is not certain, but one would prefer to think it was the old *Cheviot*. One would like, too, the liberty of bringing Shakespeare into the audience, and of regarding that ancient ballad as contributing to his conception of *Hotspur*. These are no spinsters' songs, but rather, in the first instance at least, the making and the tradition of men-at-arms. A curiously interlaced stanza arrangement, here and there to be noted in both the old *Cheviot* and *Otterburn*, as well as Richard Sheale's signature to the former as part of his minstrel stock, imply considerable changes in the structure of the original ballad. Sheale, of course, had simply copied a favourite song; but the fact is suggestive.

Last of all, the greenwood. *Johnie Cock*, says Child, is 'a precious specimen of the unspoiled traditional ballad.' A single situation and event, it contrasts sharply with a long story like *Adam Bell* as well as with the various pieces, short or long, which deal with Robin himself. From *Johnie Cock* to the *Gest* is a process of great interest to the student of traditional verse. Had the *Gest*, indeed, been made by its humble rhapsode in an unlettered age, the epic process would have had even more scope, and would have drawn upon poetic sources already claimed for deliberate composition and the literary record. As it is, Robin may be proud of his place. 'Absolutely a creation of the ballad muse,' he is the hero of a sterling little epic, and of thirty-six extant individual ballads, good and bad; the good are mainly of a piece with the old epic material, and the bad are indebted for their badness to the corruptions of the broadside press, the editing for garlands and the exhausted vitality of late tradition. Robin has a definite personality throughout, though the degenerate ballads, as in the case of late poems about Charlemagne, make him anybody's victim. Any local hero could be exalted by the simple process of outwitting and trouncing the old master of that craft. One of the latest poems, a dreary compilation called the *True Tale of Robin Hood*, the only piece in Child's collection which is not anonymous, is the work of Martin Parker. But one forgets trash. Robin remains as the best ballads and the *Gest* have drawn him—generous, brave, pious, with a touch of melancholy and a touch of humour unknown to the strictly choral muse. The narrative art of this good verse is very high. No story is better told anywhere than the story of Robin's loan to Sir Richard and its payment; humour is held firmly in hand; and Chaucer himself could not better the ease and sureness of the little epic. Nor does the *Gest* improve in all ways upon its material. *Robin Hood and the Monk* is a sterling piece of narrative. The brief close of the *Gest*, telling, in five stanzas, how Robin was 'beguiled' and slain, and rather awkwardly quoting an unconnected bit of dialogue, should be compared with the ballad of *Robin Hood's Death* from the Percy folio. Here, in spite of eighteen missing stanzas, the story is admirably told. Every incident counts: the testy humour of Robin at the start, the mysterious old woman banning him as she kneels on the plank over 'black water,' the fatal bleeding, the final struggle, revenge, pious parting and death—good narrative throughout. It is clear that a process had taken place in the gradual formation of this

cycle which not only brought its several parts into fair coherence, but, also, exercised a reactionary influence upon tradition itself. In any case, with these ballads of Robin Hood, balladry itself crossed the marches of the epic, and found itself far from the old choral, dramatic improvisations, though still fairly close to the spirit and motive of traditional verse.

A word remains to be said on the sources and the values of British ballads as a whole. Common 'Aryan' origin, though it was still held in a modified form by Gaston Paris, can no longer be maintained so as to account for the community of theme in the ballads of Europe. What has been done by scholars like Child and Grundtvig, by Nigra, Bugge and others, is to have established certain groups, more or less definite, which, in different lands and times, tell the same general story or give the same particular motive or detail. To account for these groups is another task. A pretty little ballad from Shetland narrates in quite choral, dramatic form the story of Orpheus and Eurydice. Bugge has traced the same story from a Danish ballad far back into medieval times; its ultimate source, to be sure, is the classical account. Another source, we have seen, is legend; still another is the direct historical event. Evidently, then, the matter of sources is something to be settled for the narrative part of each individual ballad; but, however great the interest of this investigation may be, however obvious its claims and satisfactory its results, it does not affect the specific ballad as a literary form. The structure of the ballad—what makes it a species, the elements of it—derives from choral and dramatic conditions; what gives it its peculiar art of narrative is the epic process working by oral tradition, and gradually leading to a new structure with choral and dramatic elements still surviving, though dwindling, in the guise of refrain and incremental repetition. The metrical form remains fairly constant throughout. With certain other formal characteristics, the commonplaces, the conventional phrases and motives, there is no space to deal here. So, too, with regard to imitations good and bad, we can only refer to Scott's *Kinmont Willie* for one class, and, for the other, to that famous forgery, the *Hardyknute* of Lady Wardlaw.

The aesthetic values of the ballad call for no long comment. They are the values which attach to rough, strong verse intent upon its object. Trope and figure are out of the question, and all feats of language as such. No *verborum artifex* works here. The appeal is straight. It is, indeed, ridiculous to call the ballads

'primitive'; not only have they a developed art of their own, but they are crossed at every turn by literary influences, mainly working for coherence of narrative, which are indirect, indeed, yet sure. Nevertheless, the abiding value of the ballads is that they give a hint of primitive and unspoiled poetic sensation. They speak not only in the language of tradition, but also with the voice of the multitude; there is nothing subtle in their working, and they appeal to things as they are. From one vice of modern literature they are free: they have no 'thinking about thinking,' no feeling about feeling. They can tell a good tale. They are fresh with the open air; wind and sunshine play through them; and the distinction, old as criticism itself, which assigns them to nature rather than to art, though it was overworked by the romantic school and will be always liable to abuse, is practical and sound.

CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS VERSE TO THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—FINAL WORDS

IN a previous chapter¹, something was said of the changes in language and in thought which accompanied the Norman conquest of England, and it was pointed out how short a time, comparatively speaking, was needed for the fusion of race with race. The incorporation of a French vocabulary into the vernacular was, inevitably, a more prolonged operation; or, to speak more precisely, it was longer before that fusion became apparent and was reflected in the literature of the people, the literary or fashionable language being, for many a long year, the tongue of the conquerors. The influence of the courtly literature of the ruling caste in more than one direction has already been pointed out². It is no part of the scope of this work to encroach upon what more properly belongs to the earlier literature of a modern language other than our own, or to tell over again what has already been dealt with in the pages of Gaston Paris, in the volumes of Petit de Julleville and elsewhere; but our interest in medieval French letters must always be more than that of mere neighbours. Thus, the period now reached in the history of our own literature, when the death of Gower points, approximately, to the end of French letters in England, offers an opportunity for mentioning, in the course of a very brief summary, the work of one or two Anglo-Normans whose writings either are intimately connected with English historical events and personages, or have left their impression on the form and matter of the rapidly growing body of vernacular literature. To some of these, special reference has already been made—Philippe de Thaan, whose *Bestiary*³ belongs to a popular and fascinating type of didactic literature, and helped to furnish

¹ Vol. I, pp. 149 ff.

² Vol. I, chapter XIII. See also vol. I, pp. 238, 446, 447, 460, 466 ff.

³ Dedicated to Adela of Louvain, the second wife of Henry I, for whom Benolt the Anglo-Norman monk versified a *St Brendan* in 1121.

material for early English writers on similar themes, and whose guide to the ecclesiastical calendar, *Li Cumpoz*, sets forth what the ignorant clerk ought to know; Geoffrey Gaimar and Wace, who became the mediums by which earlier English and Latin histories provided material for the work of Layamon; William of Wadinton, whose *Manuel* was written, probably, for Normans in Yorkshire, and another 'Yorkshire Norman,' Peter of Langtoft, who were the literary god-fathers of Mannyng of Brunne¹.

Gaimar's *Estorie des Engles* was based, mainly, on the Old English *Chronicle* and, apart from his relation to Layamon, his chief value for us lies in the sections which deal with contemporary matters, in his contributions to the story of Havelok and in his descriptions of social manners and customs². Of greater worth is the life of William, first of the Marshal earls of Pembroke and Striguil, regent of England, a soldier and statesman who died in 1219, after having served, for nearly half a century, more than one king of England with rare fidelity, and whose deeds are worthily enshrined in the poem which bears his name. *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, which was finished in 1226, consists of some 19,000 octosyllabic lines, and its discoverer, Paul Meyer, has claimed for it a place in the front rank of French medieval historiography, and as having no superiors in its kind in the writings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries³.

Garnier de Pont-Sainte-Maxence's *Vie de St Thomas Becket*, a poem worthy of its subject, and of great historic value; Fantosme's *Chronicle of the Scottish Wars* of 1173-4; Ambroise's *Histoire de la Guerre Sainte*, with Richard Cœur de Lion for its central figure; Old French psalters and saints' lives; moral tales, like those told by the Franciscan Nicole Bozon in the earlier half of the fourteenth century; immoral fables; pilgrimages and gospels for the laity; popular presentations of current science and works on venery, such as those which probably served the somewhat mythical Juliana Berners; *lais*, as those of Marie de France—all these may be recorded as links in the direct chain which bound French medieval literature to England. To these may be added books of counsel and courtesy, which became models for and directly inspired the popular literature of the native tongue—'the booke,' for example, 'whiche the knyght of the Toure

¹ Vol. i, pp. 104, etc., 170, etc., 204, etc., 226 ff., 344 ff., 447, 460, etc., etc.

² See, for example, in Wright, T., *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages*, pp. 64, etc.

³ *L'Hist. de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. P. Meyer, t. III, p. cii, Paris, 1901.

made to the enseygnement and techyng of his daughters, translated oute of Frenssh in to our maternall Englyssh¹ tongue by me, William Caxton; dialogues, as those contained in a *maniere de langage que l'enseignera bien a droit parler et escrire doulz françois*², which help to make clearer to us the social relations of the fourteenth century; and French versions of the old romances such as Caxton and his followers popularised, to which reference has already been made, and which will be further discussed when the prose of the sixteenth century is under consideration.

Political verse to the end, approximately, of the reign of Edward II was glanced at in a previous chapter³. In addition to the two poems in the mixed languages therein mentioned, may be noted a *Song against the King's Taxes*, written in the reign of Edward II, in five-line stanzas, the first half of each line, save the fifth, being in Anglo-Norman and the latter half of each line and the whole of the fifth being in Latin. Its theme and its form can best be seen by such a stanza as the following:

*Depus que le roy voderá tam multum cepisse,
Entre les riches si purra satis invenisse;
E plus, à ce que m'est avys, et melius fecisse . . .
Des grantz partie averpris, et parvis pepercisse.
Qui capit argentum sine causa peccat egentum⁴.*

From the reign of Edward III onwards, English, as the main vehicle for political verse, apparently ousts Anglo-Norman. A late Anglo-Norman poem, written about 1338, *Leus veus du hairon*, *The Vows of the Heron*⁵, has, for its object, the goading of the young king Edward III to war with France, by comparing him with what was held to be a cowardly bird. The poem relates that Robert of Artois, who had his own purposes to serve, caused a heron to be served at the king's table and called aloud the bird's virtues and vices as it was carried in:

*Et puis que couers est, je dis à mon avis,
C'au plus couart qui soit ne qui oncques fust vis
Donrras le hairon, c'est Edouart Loéis,
Deshiretés de Franche, le nobile pais,
Qu'il en estoit drois hoirs; mès cuefs li est sulis,
Et por sa lasquethé en morra dessais;
S'en dois bein au hairon voer le sien avis.*

This is too much for the king; and he and his courtiers make their warlike vows on the heron. The war that ensued, together with

¹ See P. Meyer, *Revue Critique*, 1870, p. 871.

² Vol. 2, p. 870.

³ Wright, T., *Political Songs*, 1839, p. 184.

⁴ *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. Wright, T., 1859, Rolls Series.

the Scottish war of the earlier years of the boy-king's reign, were sung by Laurence Minot; and the death of the king, in 1377, called forth a tribute the overmastering thought in which was the very old fashioned sentiment

That alle thing weres and wasteth away.

That the evils of the time were not absent from the minds of thinking men we see by the writings of Gower and by the *Plowman* poems. In these last, there is no room for the light hearted gaiety, the easy-going happiness that causes us to regard Chaucer, though a contemporary, as almost belonging to another world. To the writers of the *Plowman* poems the times were out of joint and more than jesting was required to set them right; their sharp solemn rimeless lines ring, in the ear like the sound of an alarm or the first few strokes of the passing bell.

The unquiet reign of Henry IV saw the miserable game of heresy-hunting at work under the statute *De Heretico Comburendo*, and political revolt after revolt in the north. Four years after the burning of William Sawtre the Lollard, at Smithfield, a lay court condemned the saintly archbishop Richard le Scrope of York to death for high treason and provided that the sentence should be carried out as ignominiously as might be. The virtues of the archbishop are celebrated in Latin and in English verses; and the political and religious 'crimes' of the Lollards are not forgotten by other literary clerks.

Both Latin and English poems against the Lollards and songs against friars, are of common occurrence. One poet sings

That dele with purses, pynnes and knyves,
With gyldes, gloves, for wenches and wyves¹,

while another, in a fifteenth century MS, combines Latin and English, beginning

Freeres, freeres, wo 3e be!
ministri malorum,
For many a manes soule bringe 3e
*ad poenas infernarum*²

and continuing, in violent lines which cannot be quoted, to set forth current crimes. In the Middle Ages, popular singers, 'westours and rimers, minstrels or vagabonds,' who followed their calling along the king's highway, helped, often enough, to fan the flames

¹ *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. Wright, T., 1859, Rolls Series, vol. 1, p. 215.

² *Ibid.* p. 264.

³ *Reliquiae Antiquae*, ed. Wright, T. and Halliwell, J. O., 1841—3, vol. 12, p. 247. See also vol. 1, p. 322.

of rebellion, political and religious; it should be remembered to their credit that, consciously or unconsciously, their work was not without effect in the emancipation of the people.

Ten years after the 'Glory of York' had been executed, the victory of Agincourt gave further employment to song writers; but the specimen of their work preserved in the Pepysian MS does not bear comparison with later poems on the same theme. Professional and laudatory verses on deaths and coronations we can leave aside; but the interest of its satire should preserve from forgetfulness a poem on the siege of Calais, 1436. 'The duk of Burgayn,' with 'grette prid' set forth 'Calys to wyn,' and his preparations are told with a rare spirit of raillery. In Calais itself, even

The women, both yung and old,
Wyth stones stuffed every scaffold,
The spared not to swee ne swynk;
With boylyng cawdreus, both grett and small,
Yf they wold assaute the walle,
All hote to gev them drynk¹.

In 1436—7, was written one of the most important and remarkable of early English political poems, *The Libel* [or little book] *of English Policy*. The poem begins by 'exhortynge alle Englande to kepe the see environ,' and it is an early example of the political insight which recognised that the natural source of the greatness of a small island lay on the sea; its influence on later naval developments can scarce be doubted. English commercial relations with foreign nations are discussed by the anonymous author at considerable length; 'the commodityes of Spayne and of Flaunders,' and of many another community are reviewed, and oddly enough these things read in rime:

And lycorys, Syvyle oyle, and grayne,
Whyte Castelle sope, and wax, is not in vayne;
Iren, wolle, wadmele, gotefel, kydefel also,
Ffor poynt-makers fulle nedefulle be the ij.

The Irish question is well to the fore, and there is a Welsh question as well:

wyth alle your myghte take hede
To kepe Yrelond, that it be not loste;
Ffor it is a boterasse and a poste
Undre England, and Wales another.
God forbode but eche were othere brothere,
Of one ligeaunge dewe unto the kynge.

And then the author turns to discuss 'the comodius stokfyshe of Yselonde' brought by the seamen that go out from Bristow

¹ *Political Poems*, ed. Wright, T., vol. II, p. 151.

and from Scarborough 'unto the costes cold'; and he harks back to Calais and urges, in language which sounds strangely modern, that there be

set a governaunce.

Set many wittes wythoutene variaunce
To one accorde and unanimité,
Put to god wyll for to kepe the see.
The ende of bataile is pease sikerlye,
And power causeth pease finally¹.

The last political poem to which reference need be made here is a mocking dirge, called forth by the death of the king's favourite the duke of Suffolk, on 3 May 1450, 'a dyрге made by the comons of Kent in the tyme of ther rysynge when Jake Cade was theyr cappitayn... writn owt of david norcyn his booke by John stowe².' The poem describes how 'bissshopes and lordes, as grete reson is,' took their several parts in his funeral service, and it deserves mention by reason of the prosodic art shown in the refrain, 'in which the passing-bell slowness of the first half

For | Jack | Napes' | soul pla- |

suddenly turns head over heels into a carillon of satiric joy and triumph 'with'

cebo and | dirige³!

A careful examination of fourteenth century religious poems preserved in the Vernon MS and elsewhere, of the minor verse of the school of Richard Rolle of Hampole, of passages in the religious plays such as those which tell the story of Abraham and Isaac and of the fugitive verse of the fifteenth century should convince the most sceptical of the wealth of early English anonymous poetry, and of its great prosodic interest; it should abolish the practice of regarding verse associated with the outstanding names, and the so-called 'court-poetry,' as the only poetry worth consideration; and it should help us to render tardy justice to periods sometimes dubbed barren wastes.

The note of simplicity of utterance, often combined with

¹ The quotations are from T. Wright's text, in *Political Poems and Songs*, but see also the first volume of Hakluyt and *The Libell of Englishe Policye*, 1496, *Text und metrische Übersetzung von W. Herisberg, Mit einer geschichtlichen Einleitung von R. Pauli*, Leipzig, 1878. Cf. also the poem *On England's Commercial Policy*, Wright's *Political Poems and Songs*, vol. II, p. 282.

² *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, Lambeth MS, etc., ed. Furnivall, F. J., E.E.T.S. 1866, new edition, 1908.

³ Saintsbury, G., *A History of English Prosody*, vol. I, p. 261.

perfection of form, which is struck in such poems as the thirteenth or early fourteenth century lyric from the Egerton MS

Somer is comen and winter is gon,
 this day beginnis to lunge,
 And this foules everichon
 joye hem wit songe!
 So stronge kare me bint,
 Al wit joye that is funde
 in londe,
 Al for a child
 That is so milde
 of honde¹,

is found again in the *Sayings of St Bernard* in the Vernon MS

Where ben heo that biforen us weren,
 That houndes ladden andshaukes beeren,
 And hedden feld and wode;
 This Riche ladys in heofe bour,
 That wereden gold in heore tressour,
 With heore brihte rode^{2 3}?

It is carried on by Michael of Kildare, in a hymn written at the beginning of the fourteenth century in which there are movements like this:

This worldis love is gon a-wai,
 So dew on grasse in someris dai,
 Few ther beth, wellawai!
 that lovith Goddis lore⁴;

it becomes exquisitely melodious in the northern Hampole poems of, approximately, the middle of the fourteenth century, notably in the alliterative verses beginning

My trewest tresowre sa trayturly taken,
 Sa bytterly bondyn wyth bytand handes;
 How sone of thi servandes was thou forsaken,
 And lathly for my lufe hurld with thair handes⁵,

and in Eve's lines in the 'Coventry' play:

Alas! that evyr that speche was spokyn
 That the fals aungel seyde unto me.
 Alas! oure makers byddyng is brokyn
 Ffor I have towchyd his owyn dere tre.
 Oure fleschly eyn byn al unlokyn,
 Nakyd for synne ouresylf we see,
 That sory appyl that we han wokyn
 To dethe hathe brouth my spouse and me⁶.

¹ *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. i, p. 100.

² complexion.

³ *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, with poems from Digby MS*, vol. ii, p. 521, ed. Furnivall, F. J., E.E.T.S. 1901.

⁴ *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. ii, p. 190.

⁵ Horstman's ed., vol. i, p. 72.

⁶ *Ludus Coventriae*, ed. Halliwell, J. O., pp. 27, 28, 1841.

It exerts magical power in the beautiful carol from the early fifteenth century *Boone MS* :

I syng of a mayden that is makeles,
Kyng of alle kynges to here bone che chea.
He cam also styll ther his moder was,
As dew in Aprille that fallt on the gras.
He cam also styll to his moderes bowr,
As dew in Aprille that fallt on the flour.
He cam also styll ther his moder lay,
As dew in Aprille that fallt on the spray¹;

it shows itself capable of infinite pathos in the appeal of Isaac to his father in the *Chester play* :

Alas! father, is that your will,
Your owne childe here for to spill
Upon this wylles brynke?
Yf I have trespassed in any degree,
With a yard you maye beate me;
Put up your sword if your will be,
For I am but a Childe

Abraham

Come hitner, my Child, that art so sweete;
Thou must be bounden hand and feete²;

it reveals passion, strong though subdued to that it works in, in the *Quia amore languo* of the *Lambeth MS* c. 1430³; and it finds an echo in the poem to the Virgin, printed towards the close of the fifteenth century in *Speculum Christiani*, beginning

Mary moder, wel thou be!
Mary moder, thenke on me.

There are, of course, duller and more sophisticated utterances than these. Mysticism often acts as a clog and didactic aim frequently achieves its usual end and produces boredom. But that happy sense of familiarity with the company of Heaven, which is one of the characteristics of an age of profound faith, finds delightful expression in hymns from Christ to His 'deintiest damme'⁴ and, above all, in the religious plays. These last, which were written to be understood by the common folk, are

¹ *Songs and Carols*, ed. Wright, T., Warton Club, 1861, p. 80.

² *Chester Plays*, ed. Deimling, E., E.E.T.S., 1898, p. 75. The extant MSS of the *Chester cycle* belong to the end of the sixteenth century, but the substantial features of the passage quoted above are found in the fifteenth century Brome play on the same subject (*Anglia*, vii, pp. 316—337), with which the *Chester play* would seem to be connected.

³ *Political etc. Poems*, ed. Furnivall, F. J., p. 177.

⁴ *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, ed. Furnivall, F. J., p. 3, E.E.T.S. 1867.

mirrors which reflect the tastes of the people, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. An ingenuous audience wished to be moved easily to tears and laughter; rough humour and simple pathos jostled each other on the booths or travelling stages on which were set forth the shrewishness of Noah's wife, and Isaac submissive to his father's stroke, the boisterous comedy of quarrelling shepherds and their criticism of the angelic voices. It was not gold and frankincense and myrrh that would appeal most to the imagination of the idler in the market place, but a ball, a bird and 'a bob of cherys,' which the visiting shepherds give to the Child-Christ, as they address him with

Hayll, lytyll tyne mop!
Of oure crede thou art crop;
I wold drynk on thy cop,
Lytyll day starne¹.

Truly these writers and actors 'served God in their mirth,' but they were not allowed to go on their way unmolested. There are poems against miracle plays as against friars, and sermons too; and in the mass of carols and love lyrics, whether amorous or divine, which form a characteristic feature of fourteenth and fifteenth century English poetry, and which are treated in an earlier chapter in this volume, there appear now and then the spoil-sports who think 'the worlde is but a vanyte'² and, when the briar holds the huntsman in full flight, only take it as a warning to ponder on more solemn things.

Of the purely didactic literature that was intended for daily needs, a typical example may be seen in John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, a versified translation from Latin of a very practical kind, concerned with the things that are to be done or left undone, the duties of priests and what they are to teach and all such items as entered into the daily religious life of the people³. To this we may add 'babees' books' and poems of homely instruction, in which the wise man teaches his son and the good wife her daughter. For those who were soon able to buy printed books, there were works like the first dated book published in England, the *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, whilst Caxton's *Book of Curtesye*, addressed to 'lytyl John,' and his printing of a *Great and Little Cato* sufficiently indicate the popularity of precept and wisdom literature. The middle of the

¹ *Towneley Plays*, ed. England, G. and Pollard, A. W., 1897, p. 159.

² *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, pp. 83 and 91.

³ Ed. Peacock, E., E.E.T.S. 1848.

fifteenth century gives us the *Book of Quinte Essence*, an early treatise on 'natural science,' in which, among other wonderful things, we learn how 'to reduce an oold feble evangelik man to the firste strenkthe of yongthe' and how 'to make a man that is a coward, hardy and strong.' And, in a fourteenth century MS you may run your eyes over medical recipes¹, which vary between cures 'for the fever quarteyn' and devices 'to make a woman say the what thu'askes hir.' Woman was ever a disturbing factor, and the songs of medieval satirists do not spare her. One of them ends his verses with the counsel of despair:

I hold that man ryght wele at ese,
That cal turn up hur haltur and lat hur go².

To the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries belongs the figure of Robin Hood the outlaw, who was known to the writers of *Piers Plowman* in the middle of the fourteenth century and stories of whose deeds were first printed by Wynkyn de Worde at the close of the fifteenth century, in the *Lytell Geste*; and with a reference to him this brief summary of 'rank and file' literature must close. He is the typical hero of English medieval popular romance, 'open-handed, brave, merciful, given to archery and venery, good-humoured, jocular, loyal, woman-protecting, priestcraft-hating, Mary-loving, God-fearing, somewhat rough withal, caring little for the refinements of life, and fond of a fight above all things'. In this combination of qualities we may fitly see that blending of Norman and Englishman which helped to make the England of the ages of faith a 'merrie England.' Akin in many ways to Hereward the Englishman and Fulk Fitz-Warin the Norman, he represents, in the ballads that grew up around his name, the spirit of revolt against lordly tyranny, and he stands for the free open life of the greenwood and the oppressed folk. The ruling classes had their, Arthur and his knights, their 'romances of prys,' the placid dream-world in which moved the abstractions of Stephen Hawes and the bloodless creatures

¹ *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. 1, p. 51.

² *Ibid.* p. 77. A more gallant feeling is shown in the records of the *Pri*, a fourteenth century association established in London originally by foreign merchants in imitation of similar associations in France, *en le honour de Dieu, Madame Seinte Marie and all saints, por ceo qe jolikes, pais, honestes, douceur, deboneiretes, e bon amour, sans infinite, soit maintenus*. In that society, no lady or other woman being allowed to be present at the festival of song, it was held to be the duty of members *de honorer, cheir, et loer trevoties dames, totes heures en tous lieux, au tant en leur absence come en leur presence*. See *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, vol. II, p. 225, *Liber customarum*, Rolls Series, 1860, ed. Riley, H. T.

³ Hales, J. W., *Perry Folio*.

influence of his son, prince Henry, and the mature energy of scholars like Sir Thomas Bodley and Sir Robert Cotton, whose names are associated with the great collections at Oxford and in the British Museum. It was owing to the prince that the royal library was saved from spoliation, and to Bodley that the 'Old library,' in the university of Oxford, which had been completely dispersed, was re-established to such an extent as to lead convocation, in 1617, to greet the latter as *Publicae Bibliothecae Fundator*. His father, John Bodley, had been one of the exiles who fled from England during the Marian persecution. In Geneva, Thomas, the eldest son, read Homer with Constantine (author of the *Lexicon graeco-latinum*), and attended the lectures of Chevallier in Hebrew, of Phil. Beroaldus in Greek and of Calvin and Beza in divinity. On his return to England, he was entered by his father at Magdalen college, Oxford, where Laurence Humphry, a scholar of repute, was president. Before long, Bodley was appointed to lecture on Greek in the college, and, subsequently, on natural philosophy in the schools. In 1576, he left Oxford to travel for four years on the continent, visiting, in turn, Italy, France and Germany, and, also, acquiring a good knowledge of Italian, French and Spanish. His autobiography leaves it doubtful how far he succeeded in gaining access to the libraries of these countries: but it may be well to recall that the Vatican library in Rome had not, as yet, been rebuilt by Sixtus V, nor the Ambrosian founded by cardinal Borromeo in Milan; that the Laurentian library in Florence had only recently been made accessible to the scholar, and had long before been despoiled of some of its greatest treasures; that Petrarch's choice collection at Arqua lay scattered far and wide, in Naples, in Pavia, or in Paris; that, in France, the royal library at Fontainebleau had not, as yet, acquired the valuable collection of Greek MSS included in the library of Catherine de' Medici, and had only recently begun to profit by the enactment whereby all publishers were required to forward a copy of every work printed *cum privilegio*; that, in Germany, the library formed by the Jesuits at Trier had but just been opened, while that at Bamberg was not yet in existence. The great Fugger collection, on the other hand, had just been added to the ducal library at Munich, and made accessible, in the new buildings, to scholars; while, in the north, the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel, although jealously fenced in by special restrictions, was beginning to attract numerous visitors, and, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, numbered some five thousand volumes. But, generally speaking, the library at this period was an institution either guarded with a

vigilance which made it difficult of access, or with a negligence that foreshadowed its ultimate dispersion.

After his return to England, Bodley, from 1588 to 1596, filled the post of English resident at the Hague. But, on coming back to England in the latter year, although repeatedly solicited to fill more than one important office under government, he decided to retire altogether from political life, and his remaining years may be said to have been almost exclusively devoted to the foundation of his great library at Oxford.

'I concluded,' he said, 'at the last, to set up my staff at the Library Door at Oxon; being thoroughly persuaded that in my solitude and surcease from publick affairs, I could not busy myself to better purpose than by reducing that place (which then in every part lay ruined and waste) to the publick use of students¹.'

The ancient chamber—originally assigned as the keeping-place of a lending library, for the use of poor students allowed to borrow volumes on giving pledges for their safe return—had been a room to the north of the chancel of St Mary's church, built from moneys bequeathed by Thomas Cobham, bishop of Worcester, himself the donor of sundry books; but, in 1488, this chamber was discarded for the building erected by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, over the noble divinity school, and the library named after him, pointing east and west, and accessible probably by only one staircase, was formally opened. The duke, at the same time, presented numerous books²—chiefly Latin classics and versions of Plato and Aristotle, the chief Italian poets and also a Greek vocabulary—the library, at his death, numbering, it is said, some 600 volumes.

Only 62 years passed, and then the books so carefully and lovingly gathered together were destroyed or dispersed. In 1550, the Commissioners for the Reformation of the University appointed by Edward VI laid waste its contents. . . . So complete was the destruction that in 1556 the very bookshelves and desks were sold as things for which there was no longer any use³.

In the prosecution of his labours, Bodley himself tells us, he was encouraged by the consciousness that he possessed 'four kinds of necessary aids—some knowledge of the learned and modern tongues and of the scholastical literature, ability and money, friends to further the design, and leisure to pursue it.' As regards

¹ *Reliquiae Bodleianae*, p. 14.

² For a catalogue of the same, see Anstey's *Munimenta Academica*, pp. 756—772.

³ *Pietas Oxoniensis in memory of Sir Thomas Bodley, Knt., and the Foundation of the Bodleian Library*, 1902. 'Erasmus could hardly refrain from tears when he saw the scanty remains of this library, and, in Leland's day, scarcely a single volume survived,' J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. II, p. 221. As Erasmus died in 1536, this would seem to prove that the chief losses took place prior to the reformation.

the second 'aid,' however, his generosity somewhat exceeded his resources, for we learn that, in 1611, he was fain to borrow upon bond and to pawn and sell his plate for a few hundred pounds, in order to complete his last building of the library, which cost him, in all, £1200¹. On 8 November 1602, that library, which now numbers fully three-quarters of a million volumes, had been formally opened with about 2,500. One of his earliest measures had been to cause a massive folio register to be prepared for entering the benefactions which he was able to place on the shelves in 1604, a record subsequently kept by John Hales of Eton; and, as time went on, some of the volumes of the original library were restored either as a donation or by purchase. The year 1605 saw the publication of the first catalogue, with a dedication to prince Henry, and a preface containing *memoranda* on the origin and growth of the whole collection. In 1609, Bodley executed conveyances of land in Berkshire and houses in London for the endowment; and, in 1610, the Stationers' company undertook to present to the library a copy of every book that they published². This latter measure induced Godfrey Goodman, of Trinity college, Cambridge (afterwards bishop of Gloucester), to come forward in 1616 to urge upon the vice-chancellor of his own university the desirability of procuring 'the like privilege' for that body. 'It might,' he said, 'be some occasion hereafter to move some good benefactors towards the building of a publick librarie³.' In 1611, the statutes for the regulation of the library were approved in convocation. And now it was that Bodley's first librarian, Thomas James, could venture to affirm that 'upon consideration of the number of volumes, their languages, subjects, condition, and their use for six hours daily (Sundays and Holy days excepted), we shall find that the like Librarie is no where to be found.'

'He reckons up,' continues the *Pietas*, 'thitty foreign languages (including "High-dutch, Lowe-dutch, Un-dutch," and "Scotish") in which books are to be found, and gives a list of the nations from which readers had frequented the place, "French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Danes, Bohemians, Polonians, Jewes, Ethiopians, and others," Germans, of course, being here included in "Dutch."

In the course of the generation succeeding Bodley's death, a series of gifts further enriched the collection over which he had untiringly watched and in behalf of which he had disinterestedly laboured. Foremost among these were the Greek MSS of Giacomo Barocci, in 242 volumes, presented, in 1629, by William Herbert,

¹ *Pietas Ozoniensis*, p. 12.

² Wood, *Annals*, II, pp. 306—7.

³ Communication by J. E. B. Mayor in *Communications of Camb. Ant. Soc.* II, pp. 128—4.

earl of Pembroke and chancellor of the university, whose munificence was largely owing to the good offices of Laud, his successor in that office. The archbishop himself gave some 1300 MSS in eighteen different languages and also his fine collection of coins, carefully arranged with a view to their use in the study of history. Other donors were Sir Kenelm Digby, who gave 240 MSS, and Robert Burton, author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, who, dying in 1640, bequeathed a large miscellaneous collection of books. Oliver Cromwell, while chancellor of the university, sent 22 Greek and two Russian MSS, and the executors of John Selden presented the greater part of that distinguished scholar's library, numbering about 8000 volumes, and 350 MSS, chiefly Greek and Oriental.

The public library of the university of Cambridge dates, apparently, from the early decades of the fifteenth century; and John Croucher, who gave a copy of Chaucer's translation of Boethius, was regarded by Bradshaw as the founder of our English library. The earliest catalogue contains 122 titles and, later in the same century (1473), Ralph Songer's and Richard Cockeram's catalogue contains 330, classified and arranged. These books were kept in the First room. The library gained greatly through the generous benefactions of Thomas Rotherham, both in books and in buildings. Later benefactors were archbishop Parker and Andrew Perne, master of Peterhouse, who, at a time when the library (owing to successive losses) scarcely contained 180 volumes, worked jointly to increase its usefulness.

In July 1577, we find for the first time a member of the university appointed librarian, at an annual stipend of £10. The person chosen was William James, a Peterhouse man . . . [and in] the vice-chancellor's accounts for 1584—5 is a payment 'for a carte to bring certayne written bookis from Peter howse to the schooles, gyven by Mr Dr Perne to the librerye,' and also 'for twce that did helpe to lade and unlade the same¹.'

Among these, possibly, may be included the eighth century copy of the Latin gospels.

The erection and endowment of the Chetham library, by Humphrey Chetham, a wealthy Manchester tradesman, resulted in the formation of a collection which may compare, in both its origin and its design, with that of Bodley. In founding his library 'within the town of Manchester for the use of scholars,' and also directing that 'none of the books be taken out of the Library at any time, but be fixed or chained, as well as may be,' Chetham would seem to have profited by the experience of the friaries;

¹ Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, pp. 191, 192.

while his puritan sympathies are shown in his bequest of a special fund of £200 for the purchase of the works of Calvin, and, also, of those of two eminent Cambridge divines, Preston and Perkins, which he directed should be affixed to the pillars in the churches of Manchester and the neighbouring localities. Chetham died in 1653, and his executors proceeded, forthwith, to carry out his instructions by purchasing, and placing in fine old shelves, a considerable collection of the chief English protestant divines, among whom were Baxter, Cartwright, Chillingworth, Foxe, Jewell, Joseph Mede and Ussher. In some of the parishes, however, the collections were allowed to fall into neglect and have altogether disappeared. In Manchester itself, the main library was stored in a fine old building known as the Baron's hall, and, before 1664, had acquired some 1450 volumes.

In 1630, Sion college was founded, as a corporation of all ministers and curates within London and its suburbs; and, during the Commonwealth, it gave shelter to the library of old St Paul's when the latter was menaced with confiscation. With the Restoration, a portion of the collection went back to the cathedral, but only to be consumed in the Great Fire. Of the portion that remained in the college, not a few of the volumes are of great rarity; while, in the reign of queen Anne, the library was admitted to share in the privilege which had been granted in 1662—3, whereby every printer was required to

reserve three printed copies of the best and largest paper of every book new printed... and before any publick vending of the said book bring them to the Master of the Company of Stationers, and deliver them to him, one whereof shall be delivered to the Keeper of His Majesties library, and the other two to be sent to the vice-chancellors of the two universities respectively, for the use of the publick libraries of the said universities¹.

In singular contrast to the numerous collections which have been dispersed by war, the library of Trinity college, Dublin, originated in a victory won by English arms. It was in the year 1601, after the rebellion in Munster had been crushed, that the conquerors at Kinsale subscribed the sum of £700 for the purchase of books to be presented to the college; and, in 1603, James Ussher and Luke Challoner were sent to London to expend the money. While thus employed, they fell in with Thomas Bodley, engaged in a like errand on behalf of the future Bodleian. The total fund at their disposal had been increased to £1800, which was

¹ Pickering, *Statutes at Large* (ed. 1768), viii, p. 147.

soon invested in purchases ; and, by 1610, the original forty volumes in the library had been increased to 4000.

Ussher's own library, however, the same that had very narrowly escaped dispersion after he left Oxford for Wales, and which he was designing to present to Dublin, had been confiscated by parliament as a mark of its displeasure at his refusal to recognise the authority of the Westminster assembly of divines ; and it was only through the intercession of John Selden in his behalf, that he eventually succeeded in recovering the larger part of the collection ; then it was, that, in order to make some provision for his daughter, lady Tyrrell, the primate was diverted from his original intention, and bequeathed the books to her. On his death, her ladyship received various offers for the same, the king of Denmark and cardinal Mazarin having been among the would-be purchasers ; but Cromwell forbade the sale, and all that remained of the collection was ultimately purchased by the parliamentary army in Ireland for £2200.

'By the acquisition of Ussher's books,' says Macneile Dixon, 'the library of Trinity College was at once raised to high rank. Grants from the Irish House of Commons and the benefactions of many private persons added to its treasures in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.... During the nineteenth century, the chief increase in the number of volumes has been due to the act of parliament which, in 1801, gave to Trinity college library the right to a copy of every book published in the United Kingdom¹.'

In the same year that Holdsworth died, William Drummond, laird of Hawthornden, also passed away. He had already presented, in 1627, a collection of 500 volumes to the university of Edinburgh, which is still carefully preserved in the university library. Among them are early editions of some of the following writers: Bacon, Chapman, Churchyard, Daniel, Dekker, Donne, Drayton, Heywood, Ben Jonson, Marston, May, the countess of Pembroke, Quarles, Selden, Shakespeare (*Love's Labour's Lost*, 1598, *Romeo and Juliet*, 1599), Sidney, Spenser, Sylvester and George Wither. The Latin preface which Drummond himself wrote and prefixed to the catalogue is worthy of note as embodying a kind of philosophy of bibliography conceived in the spirit of an educated layman of the time.

'As good husbandmen,' wrote the Scotch laird, 'plant trees in their times, of which the after-age may reap the fruit, so should we; and what antiquity hath done for us, that should we do for Posterity, so that letters and learning may not decay, but ever flourish to the honour of God, the public utility, and the conservation of human society².'

¹ *Trinity College, Dublin*, by W. Macneile Dixon, p. 223.

² See Drummond's *Works* (1711), p. 223; *Drummond of Hawthornden*, by David Masson, p. 169. See also *ante*, chap. ix.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

CHAPTER I

TRANSLATORS

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS.

- Achilles Tatius.** The most delectable and pleasant history of Clitophon and Lucippe, from the Greek of Achilles Tatius by W. B. 1597.
- Aelian.** Translated by Abraham Fleming. 1576.
- **The Tactiks of Aelian.** . . . Englished by J. B(ingham). 1616.
- Aesop.** Aesop's Fables in true Orthography. Translated out of Latin into English by William Bullokar. 1585.
- Appian.** An ancient historie and exquisite chronicle of Roman warres . . . from the death of Sextus Pompeius till the overthrow of Antonie and Cleopatra. Translated out of divers languages by W. B. 1578.
- Apuleius.** The xi Bookes of The Golden Asse, containing the Metamorphosis of Lucius Apuleius. Translated into English by William Adlington. 1566. Rptd in the Series of Tudor Translations, with Introduction by Whibley, C. 1892.
- Aristotle.** The Ethics. Translated out of the Italian by John Wylkin. 1547.
- **Politics.** Translated out of Greek into French, by Loys le Roy, called Regius, and translated out of French into English, by J. D. 1597.
- Aurelius, Marcus.** Meditations. Translated out of French into English by John Bouchier, Knighte, Lorde Berners. Between 1534 and 1588 some ten editions. See Guevara, Antonio de.
- Ausonius.** Epigrams from Ausonius, translated by Timothie Kendall in his Floures of Epigrams. 1577.
- **Idylls.** Translated by Sir John Beaumont in his Bosworth Field and other Poems and set forth by his son. 1620.
- Caesar.** The Eyght bookes of employtes in Gallia and the Countries bordering. Translated out of Latine into English, by Arthur Golding. 1565.
- **Five books of his Wars in Gallia,** by Clement Edmonds with observations, etc. on the five first books, and upon the sixth and seventh books. 1601.
- **De Bello Civili.** Three books translated by Chapman. 1604.
- Cicero.** The three bookes of Tullies Offices translated by R. Whyttington. 1533.
- **Three books of Duties,** to Marcus his Sonne. Tourned out of Latin into English, by Nicolas Grimalde. 1580.
- **The Booke of Marcus Tullius Cicero entituled Paradoxa Stoicorum.** Translated by Thomas Newton. 1569.
- **Tusculan Questions** which Marke Tullye Cicero disputed in his Manor of Tusculanum, etc. Englyshed by John Dolman. 1561.
- **The Familiar Epistles of M. T. Cicero** Englished and conferred with the French, Italian and other translations by J. Webbe. n.d.
- **Select Epistles** by Abr. Flemming, in his Panoplie of Epistles. 1576.

- Cicero. *An Epistle to Quintus*. Translated by G. Gilby. 1561.
 — On Old Age. Latin and English by B. Whyttington.
 — The worthe Booke of olde age, otherwise intituled the elder Cato, &c. By Thos. Newton. 1569.
 — On Friendship. Translated by John Harrington. 1550.
 Claudian. *The Rape of Proserpine*. Translated by Leonard Digges into English verse. 1617. See also Sir John Beaumont's Bosworth Field.
 Curtius, Quintus. *The History, conteyning the Actes of the great Alexander*. Translated out of Latine into English by John Brende. 1553.
 Demosthenes. *The three Orations in favour of the Olynthians, and his four Orations against Philip, King of Macedon*, translated by Dr Thomas Wylson, etc. 1570.
 Diodorus Siculus. *The History of the successors of Alexander, etc. out of Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch* by Tho. Stocker. 1569.
 Diogenes Laertius and others. *A Treatise, of Morall Phylosophye, conteyning the sayinges of the wyse*. Gathered and Englyshed by Wylliam Baldewyn. 1550.
 Dionysius. *Dionysius' description of the Worlde*. Englyshed by Thomas Twyne. 1572.
 Epictetus. *The manuell of Epictetus*, translated out of Greeke into French, and now into English. Also the *Apothegmes*, etc. by James Sandford. 1567.
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 Euclid. *The Elements of Geometry*, trans. Richard Candish (d. 1601?).
 — *The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara*. Faithfully (now first) translated into the Englishe tounge, by H. Billingsley, Citizen of London.... With a very fruitfull Preface made by M(aster) J(ohn) Dee. 1570.
 Eunapius Sardianus. *The Lyves of Phylosophers and Orators, from the Greek of Eunapius*. 1579.
 Euripides. *Jocasta*. Written in Greeke by Euripides; translated and digested into Acte by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmarsh, of Greie's Inn, and there by them presented. 1556. (This version was adapted from the Italian of Dolce.)
 Eutropius. *A brieffe Chronicle of the City of Rome*. Englished by Nicolas Haward. 1564.
 Florus, Lucius Annaeus. *The Roman Historie*. Translated by E. Bolton. 1618.
 Heliodorus. *An Æthiopian Historie*, written in Greeke by... very wittie and pleasaunt. Englished by Thomas Underdounne. 1569 (?). Rptd in the *Series of Tudor Translations*, with Introduction by Whibley, C. 1895.
 — *The Beginning of the Aethiopicall History in English Hexameters by Abraham Fraunce*. 1591.
 Herodian. Translated out of Latin into Englyshe, by Nicolas Smyth. n.d.
 Herodotus. *The Famous Hystory of Herodotus Conteyning the Discourse of Dyvers Countryes, the succession of theyr Kynga...* Devided into nine Bookes, entituled with the names of the nine Muses, by B. R. 1584. (It is unknown who B. R. is. Barnabe Rich has been suggested. Only books I and II translated. Euterpe rptd in 1898 with preface by Lang, A.)
 Hesiod. *The Georgicks*. Translated elaborately out of the Greeke, by George Chapman. 1618.
 Hippocrates. *The Aphorismes of Hippocrates, redacted into a certaine Order, and translated by Humfrie Liwyd*. 1585.

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- Homer.** The Battel of the Frogges and Myce, and certain Orations of Isocrates by T. Purfoote. 1579.
- Ten booke of the Iliad, translated out of a translation in the French language by Arthur Hall, Esq., of Grantham, M.P. 1581.
- The Strange Wonderfull and bloudy Battel between Frogs and Mice; paraphrastically into English Heroicall Verse by W. F. (supposed to be William Fowles). 1603.
- Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homer, Prince of Poets. Translated according to the Greeke in judgment of his best commentaries. 1598. (The booke are 1, 2, 7 to 11. This is the first instalment of Chapman's Homer.)
- Achilles Shield. Translated as the other seven Bookes of Homer, out of his eighteenth booke of Iliades by George Chapman. 1598.
- Homer, Prince of Poets, translated according to the Greeke in twelve Bookes of his Iliads. George Chapman. 1609.
- The Iliads of Homer, Prince of Poets. Never before in any language truly translated. With a comment on some of his chiefe places. 1611. (This is the first complete edition of Chapman's Iliad.)
- Twenty-four Bookes of Homer's Odisses by George Chapman. Entered in the Stationers' register, 1614.
- The Crowne of all Homer's Workes, Batrachomyomachia or the Battaille of Frogs and Mice. His Hymn's and Epigrams. Translated by George Chapman. 1624.
- Horace.** A Medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres, Englyshed according to the prescription of Saint Hierome by T. Drant. 1566.
- Arte of Poetrie, Pistles and Satyrs, Englyshed, and to the Earl of Ormoute by Th. Drant addressed 1567. (The Ars Poetica was translated also by Ben Jonson.)
- Isocrates.** The doctrinall of princes made by the noble oratour Isocrates, and translated out of Greke in to Englishe by syr Thomas Eliot, Knyght. 1534.
- Isocrats paranesis or admonytion to Demonicus, translated into English. Printed by W. Copland. 1557.
- Isocrates's sage Admonition, translated by R. Nuttall. 1557.
- Epistles out of Isocrates, translated out of Latine into English, by Abraham Flemming, in his Panoplie of Epistles. 1576.
- A perfitte Looking Glasse of all Estates: most excellently and eloquently set forth by the famous and learned Oratour Isocrates; as contained in three orations of Moral Instructions. Translated into Latine by that learned Clarke Hieronimus Wulfus. And now Englyshed. 1580. (The name of the translator, Thomas Forrest, is given in the Dedication.)
- Isocrates's Oration, intituled Evagoras, by Jer. Wolfe. 1581.
- The good Admonition of the sage Isocrates to young Demonicus, translated from Greeke by R. Nuttall. 1585.
- Archidamus, or the counsell of warre. Translated by Thomas Barnes. 1624.
- Josephus.** The famous and memorable workes of Josephus. Translated out of the Latin and French by Thomas Lodge. 1602.
- Justin.** Thabridgemente of the Histories of Trogus Pompeius, gathered and written in the Laten tung, by the famous Historiographer Justin, and translated into Englishe by Arthur Goldinge: a worke conteyning breffly great plentie of moste delectable Historyes, and notable examples, worthy not only to be read, but also to bee embraced and followed of al men Newlie conferred with the Latin cotype, and corrected by the translator.
- Anno Domini. 1563 and 1570.

- Justin.** The Hist. of Justine, translated into English, by Dr Philemon Holland. 1606.
- Translated by G. W. with an Epitomie of the Lives, etc. of the Roman Emperors, from Aurelius Victor. 1606.
- Livy.** The Historie of two of the most notable Captaines of the Worlde, Annibal and Scipio, of theyr dyvers Battalles and Victories, excedyng profytable to reade, gathered and translated into Englishe, out of Titus Livius, and other authoures, by Antonye Cope, esquier. 1544.
- The Hystorie of P. Sulpicius Consulla, according to Titus Livius, by Thomas Wylson, Doctor of the Civill Lawes; prefixed to his Translation of the three Orations of Demosthenes in favour of the Olynthians, etc. 1570.
- The Orator: handling a hundred severall Discourses, in form of Declamations: some of the Arguments being drawne from Titus Livius and other ancient writers, the rest of the authour's owne invention: part of which are of matters happened in our Age. Written in French, by Alexander Silwayne, and Englished by L. P. (Lazarus Piot). 1596.
- The Romane Historie, written in Latin by Titus Livius, translated by Philemon Holland. 1600.
- Longus.** Daphnis and Chloe, excellently describing the weight of affection, the simplicitie of love, the purport of honest meaning . . . by Angell Day, 1587. Rptd with an Introduction by Jacobs, J. 1890.
- Lucan.** Lucan's Firſte Booke translated line for line by Christopher Marlowe. 1593.
- Lucan's Pharsalia. . . . Translated into English verse by Sir Arthur Gorges. 1614.
- Lucan's Pharsalia. . . . Englished by Thomas May. 1627.
- Lucian.** Necromantia. A dialog of the Poet Lucyan, for his fantesye faynyd for a mery pastyme. And furst by hym compyled in the Greke tonge, and after translated owt of the Greke into Latyn, and now lately translatyd owt of Laten into Englishh for the erudicion of them, which be disposyd to lerne the tongis. Interlocuters Menippus and Philonides. n.d.
- Toxaris, or the friendship of Lucian, translated out of Greke into English, With a dedication to his frende A. S. from A. O. 1565.
- Orations and Dialogues. 1604.
- Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas by T. Heywood. 1637.
- Certain select dialogues together with his True Historie. Translated by Mr Francis Hickes, 1634. The True Historie, edited by Whibley, C. 1895.
- Marcellinus, Ammianus.** The Romane Historie. Translated by Dr Philemon Holland. 1609.
- Martial.** Flowres of Epigrammes out of sundrie the most singular Authors, selected, etc. by Tim Kendall: annexed to which is Trifles by Timothy Kendall devised and written (for the most part) at sundrie tymes in his yong and tender age. 1575 and 1577.
- Musæus.** Translated by Christopher Marloe, left unfinished at his death, continued by one Henry Petowe in 1598.
- Translated by George Chapman. 1606.
- Ovid.** The fable of Ovid tretting of Narcissus, translated oute of Latin into English metre, with a moral thereunto, very pleasaunte to rede by Thomas Howell. 1560.
- The pleasant fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacia, translated by T. Underdowne. 1565.
- The fyrst four Bookes of P. Ovidius Naso's Worke, intituled Metamorphosis, translated oute of Latin into Englishe meter by Arthur Golding. Gent. A woorke very pleasaunt and delectable. 1565.

- Ovid.** The *IV* Bookes of P. Ovidius Naso, entytuled *Metamorphosis*, translated out of Latin into English meeter, by Arthur Golding. 1567. Eptd in the King's Library series, ed. Rouse, W. H. D. 1904. [George Sandys published a verse trans. in 1621-6.]
- The *Heroicall Epistles* of the learned Poet Publius Ovidius Naso, In *Englishe Verse*; set out and translated by George Turberville, Gent., with Aulus Sabinus Aunsweres to certaine of the same. 1567.
- Ovid his *Invective against Ibis*. Translated into English meeter. Whereunto is added by the Translator, a short draught of all stories and Tales contained therein, very pleasant to be read, by Thomas Underdoun. 1569.
- The three first Bookes of Ovid de Tristibus, translated by Tho. Churchyard. 1578.
- Ovid's Banquet of Sauce, a Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy, and his amorous Zodiac. Translated by G. Chapman. 1595.
- The Remedie of Love. Translated and intituled to the Youth of England by F. L. 1600.
- Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, translated by Fr. Beaumont. 1602.
- Plato.** Of the Knowledge which maketh a wise man. Translated by Sir Thomas Elyot; as appears by the prohem. 1533.
- Axiochus, a Dialogue, attributed to Plato, translated by Edm. Spencer. Edinb., 1592. This was translated also by A. Munday.
- Plautus.** *Menaechmi*; a pleasant comœdie, taken oute of Plautus, by W. W. i.e. William Warner. 1595.
- Pliny.** Plinie's Natural Historie of the World translated into English by Dr Philemon Holland. 1601.
- Pliny the Younger.** Certain selected Epistles oute of C. Plinius, translated oute of Latine into English, by Abraham Flemming: In his *Panoplie of Epistles*. 1576.
- Plutarch.** A righte noble and pleasant History of the Successors of Alexander surnamed the great, taken out of Diodorus Siculus: and some of their lives written by the wise Plutarch: translated out of French into Englysh by Thomas Stocker. 1568.
- The Lives, translated from the French of Amyot, by Sir Tho. North. 1579. Eptd in Tudor Translations with Introduction by Wyndham, G. 1895. Shakespeare's Plutarch, ed. Skeat, W. W. Oxford, 1875 ff.
- The Philosophy, commonly called the Morals, translated into English, by Philemon Holland. 1603. Ed. Jacobs, Joseph, 1888; ed. Jevons, F. B., 1892.
- Polybius.** Hystories of the most famous worthy Cronographer, Polybius, translated by Christopher Watson.. 1568.
- Pomponius Mela.** The Rare and Singuler worke. Translated by Arthur Golding. 1600.
- Sallust.** Here begynneth the famous Cronicle of warre, whyche the Romaynes hadde against Jugurth usurper of the Kyngedome of Numidie: whiche Cronicle is compiled in Latin by the renowned Romayne Saluste: and translated into Englyshe by syr Alexander Barklaye, prieste, and nowe perused and corrected by Thomas Paynell. 1557.
- The Two most worthy and Notable Histories... viz. The Conspiracie of Catelipe... and the Warre which Jugurth for many yeares maintained. ... Translated by Thomas Heywood. 1608.
- Seneca.** A frutefull worke by L. A. Seneca, named the forme and rule of honest lyvyng, Latin and Englyshe. Lately translated, by Robert • Whyttyngton, Poete laureate, and now newlye emprinted. 1546.

- Seneca.** L. A. Seneca ad Gallionem de remediis fortuitorum. The remedies agaynst all casuall chaunces. Dialogus inter sensum & Rationem. A Dialogue between Sensualyte and Reason. Lately translated out of Latyn into Englyshe by Robert Whyttynton poet Laureate and nowe newly Imprynted. 1546.
- **Thyestes.** Englished by Jasper Heywood. 1560.
- **Heracles Furens** translated into English by Jasper Heywood. 1561.
- **Troas**, translated by Jasper Heywood. 1561.
- **Oedipus** translated by Alex. Nevyle. 1563.
- **The eyght Tragedie**, entituled Agamemnon, translated out of Latin into English, by John Studley. 1566.
- **The Octavia**, translated by Thomas Newce. 1581.
- **Thebais**, translated by T. Newton. 1581.
- **The Woorke concerning Benefyting**, that is to say the dooing, receyving, and requyting of good Turnes. Translated by A. Golding. 1558.
- **The Works of L. A. Seneca.** Translated by Th. Lodge. 1614.
- Suetonius.** The Historie of Twelve Caesars, Emperours of Rome, written in Latine...and newly translated into English by Philemon Holland, together with a Marginall Glosse, and other briefe annotations thereupon. 1606. Rptd in the series of Tudor Translations, with Introduction by Whibley, C. 1899.
- Tacitus.** The ende of Nero and beginning of Galba. Fower bookes of the Histories of C. Tacitus. The Life of Agricola, by H. Savile. 1598.
- **The Annals of C. Tacitus.** The Description of Germany, by Richard Greneway. 1598.
- Terence.** Floures for Latine spekyng selected and gathered oute of Terence, and the same translated into Englysshe, etc. by Nicolas Udall. 1544.
- **Sentences of Terence.** Printed in the house late Tho. Berthelettes. 1560.
- **Andria**, carefully translated out of Latin, by Maurice Kyffin. 1582.
- **Terence in English.** Fabulae comici facetissimi elegantissimi Poetae Terentii omnes Anglicaefactae primumque hac nova forma nunc editae: opera ac industria R. B. in Axholmiensi insula Lincolnsheri Epivorthae. R. B. is Richard Bernard. 1582.
- Theocritus.** Six Idillia, translated (anon.). Oxford, 1588. See Arber's English Garner, Some Longer Elizabethan Poems, ed. Bullen, A. H. 1903.
- Theophrastus.** See under Epictetus.
- Thucydides.** The hystory writtome by Thucydides the Athenyan...translated oute of the Frenche into the Englyshe language by Thomas Nicolls, Citezeine and Goldesmyth of London. 1550.
- Vegetius.** The Foure Bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus of Martiall pollicye. Translated by John Sadler. 1572.
- Vergil.** The First Foure Bookes of Virgils Aeneis. Translated into English Heroicall Verse, by Richard Stanyhurst: with other Poëticall devises thereto annexed. 1583.
- **The Seven first bookes of the Eneidos of Virgill**, converted in Englishe meter by Thomas Phaer, Sollicitor to the King and Queenes majesties, attending their honourable counsaile in the Marches of Wales. 1558.
- **The Thirteene bookes of Aeneidos** translated by Thomas Phagr. 1583. [Completed by Thomas Twyne, i.e. books XI-XIII.]
- Xenophon.** The Historie of Xenophon: containing the Ascent of Cyrus. Translated by J. Bingham. 1623.
- **Treatise of Householde.** Translated by Gentian Hervet.

- Xenophon.** The VIII Books of Xenophon, containing the Institution of Cyrus. Translated by W. Boreker. 1567.
 — **Cyropaedia.** Translated by Philemon Holland. 1632. See also under Grisons.

TRANSLATIONS FROM MEDIEVAL AND CONTEMPORANEOUS AUTHORS.

- Alberti, L. B.** Hecantonphila, The Art of Love or Love discovered in an hundred several kinds. 1598.
Aleman, Mathew. The Rogue: or the Life of Guzman de Alfarache. Translated by James Mabbe. 1623.
Alessio. A very excellent and profitable Booke conteneing sixe hundred foure score and odde experienced Medicines. Translated out of Italian by Richard Androse. 1569.
Anglerius (Peter Martyr). The Decades of the New World or West India. Translated by Richard Eden. 1555.
 — Most learned and fruitfull Commentaries. Lately translated out of Latine into Englishe, by H. B. 1568.
Aretino. The Historie of Leonard Aretine, concerning the Warres betwene the Imperialles and the Gothes for the possession of Italy; a worke very pleasant and profitable; translated out of Latin into Englyshe by Arthur Goldyng. 1563.
Ariosto. Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse by Sir John Harington of Bathe, Knight. 1591.
 — **Gli Soppositi.** Translated by George Gascoigne with the title Supposes. 1556. Ed. by Cunliffe, J. W. Boston, 1906; Cambridge, 1907.
Augustine, St. A pretious booke of heavenlie meditations, called A Private Talke of the Soule with God. Translated by Thomas Rogers. 1581.
 — Of the City of God. Translated by John Healey. 1610.
 — A Worke of the Predestination of Saints. Translated by N. Lesse. 1550.
 — The Confessions. Translated by Sir Tobie Matthew. 1620.
Avila y Zuniga, Luis de, Comentaries of, which treateth of the great wars in Germany, made by Charles V. Translated by John Wilkinson. 1555.
B., F. N. A Certain Tragedy written first in Italian by F. N. B. entitled Free Will, and translated into English by Henry Cheeke. n.d.
Bandello. Certaine Tragical Discourses written oute of Frenche and Latin by Geffraie Fenton. 1567. Rptd in the series of Tudor Translations, with Introduction by Douglas, R. L. 1898.
 — Broke, Arthur (d. 1563), translated his Romeus and Julieit from Bandello, through the French version of 1559. 1562. [The source of Shakespeare's plot.]
Bartello. The Pleasant Fable of Ferdinando Jeronimi and Leonora de Valasco translated out of the Italian riding tales by George Gascoigne, in his Posies. 1575. Rptd by Cunliffe, J. W. 1907.
Boccaccio. A treatise excellent and compendious... the falles of sundry Princes Translated by Dan John Lidgate, newly imprinted and augmented. 1554.
 — **Philocopo.** Translated by H. Grantham. 1566.
 — **Amorous Frainmetta.** Translated by B. Yong. 1587.
 — The Modell of Wit, Mirth, Eloquence and Conversation framed in Ten Dayes... Preserved to Posterity by the Renowned John Boccaccio... and now translated into English. 1620. This is the first complete translation. Rptd in the Series of Tudor Translations with Introduction by Hutton, E. 1909.

- Boccaccio and Bandello.** Ten tales, eight by Boccaccio, two by Bandello, with the title *Tragical Tales*, translated by Turbervile in time of his troubles out of sundry Italians, with the argument and leuoye of eche tale. 1587. Versions of Boccaccio's Tales may be found in other collections, such as *Painter's Palace of Pleasure*, and *H. C.'s Forest of Fancy* (1579).
- Boehme, Johann.** The Fardle of Facions conteninge the aunciente maners of the partes of the earth, called Affricke and Asie. Translated by W. Watreman. 1555.
- The manners, lawes, and customs of all nations . . . newly translated into English by E. Aston. 1611.
- Boethius.** Translated by George Colville, 1556. Ed. Bax, E. Belford. 1897. See, also, Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, Plutarch, etc., ed. Pemberton, C., 1899.
- Boiardo, M.** Orlando Innamorato. The first three Books . . . done into English Historical Verse by R(obert) T(ofte). 1598.
- Botero, G.** The Traveller's Breviat. Translated by Robert Johnson. 1601.
- A Treatise concerning the Causes of the Magnificence and Greatness of Cities . . . done into English by Robert Peterson. 1606.
- Braunschweig, H.** A most excellent apothecarye. Translated by J. Hollybush. 1561.
- Brenz, J.** A verye fruitful exposition upon the syx'th Chapter of Saynte John . . . translated by Richard Shirrye. 1549.
- Calus, J.** Of Englishe Dogges . . . drawne into Englishe by Abraham Fleming. 1576.
- Calahorra, Diego Ortuñez de.** The Mirrour of princely deedes and knighthood. Translated by Margaret Tiler. 1579.
- Calvin, John.** A Harmonie upon the three Evangelistes Matthewe, Marke, and Luke, with the commentarie of M. John Calvine. Faithfully translated into English by E. P. Whereunto is also added a Commentarie upon . . . Saint John, by the same Author. 1610.
- A Commentarie of John Calvaine, upon the first booke of Moses called Genesis. Translated by Thomas Tymme, Minister. 1578.
- The sermons of M. John Calvin upon the Epistle of S. Paule too the Ephesians. Translated by Arthur Golding. 1577.
- The institution of Christian Religion. . . Translated T. Norton. 1561.
- Commentaries upon the Prophet Daniell. Translated by Arthur Golding. 1570.
- A Commentarie upon the Booke of Josue, finished a little before his death : translated out of Latine into Englishe by W. F. 1578.
- A faythful and moste Godly Treatyse concernynge the sacrament. Translated into Englishe by M. Coverdale . . . whereunto is added the order that the Church in Denmarke doth use. 1546 (?).
- The Forme of Common Praiers. Translated by William Huyche. With Preface by T. Broke. 1550.
- Camden, William.** Britain, or a chorographically description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland and Ireland. Translated from the Latin by Philemon Holland. 1610.
- Cardano, Girolamo.** Cardanus Comfort. Translated into English by T. Bedingfield. 1578.
- Cartier, J.** A Short and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to the North-weast Partes called New Fraunce. First translated out of French into Italian by that famous learned Man, Geo. Bapt. Ramutius, and now turned into English by John Florio. 1580.
- Castanheda, Hernan Lopes de.** Historie of the discoverie and conquest of the East Indies enterprised by the Portingales. Translated by Nicholas Lichfield. 1582.

- Castiglione, Baldessar.** The Courtier, done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby. 1561. Rptd in series of Tudor Translations, with Introduction by Raleigh, W. 1899.
- Cataneo, Girolamo.** Most Briefe Tables to know readily how many ranks of footmen armed with corselets, as unarmed, go to the making of a just battle. . Translated by H(enry?) G(rantham?). 1574.
- Ceriol, Federico Furiá.** Treatise declaring howe many counsels and what manner of counselors a prince that will governe well ought to have. Translated by Thomas Blundeville. 1570.
- Cervantes, Miguel de.** The History of the Valorous and Wittie Knight-Errant Don Quixote of the Mancha. Translated by Thomas Shelton. 1612. 1620. Rptd in the Series of Tudor Translations, with Introduction by Kelly, J. Fitzmaurice. 1896. [The Exemplary Novels were trans. by James Mabbe, 1640.]
- Chartier, Alain.** Delectable demandes and pleasaunt Questions, with their several aunswers in matters of Love, Naturall causes, morall and politique devises. Newly translated out of French. 1566.
- Cinthio, Giralaldi.** Several of the stories in his Hecatommithi were trans. by George Whetstone under the title An Heptameron of Civill Discourses. 1582.
- Coignet, Matthieu.** Politique Discourses on trueth and lying. An instruction to Princes to keepe their faith and promise.... Translated out of French... by Sir E. Hoby. 1586.
- Commynes, Philippe de.** The Historie. Translated by Thomas Danett. 1596. Rptd in the series of Tudor Translations, with Introduction by Whibley, C. 1897.
- Conestaggio, G.** The History of the Uniting of the Kingdom of Portugall to the Crown of Castile. ... Translated by Edward Blount. 1600.
- Contarini, G.** The Commonwealth and Government of Venice, written by the Cardinal Gaspar Contarin. Translated by Lewis Lewkenor. 1599.
- Corte, Claudio.** The Art of Riding.... Translated by Thomas Bedingfield. 1584.
- Cortés, Martin.** The Arte of navigation. Translated by Richard Eden. 1561.
- Dedekind, Frederick.** The Schoole of Slovenrie: or Cato turn'd wrong side outward, translated by R. F. from Grobianus. 1605.
- Desportes, Philippe.** Rodomantus Infernall, or the Devill conquered. Paraphrastically translated by G. M(arkham). 1607.
- Doni.** The Moral Philosophie: drawne out of the auncient writers. A work first compiled in the Indian tongue, and afterwarde reduced into divers other languages: and now lastly Englished out of the Italian by Thomas North. 1570. Ed. Jacobs, J. 1888.
- Du Bartas.** His Divine weekes and workes translated by Josuah Sylvester, Gent. 1605-6. [See also Thomas Hudson's Historie of Judith, 1584.]
- Du Bellay, G.** Instructions for the Warres. Translated by Paul Ive. 1589.
- Erasmus, Desiderius.** The seconde tome or volume of the Paraphrase upon the newe testament. Translated by Myles Coverdale and J. Olde. 1549.
- The Complaint of peace. Wryten in Latyn by the famous Clerke Erasmus. And truely translated into Englishe by Thomas Paynell. 1559.
- Two dialogues wryten in Latin by the famous Clerke D. Erasmus, one called Polyphemus... the other dysposyng of thinges and names, translated in the Englyshe by E. Becke. 1550.
- The Apophthegmes of Erasmus, translated into English by Nicolas Udall. 1542.
- The Praise of Folie. Translated by Sir T. Chaloner. 1549.

- Erasmus, Desiderius.** *Proverbs or Adagies gathered out of the Chylliades of Erasmus by Richard Taverner, with newe additions as well of Latin Proverbs as of Englishe.* 1550.
- *The first Tome of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the newe Testaments.* 1548. (The text is that of Taverner's Bible and the Paraphrase was translated for the most part by Nicolas Udall.)
- Estienne, Henri.** *The Stage of Popish Toyes, Containing both Magicall and Comickall partes.* Collected out of H. Stephanus in his Apologie upon Herodot. Compiled by G(eorge) N(orth). 1581.
- *A mervaylous Discourse upon the Lyfe, deedes, and behaviour of Katherine de Medici.* 1578.
- *A World of Wonders.* Translated by R. C. 1607.
- Fernandez, Jerónimo.** *The Honour of chivalrie, set downe in the... historie of the magnanimous and heroike Don Bellianis.* Translated by L. A. 1598.
- Fonseca, Jeronymo Osorio da.** *The five Books of... Hieronims Osorius, containing a discussion of civill and Christian nobilitie.* Translated by William Blandy. 1576.
- Galen, Claudius.** *Certaine Workes, ... called Methodus Medendi...* Translated into English by Thomas Gale. 1586.
- Galvão, Antonio de.** *The Discoveries of the world from their first original unto the yeere of our Lord 1555.* Translated anonymously. 1601.
- Gelli, Giovanni Battista.** *The Fearful Fancies of the Florentine Cooper...* Translated by W. Barker. 1568.
- *Circes.* Translated by Henry Iden. 1557.
- Gentillet, Innocent.** *A discourse upon the meanes of well governing and maintaining in good peace, a Kingdome, or other principalitie.* Against Nicholas Machivell the Florentine. Translated into English by Simon Patericke. 1602.
- Gesner, Conrad.** *The newe Jewell of Health ... published in Englishe by G. Baker.* 1576.
- *The Historie of the Foure-Footed Beastes.* Describing the true and lively figure of every Beast, with a discourse of their severall Names, Conditions, Kindes, Vertues. Translated by Edward Topsell. 1607.
- Giovio, Paolo.** *The worthy tract of Paulus Jovius, Containing a Discourse of rare inventions both military and amorous called Impresse.* Translated by Samuel Daniel. 1585.
- Giraldo, Baptista.** *A Discourse of Civill Life.* Trans. Lodowick Bryskett. 1606. (Made some years before.)
- Gómara, Francisco Lopez de.** *Historie of the conquest of the Weast India, now called Newe Spayne.* Translated by Thomas Nicholas. 1578.
- Granada, Luis de.** *A memoriall of a Christian life; wherein are treated all such thinges, as apperteyne unto a Christian to doe, from the beginnunge of his conversion, until the ende of his perfection.* Translated by Richard Hopkins. 1586.
- *Of Prayer and meditation; wherein is conteyned fowertien devoute meditations for the seven daies of the weeke, bothe for the mornings and eveninges.* And in them is treyted of the consideration of the principall holie mysteries of our faith. Translated by Richard Hopkins. 1582.
- *A Paradise of prayers gathered out of the works of L. de Granada.* Translated by Thomas Lodge. 1601.
- *Devotion.* Translated by Francis Merea. 1598.
- Grisone.** *A new booke containing the art of riding and breaking great horses...* Translated by Thomas Blundeville. n.d.
- *The Art of Riding... out of Xenophon and Gryson Verie expert and excellent horsemen.* Translated by John Astley. 1584.

- Guarini, Battista.** *Il Pastor Fido* or the faithful Shepherd. Translated by Edward Dymock. 1602.
- Guazzo, Stephen.** *The Civile Conversation* ... foure booke, the first three translated out of French by G. Pettie. ... In the fourth a Banquet translated by B. Young. 1586.
- Guevara, Antonio de.** *Golden Epistles* ... gathered as well out of the remainder of Guevara's works as other authors, Latin, French and Italian. Translated by G. Fenton. 1575.
- *Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius.* Translated by J. Bouchier, Lord Berners. 1546.
- *Dispraise of the Life of a Courtier.* Translated by Sir F. Bryan. 1541.
- *The Diall of princes.* Translated by Sir Thomas North. 1557.
- *A Chronicle, conteyning the lives of tenne Emperours of Rome...* Translated out of Spanish into English by Edward Hellowes. 1577.
- *A Booke of the invention, of the arte of navigation.* Translated by Edward Hellowes. 1578.
- *Familiar Epistles.* Translated by Edward Hellowes. 1574.
- Guicciardini, F.** *The History of Guicciardin, containing the Wars of Italy* ... Translated by Geoffrey Fenton. 1579.
- *The Description of the Low Countries.* Translated by Th. Danett. 1593.
- Huarte, Juan.** *The Examination of men's wits.* Translated by Richard Carew. 1594.
- Hurault, Jaques.** *Politicke Moral and Martial Discourses* translated by Arthur Golding. 1595.
- Hurtado, Luis.** *Palmerin of England.* Translated by Anthony Munday. 1581.
- Hyspanus (Petrus).** *The Treasuri of Helth, contaynyng many profytable Medicines* ... translated into English by Humfre Lloyd. 1585 (?).
- La Noue, François de.** *The Declaration of the Lord de la Noue, upon his taking arms for the just defence of the Townes of Sedan and Jametz.* Truly translated according to the French copie printed at Verdun by A. N. 1589.
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- Marco Polo. *Travels of Marcus Paulus*. Translated by John Frampton. 1579.
- Medina, Pedro de. *The Arte of navigation*. Translated by John Frampton. 1581.
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- *A waying and considering of the Interim*. . . Translated . . . by John Rogers. 1548.
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- Valdés, Francisco de.** *The Serjeant major.* Translated by John Thorius. 1590.
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- Viret, P.** *A notable collection of . . . places of the Sacred Scriptures.* Translated by Anthony Scoloker. 1548. Of. also A. S.'s trans. from the German of *A goodly Dysputation betwene a Christen Shomaker and a Popyshe Parson*, 1548.
- Vives, Juan Luis.** *Private Prayers and meditations,* translated by John Bradford. 1559.
- *The office and duetie of an husband.* Translated by Thomas Paynel. 1553.
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CHAPTER II

THE AUTHORISED VERSION AND ITS INFLUENCE

[See bibliographies to volume II, chapter II, and volume III, chapter III.
 The following works may, also, be mentioned here.]

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CHAPTER III

SIR WALTER RALEGH.

[Students should consult the second edition of Dr Brushfield's admirable bibliography (see below). It is quite indispensable. The writer of this chapter and the editors of the History are much indebted to Dr Brushfield for kindly placing his work at their disposal in respect of some of the entries in the following brief list.]

Judicious and Select Essayes and Observations by... Sir Walter Raleigh upon

- (a) *The first Invention of Shipping.*
- (b) *The Misery of Invasive Warre.*
- (c) *The Navy Bouall and Sea-Service.*
- (d) *Apologie for his voyage to Guiana. Portrait.* 1650, 1667.

Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh. 1651, 1656, 1657 ff.

The title of the 1651 edition is *Sir Walter Raleigh's Sceptick or Speculations. And Observations of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities, his Seat of Government And Letters to the King's Majestie, and others of Qualitie. Also his Demeanor before his Execution.*

The title of the 1656 edition is *Maxims of State. With instructions to his Son, and the Son's advice to his aged Father. Whereunto is added Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander and other Nations, Proving that our Sea and Land Commodities enrich and strengthen other Countries against our own.*

∴ The Remains include the following articles, but some are omitted in certain editions:

Maxims of State.

Advice to his Son: his Son's advice to his Father.

Observations concerning the magnificence and opulency of Cities.

Seat of Government.

Observations concerning Trade and Commerce with the Hollander.

Poems.

Speech immediately before he was beheaded.

Letters to divers persons of quality (in all eds.).

The Prerogative of Parliaments.

The edition of 1657 is the first that bears the title, *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh*.

Three discourses of Sr. Walter Raleigh:

I. Of a War with Spain and our Protecting the Netherlands.

II. Of the Original and Fundamental Cause of . . . War.

III. Of Ecclesiastical Power.

Published by Phillip Raleigh, Esq., his only Grandson. 1702.

The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt., Political, Commercial, and Philosophical; together with his Letters and Poems. The whole never before collected together, and some never yet printed, to which is prefix'd a new account of his Life by Tho. Birch. 2 vols. Portrait. 1751.

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The Discoverie of the large, rich and bewtiful Empyre of Guiana, with a relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado) And of the Provinces of Emeria, Arroimaia, Amapaia, and other Countries, with their rivers adjoining. 4to. 1596. Reprinted in Hakluyt's Voyages, III (1598). See also Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen, ed. Payne, E. J., 1880. Ed. Schomburgk, Sir R. H. (Hakluyt Society, vol. for 1848), with copious notes, a life of Raleigh and some hitherto unpublished documents.

A Discourse of Sea Ports; principally of the Port and Haven of Dover. 1700. Reprinted in Harleian Miscellany, IV (1744), X (1810).

A Discourse of Tenures, which were before the Conquest. Gutch, J., *Collectanea Curiosa*. 1781.

An Essay on Ways and Means to maintain the Honour and Safety of England, to encrease Trade, etc. 1701. •

The History of the World. In Five Bookes. 1614. Licensed to Walter Burre, 15 April 1611. (For later editions see Brushfield.) The History of the World in five books. By Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt., printed from a copy revis'd by himself. To which is prefixed the Life of the Author, newly compil'd from Materials more ample and authentick than have yet been publish'd; by Mr Oldys. Also his Trial, with some Additions: together with A new and more copious Index. 2 vols. Folio. 1736.

An Abridgment of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World. In five books. To which is added

(a) His Premonition to Princes.

(b) Of the first invention of shipping.

(c) A Relation of the Action at Cadiz.

(d) A Dialogue between a Jesuite and a Recusant.

(e) An Apology for his unlucky Voyage to Guiana.

• Publish'd by Phillip Raleigh. 1698 ff.

The Interest of England with regard to foreign alliances, explained in two Discourses. I. Concerning a Match propounded by the Savoyan between the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince of Piemont. II. Touching a Marriage between Prince Henry of England and a Daughter of Savoy. By Sir Walter Rawleigh, Knt. 1750.

An Introduction to a Breviary of the History of England, with the Reign of King William the I entitled the Conqueror. 1693. (It is very uncertain whether this is by Raleigh.)

Observations, touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander, and other Nations, as it was presented to K. James. 1653.

The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh now first collected. With a Biographical and Critical Introduction: by Sir Egerton Brydges. 1813, 1814.

Poems by Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Walter Raleigh and others. Edited by John Hannah. 1845, etc. See also Hannah's Courtly Poets, 1870, etc.

The Prerogative of Parliaments in England Proved in a Dialogue (pro and contra) between a Councillour of State and a Justice of Peace. 4to. Midelburge, 1628; Hamburgh, 1628. Reprinted in all editions of the Remains from 1657.

The Prince, or Maxims of State. Written by Sir Walter Rawley, and presented to Prince Henry. 1672.

A Report of the truth of the fight about the Isles of Acores, this last Sommer. Betwixt the Revenge, one of her Majesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spains. 4to. 1591. Reprinted in Hakluyt's Voyages (1598-60), Pinkerton's Voyages (1808), Somers's Collection of Tracts (1809) and in English Reprints by Arber, E.

To-day a man, To-morrow none: or Sir Walter Rawleigh's Farewell to his Lady, the night before hee was beheaded. Together with his advice concerning Her and her Sonne. 1644. Reprinted in Ashbee's Occasional... Reprints (in facsimile), No. 26, 1872; in the Old Book Collector's Miscellany, by Hindley, C. (1873), etc.

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St John, James Augustus. Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. 1863.

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Stebbing, William. Sir Walter Raleigh. Oxford, 1891.

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[Of, also, the political writings of Thomas Scott (1580?-1626), for list of which see D. of N. B.; and Thomas Harriot's New-Found Land of Virginia, 1588.]

CHAPTERS IV AND V

THE LITERATURE OF THE SEA AND
SEAFARING AND TRAVEL

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[See also the publications of the Hakluyt Society and Commander Robinson's own works: *The British Fleet*, 1894; and (with John Leyland) *The British Tar in fact and fiction*, 1909; *Arber's English Garner, 'Voyages and Travels,'* 2 vols., 1903; *Froude, J. A., English Seamen in the 16th century*, 1901; *Trails, H. D., Social England*, vol. III, 1902. A. R. W.]

CHAPTER VI

THE SONG-BOOKS AND MISCELLANIES .

I. SONG-BOOKS.

The growth of English song from the earliest days to the period of the song-books, with its prominent features, 'Sumer is icumen in,' the Agincourt Song, the hymn 'Quene of Evene,' the influence of John of Dunstable and

his School, etc., may be studied in Chappell, W., *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, ed. Woodbridge, H. E., 1893; Rockstro, W. S., *A general History of Music*, 1886; *The Oxford History of Music*, ed. Hadow, W. H., 1891; Davey, Henry, *History of English Music* [1895]; *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Fuller Maitland, J. A., 1904. For John of Dunstable see also D. of N. B. *s.v.*; for 'Sumer is icumen in' see also *Country Life*, 11 April 1908, p. 510, where the music will be found; and for 'Queene of Evene,' British Museum, Arundell MS, 245.

Adson, John. *Courtly Masquing Ayres*, Composed to 5. and 6. Parts, for Violins, Consorts, and Cornets. 1621.

Alison, Richard. *An howres recreation in Musicke*, apt for Instrumentes and Voyces. 1606.

Amner, John. *Sacred Hymnes*. Of 3. 4. 5 and 6 parts for Voyces & Vyola. [1615.]

Attey, John. *The First Booke Of Ayres Of Foure Parts*, with Tableture for the Lute. 1622.

Barley, William. *A new Booke of Tabliture*. 1596.

Bartlet, John. *A Booke Of Ayres With a Triplicite of Musicke*. 1606.

Bateson, Thomas. *The first set of English Madrigales: to 3. 4. 5. and 6. voices*. 1604. Ed. Rimbault, E. F. 1846.

— *The Second Set Of Madrigales to 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts: Apt for Viols and Voyces*. 1618.

Bennet, John. *Madrigalls To Foure Voyces*. M.D.XC.IX. Ed. Hopkins, E. J. 1845.

Byrd, William. *Psalmes, Sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie, made into Musicke of five parts*. 1588.

— *Songs of sundrie natures, some of gravitie, and others of myrth, fit for all companies and voyces. Lately made and composed into Musicke of 3. 4. 5. and 6. parts*. 1589. Another edition, 1610.

— *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets: some solemne, others joyfull, framed to the life of the Words: Fit for Voyces or Viols of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts*. 1611.

— *Madrigales translated of foure, five and sixe parts, chosen out of divers excellent Authors, with the first and second part of La Verginella, made by Maister Byrd, upon two Stanz's of Ariosto and brought to speake English with the rest. Published by N. Yonge, in favour of such as take pleasure in Musick of voyces*. 1588.

— *Musica Transalpina. The Second Booke of Madrigalles, to 5. and 6. voices: translated out of sundrie Italian Authors*. 1597.

Campion, Thomas. [See bibliography to chapter VIII.]

Carlton, Richard. *Madrigals to Five voyces*. 1601.

Coperario (i.e. Cooper), John. *Funeral Teares, For the death of the Eight Honorable the Earle of Devonshire. Figured In seven songes*. 1606.

— *Songs of Mourning: Bewailing the untimely death of Prince Henry. Worded by Tho. Campion. And set forth to bee sung with one voyce to the Lute, or Violl: By John Coperario*. 1613.

Corkine, William. *Ayres, To Sing And Play To The Lute And Basse Violl. With Pavina, Galliarda, Almaines, and Corantos for the Lyra Violl*. 1610.

— *The Second Booke Of Ayres, Some, to Sing and Play to the Base-Violl alone: Others, to be sung to the Lute and Base Violl. With new Corantos, Pavina, Almaines; as also divers new Descantes upon old Grounds, set to the Lyra-Violl*. 1612.

Danyel, John. *Songs For the Lute Viol and Voice*. 1606.

• Dowland, John. *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres of fowre parts with Tableture for the Lute: So made that all the partes together, or either of them severally may be song to the Lute, Orpherian or Viol de gambo*. 1597, etc. *Second Booke*. 1600. *Third And Last Booke*. 1603.

- Dowland, John. *A Pilgrimes Solace. Wherein is contained Muschall Harmonie of 3. 4. and 5. parts, to be sung and plaied with the Lute and Viols.* 1612.
- Dowland, Robert. *A Muscally Banquet. Furnished with varietie of delicious Ayres, Collected out of the best Authors in English, French, Spanish and Italian.* 1610.
- Este, Michael. *Madrigales To 3. 4. and 5. parts: apt for Viols and voices.* 1604. Second set. 1606. Third set... Wherein are Pastorals, Anthemes, Neopolitanes, Fancies, and Madrigales, to 5. and 6. parts. 1610. Fourth set. 1619. Fifth set... Wherein are Songs full of Spirit and delight. 1618. Sixth Set. 1624. Seventh set. 1638.
- Farmer, John. *The First Set Of English Madrigals: To Foure Voices.* 1599.
- Farnaby, Giles. *Canzonets To Fowre Voyces, With a Song of eight parts.* M.D.XCVIII.
- Ferrabosco, Alfonso. *Ayres.* 1609.
- Ford, Thomas. *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes, Set forth in two Bookes.* 1607.
- Gibbons, Orlando. *The first set Of Madrigals And Mottets of 5. Parts: apt for Viols and Voyces.* 1612. Ed. Smart, G. 1841.
- *Parthenia or The Maydenhead of the first musicke that ever was printed for the Virginalla. Composed by three famous Masters: William Byrd, Dr John Bull, and Orlando Gibbons.* [1611.] Also 1655.
- Greaves, Thomas. *Songes of sundrie kindes: First, Aires to be sung to the Lute, and Base Violl. Next, Songes of Sadnesse, for the Viols and Voyces. Lastly, Madrigalles, for five voyces.* 1604.
- Hilton, John. *Ayres, or Fa las for three voyces.* 1627. Rptd by the Musical Antiquarian Society, 1844.
- *Catch that Catch can. A Choice Collection of Catches, Bownds, & Canons.* 1652.
- Hume, Tobias. *The First Part of Ayres, French, Polish, and others together, some in Tabliture, and some in Pricke-Song.* 1605.
- Jones, Robert. *The First Booke Of Songes & Ayres Of foure parts with Tableture for the Lute.* 1600. First And Second Booke. 1601.
- *Ultimum Vale or The Third Book of Ayres.* [1608.] [No title-page. Unique copy in the library of the Royal College of Music, with MS note by Edward F. Rimbault.]
- *A Muscally Dreame. Or The Fourth Booke Of Ayres.* 1609.
- *The Muses Gardin for Delights. Or the fift Booke of Ayres, onely for the Lute, the Base-violl, and the Voyce.* 1610.
- *The First Set of Madrigals, of 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. Parts, for Viols and Voices, or for Voices alone, or as you please.* 1607.
- Kirbye, George. *The first set Of English Madrigalls, to 4. 5. & 6. voyces.* 1597.
- Lichfield, Henry. *The First Set Of Madrigals of 5. Parts: apt both for Viols and Voyces.* 1613.
- Mason, George, and Easden, John. *The Ayres That Were Song and Played, at Brougham Castle in Westmerland, in the Kings Entertainment.* 1618.
- Morley, Thomas. *Canzonets. Or Little Short Songs To Three Voyces.* 1593.
- *The first booke of Canzonets to two voyces.* 1595.
- *Canzonets. Or Little Short Songs To Foure Voyces: Selected out of the best and approved Italian Authors.* 1597.
- *Canzonets or Little Short Aers To Five and Sixe Voices.* 1597.
- *Madrigalls to foure voyces. The first booke.* 1594.
- *Madrigals To five voyces. Selected out of the best approved Italian Authors.* 1598.
- *Madrigals to Foure Voyces... with some Songs added.* 1600.
- *The First Booke of Balletts To Five Voyces.* 1595. [Also 1600.]

- Masley, Thomas.** A Plaine And Easie Introduction To Practicall Musicke, set downe in forme of a dialogue: Devided into three partes, With new songs of 2. 3. 4. and 5. parts. 1597.
- **The First Booke of Ayres.** Or Little Short Songs, to sing and play to the Lute, with the Base Viole. 1600.
- **Madrigales The Triumphes of Oriana,** to 5. and 6. voices: composed by divers severall authors. 1601. Ed. Hawes, W. 1815.
- **The Canonets And Madrigals For Three and Four Voices.** Ed. Holland, W. W. and Cooke, W. Oxon. and London (1808?).
- Mundy, John.** Songs and Psalmes composed into 3. 4. and 5. parts. 1594.
- Peerson, Martin.** Private Musicke. Or The First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues: Contayning Songs of 4. 5. and 6. parts. 1620.
- **Motets or Grave Chamber Musique.** Containing Songs of five parts. Also, A Mourning Song of sixe parts for the Death of the late Right Honorable Sir Fulke Grevill. 1630.
- Pilkington, Francis.** First Booke Of Songs or Ayres of 4. parts. 1605.
- The first set of madrigals and pastorals of 3. 4. and 5. Parts. 1613.
- **The Second Set Of Madrigals, and Pastorals,** of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts; Apt for Violls and Voyces. 1624.
- Ravenscroft, Thomas.** Pammelia, Musicks Miscellanie. 1609. Also 1618.
- **Deuteromelia: or The second part of Musicks melodie, or melodious Musicke, Of Pleasant Roundelaies;** K.H. Mirth, or Freemens Songs and such delightfull Catches. 1609.
- **Melismata. Musicall phansies.** Fitting The Court, Citie, and Countrey Humours. To 3. 4. and 5. Voyces. 1611.
- A brieft discourse Of the true (but neglected) use of Charract'ring the Degrees by their Perfection, Imperfection, and Dimunition in Measurable Musicke, against the Common Practise and Custome of these Times. 1614.
- Robinson, Thomas.** New Citharen Lessons. 1609.
- Rosseter, Philip.** A Booke of Ayres, Set foorth to be song to the Lute, Orpherian, and Base Violl. 1601.
- Tomkins, Thomas.** Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. parts. 1622.
- Vautour, Thomas.** The First Set: Beeing Songs of divers Ayres and Natures, of Five and Sixe parts: Apt for Vyols and Voyces. 1619.
- Ward, John.** The First Set of English Madrigals To 3. 4. 5. and 6. parts apt both for Viols and Voyces. With a Mourning Song in memory of Prince Henry. 1613.
- Watson, Thomas.** The first sett, Of Italian Madrigalls Englished. 1590.
- Weelkes, Thomas.** Madrigals To 3. 4. 5. & 6. voyces. 1597. Ed. Hopkins, E. J. 1843.
- **Balletts and Madrigals To five voyces, with one to 6. voyces.** 1598. Another edition, 1608.
- **Madrigals of 5. and 6. parts, apt for the Viols and voices.** 1600.
- **Madrigals Of 6. parts, apt for the Viols and voices.** 1600.
- **Ayres or Phantasticke Spirites for three voices.** 1608.
- Whythorne, Thomas.** Songes of three, fower, and five voyces. 1571.
- **Of Duos, or Songs for two voices.** 1590.
- Wilbye, John.** The First Set Of English Madrigals To 3. 4. 5. and 6. voices, 1598. Ed. Turle, J. 1840-1.
- **The Second Set Of Madrigales To 3. 4. 5. and 6. parts, apt both for Voyals and Voyces.** 1609. Ed. Budd, G. W. 1846.
- Youll, Henry.** Canzonets To Three Voyces. 1608.

II. LATER REPRINTS AND COLLECTIONS.

- Aikin, J. *Vocal Poetry; or, a select collection of English songs. To which is prefixed an essay on song-writing.* 1810.
- Arber, E. *An English Garner. Ingatherings from our History and Literature.* Vols. II (1879), III (1880), IV (1882), VI (1883) and VII (1883).
- Bullen, A. H. *An English Garner, Shorter Elizabethan Poems.* 1903.
- *Lyrics from the Song-Books of the Elizabethan Age.* 1887. *More Lyrics from the Song-Books of the Elizabethan Age.* 1888. *Lyrics from the Song-Books of the Elizabethan Age. New and Revised Edition.* 1889 and 1891. (Selections from the two preceding volumes.) *Lyrics from the Dramatists of the Elizabethan Age.* 1889 and 1890. *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical, from Romances and Prose-Tracts of the Elizabethan Age: With Chosen Poems of Nicholas Breton.* 1890.
- Carpenter, F. I. *English Lyric Poetry, 1500-1700.* 1906.
- Chambers, E. K. *English Pastorals.* 1906.
- Collier, J. P. *Seven English Poetical Miscellanies, Printed between 1557 and 1602.* 1867.
- *Lyrics for old Lutenists in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, Being Specimens of the Words of Airs intended for concerted performance, and social amusement.* 1863. (In *Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature*, vol. 1, 1863.)
- *Lyrical Poems, Selected from Musical Publications between the years 1589 and 1600.* Percy Society. Vol. XIII. 1844.
- Cox, F. A. *English Madrigals in the time of Shakespeare.* 1899.
- Crow, Martha F. *Elizabethan Sonnet Cycles.* 1896-8.
- Grosart, A. B. *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library. The Writings in verse and prose of Sir Edward Dyer, Knt. (1540?-1607.)* 1872.
- *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library. The Poems of Thomas, Lord Vaux (died 1562), Edward, Earl of Oxford (died 1604), Robert, Earl of Essex (died 1601); and Walter, Earl of Essex (died 1576).* 1872.
- Hannah, J. *The Courtly Poets from Raleigh to Montrose.* 1870.
- *Poems by Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others.* 1845.
- [Haslitt, W. Carew.] *Inedited Poetical Miscellanies, 1584-1700. Selected from MSS chiefly in private hands.* 1870.
- Linton, W. J. *Rare Poems of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. A Supplement to the Anthologies.* 1882.
- Oliphant, T. *La Musa Madrigalesca; or A Collection of Madrigals, Ballets, Roundelays, etc., chiefly of the Elizabethan Age.* 1837.
- Park, T. *Heliconia. Comprising A Selection of English Poetry of the Elizabethan Age: Written or Published between 1575 and 1604.* Three vols. 1815.
- *Nugae Antiquae: being a miscellaneous collection of original papers, in prose and verse; written during the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Queen Mary, Elizabeth, and King James.* Vol. II. 1804.
- Rimbault, E. F. *The Ancient Vocal Music of England. A Collection of Specimens Referred to in a Series of Lectures, and Adapted to Modern Use.*
- *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana. A Bibliographical Account of the Musical and Poetical Works published in England during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, under the Titles of Madrigals, Ballets, Ayres, Canzonets, etc.* 1847.
- Ritson, J. *A select collection of English Songs, with their original airs: and a historical essay on the origin and progress of national song.* 3 vols. Second edition. Ed. Park, T. 1813.

- Schelling, F. H. *A Book of Elizabethan Lyrics*. Boston, 1895.
- Scott, C. K. *Elfterpe*. A Collection of Madrigals and other Vocal Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries. The Oriana Madrigal Society. In progress.
- Smith, J. S. *Musica Antiqua*. A Selection of Music of this and other Countries, from the Commencement of the Twelfth to the beginning of the Eighteenth Century. 2 vols. [1812.]
- Squire, W. B. *Madrigals and Part Songs of the 16th and 17th Centuries*. In progress.

III. MISCELLANIES.

A Banquet of daintie Conceits: furnished with verie delicate and choyse Inventions, to delight their Mindes who take Pleasure in Musique; and there-withall to sing sweete Ditties, either to the Lute, Bandora, Virgin-alles, or anie other Instrument. Published at the desire of bothe honorable and worshipful Personages, who have had Copies of divers of the Ditties heerein contained. Written by A. M. Servaunt to the Queenes most excellent Majestie. Honos alit Artes. At London, printed by J. C. for Edward White, and are to be sold at the signe of the Gunne, at the little North Doore of Paules. 1588. (In Harleian Miscellany, vol. ix, p. 219, 1812.)

The Phoenix Nest. Built up with the most rare and refined workes of Noble men, woorthy Knights, gallant Gentlemen, Masters of Arts, and brave Schollers. Full of Varietie, excellent invention, and singular delight. Never before this time published. Set forth by R. S. of the Inner Temple Gentleman. Imprinted at London, by John Jackson. 1593.

Englands Parnassus: or The choycest Flowers of our Moderne Poets, with their Poeticall comparisons; Descriptions of Bewties, Personages, Castles, Pallaces, Mountaines, Groves, Seas, Springs, Rivers, &c. Whereunto are annexed other various discourses, both pleasant and profitable. Imprinted at London for N. L. C. B. and T. H. 1600. Rptd, Arber, E., English Garner, vol. i.

A badly edited, but very popular, volume of 'Snippets' from contemporary poets, compiled by Allot, R. The volume has recently been exhaustively examined and corrected by Crawford, C., in *Notes and Queries*, Series x, vol. ix, pp. 341, 401; vol. x, pp. 4, 84, 182, 262, 362, 444; vol. xi, pp. 5, 123, 204.

Belvédère Or The Garden Of The Muses. Imprinted at London by F. K. for Hugh Astley, dwelling at Saint Magnus Corner. 1600.

A Poetical Rapsody containing, Diverse Sonnets, Odes, Elegies, Madrigalls, and other Poesies, both in Rime, and Measured Verse. Never yet published. The Bee and Spider by a diverse power, Sucke Honey and Poyson from the selfe same flower. Printed at London by V. S. for John Bailly, and are to be solde at his Shoppe in Chancerie lane, neere to the Office of the Six Clarkes. 1602. Ed. Brydges, E. Vol. i, 1814. Vol. ii, 1816. Ed. Bullen, A. H. 2 vols. 1890.

Englands Helicon. Casta placent superis, pura cum veste venite, Et manibus puris sumite fontis aquam. At London Printed by I. B. for John Flasket, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Beare. 1600. Second edition, 1614. Ed. Bullen, A. H. 1887.

Love's Garland; or Posies for Rings, Hand-kerchers, and Gloves, and such pretty Tokens that Lovers send to their Loves. 1624, etc. See Arber's *An English Garner*, *Shorter Elizabethan Poems*, 1903.

IV. SONG WRITERS.

- Barnfield, Richard.** *The Affectionate Shepheard. Containyng the Complaint of Daphnis for the love of Ganymede.* 1594. Ed. Halliwell-Phillips, J. O. Percy Society. 1842.
- *Cynthia. With certaine Sonnets, and the Legend of Cassandra. Quod cupio nequeo.* 1595. Beldornie Press, Ryde, Isle of Wight, 1841.
- *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia: Or The praise of Money.* Contains also: *The Complaint of Poetrie, for the Death of Liberalitie.* 1598.
- *The Combat, betweene Conscience and Covetousnesse, in the minde of Man.* 1598.
- *Poems: In divers humors.* 1598, 1605. Ed. Boswell, A. Roxburghe Club. 1816. Ed. Collier, J. P. *Illustrations of Old English Literature.* 1886.
- *Poems.* Ed. Grosart, A. B. 1876. See also, Arber, E., *An English Garner, Some Longer English Poems*, ed. Bullen, A. H., 1903.
- See, also, an English Miscellany, presented to Dr Furnivall, Oxford, 1901, p. 158, Barnfield's Ode: 'As it fell upon a day,' by Henneman, J. B.
- Barnes, Barnabe.** *Parthenophil and Parthenope. Sonnettes, Madrigals, Elegies and Odes.* [Entered in Stationers' register 10 May 1593.]
- *A Divine Centurie of spiritual sonnets.* 1595,
- *The Poems of Barnabe Barnes: Part 1, Parthenophil and Parthenope, 1593. Part 11, A Divine Centurie of spiritual sonnets, 1595.* Ed. Grosart, A. B. 1875.
- Breton, Nicholas.** *A flourish upon Fancie. As gallant a Glose, upon so trifling a text as ever, was written. Compiled by N. B. Gent. To which are annexed The Toyes of an Idle head: Containing, many pretie Pamphlets, for pleasaunt heads to passe away Idle time withall. By the same Authour.* 1582.
- *The Pilgrimage to Paradise, joyned with the Countesse of Penbrookes love.* Oxford. 1592.
- *The Arbor of Amorous Devices; Wherein young Gentlemen may reade many pleasant fancies and fine devices: And thereon meditate divers sweete Conceites to court the love of faire ladies & Gentlewomen.* 1597.
- *Brittons Bowre of Delights. Contayning. Many, most delectable and fine devices, of rare Epitaphes, pleasant Poems, Pastoralls and Sonnets.* 1597.
- *Melancholike Humours, in verses of diverse Natures.* 1600.
- *Pasquils Passe, and passeth not. Set downe in three Peees His Passe Precession, and Prognostication.* 1600.
- *Pasquils Fooles-cap sent to such (to keep their weake braines warme) as are not able to conceive afright of his Mad-cap. With Pasquils Passion for the Worlds Waywardnesse. Begun by himselfe, and finished by his Friend Morphorius.* 1600.
- *An excellent poeme, upon the longing of a blessed Heart: which loathing the world, doth long to be with Christ. With an addition, upon the definition of love.* 1601.
- *A Divine Poeme, divided into two Parties: The Raviht Soule, and the Blessed Weeper.* 1601.
- *The Soules Harmony.... Numquam aut Nunc.* 1602.
- *A true description of unthankfulnessse. Or an enemy to Ingratitude.* 1602.
- *The Mothers Blessing.* 1602.
- *The Passionate Shepheard, or the Shepheardes Love: set downe in Passions to his Shepheardesse Aglaia. With many excellent conceited Poems and pleasant Sonnets, fit for young heads to passe away idle houres.* 1604.

Breton, Nicholas. *The Honour of Valour*. 1605.

— *The Soules immortall crowne* consisting of, seaven glorious graces. 1. Vertue. 2. Wisedome. 3. Love. 4. Constance. 5. Patience. 6. Humilitie. 7. Infiniteness. Devided into seaven dayes Workes. 1605.

— *I would and would not*. 1614.

— *Pasquills Mad-cappe*, Throwne at the corruptions of these times. With His Message to Men of all Estates. 1626.

— *The Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton*. Ed. Grosart, A. B. Two volumes. 1879.

G., J., or C., J. Alcilia. *Philoparthen's Loving Follie*. 1595. Ed. Wagner, W., in *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 1875, vol. x, and ed. Grosart, A. B., Manchester, 1879. Rptd 1613.

— Alcilia. *Philoparthen's loving Folly*: Whereunto is added, *Pigmaliions Image*: With the Love of Amos and Laura. And also, *Epigrammes*, by Sir I. H. and others. 1628. Ed. Arber, E., *English Garner*, vol. iv, 1882.

On the authorship of this work, see Wagner *ut sup.* and Grosart *ut sup.* A small collection of poems in rime.

Copley, Anthony. *A Fig for Fortune*. 1596. Rptd, Spenser Society, 1883.

Cutwode, Thomas. *Caltha Poetarum: or the Bumble Bee*. 1599. Rptd by Roxburghe Club. (A, fanciful, skilful and often charming poem, in stanzas of seven decasyllabic lines, by an author of whom nothing is known. On account of its supposed licentiousness (which is not remarkable), the book was burned by order of the archbishop of Canterbury in the year of its publication.)

Dickenson, John. *The Shepherdes Complaint*. A passionate Eclogue, written in English Hexameters: Whereunto are annexed other conceits, brieflie expressing the effects of Loves impressions, and the just punishment of aspiring beautie. n.d.

— *Arishas, Euphues amidst his slumbers: Or Cupids Journey to Hell*. Decyphering a Myrror of Constance, a Touch-stone of tried affection, begun in chaste desires, ended in choise delights: And emblasoning Beauties glorie, adorned by Natures bountie. With the Triumph of True Love, in the foyle of false Fortune. 1594.

— *Greene in Concept*. New raised from his grave to writ the Tragique Historie of faire Valeria of London. Wherein is truly discovered the rare and lamentable issue of a Husbands dotage, a wives leudnesse, & childrens disobedience. 1598.

— *Prose and Verse by John Dickenson*. Ed. Grosart, A. B. 1878.

Edwards, Thomas. *Cephalus and Procris*. *Narcissus*. *Aurora musae amica*. 1595. Rptd, Roxburghe Club, 1882.

Ovid's treatment is closely followed. *Cephalus and Procris* is in rimed heroics; *Narcissus* in stanzas of seven decasyllabic lines. Of the author little is known; but his poems are good.

Greene, Robert. The lyric poems of Robert Greene are to be found chiefly in the following works:

— *Perimedes The Blacke-Smith*. A golden methode, how to use the mind in pleasant and profitable exercise: Wherein is contained speciall principles fit for the highest to imitate, and the meanest to put in practise, how best to spend the wearie winters nights, or the longest summers Evenings, in honest and delightfull recreation: Wherein we may learne to avoide idleness and wanton scurrillitie, which divers appoint as the end of their pastimes. Heerein are interlaced three merrie and necessarie discourses fit for our time: with certaine pleasant Histories and tragicall tales, which may breed delight to all, and offence to none. 1588.

Greene, Robert. *Mensaphon Camillas alarum to slumbering Euphues, in his melancholicke Cell at Silixedra. Wherein are deciphered the variable effects of Fortune, the wonders of Love, the triumphes of inconstant Time. Displaying in sundrie conceived passions (figured in a continuante Historie) the Trophées that Vertue carrieth triumphant, maugre the wrath of Envie, or the resolution of Fortune. A worke wortheie the youngest eares for pleasure, or the gravest censures for principles.* 1589.

- — *Greenes Never too late. Or, A Powder of Experience: Sent to all youthfull Gentlemen; to roote out the infectious follies, that over-reaching conceits foster in the spring time of their youth. Decyphering in a true English historie, those particular vanities, that with their frothie vapours nip the blossoms of everie ripe braine, from attaining to his intended perfection. As pleasant, as profitable, being a right pumicestone, apt to race out idlenesse with delight, and follie with admonition.* 1590.
- *Francescos Fortunes: or The second Part of Greenes Never too late. Wherein is discoursed the fall of Love, the bitter fruites of Follies pleasure, and the repentant sorrowes of a reformed man.* 1590.
- *Greenes farewell to Folly. Sent to Courtiers and Schollers as a president to warne them from the vaine delights that draws youth on to repentance.* 1591.
- *Philomela. The Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale.* 1592.
- *Greens Groats-worth of Wit, bought with a Million of Repentaunce. Describing the follie of youth, the falshood of makeshift flatterers, the miserie of the negligent, and mischiefes of deceiving Courtezans. Written before his death, and published at his dying request.* 1596.
- *Ciceronis Amor. Tullies Love. Wherein is discoursed the prime of Ciceroes youth, setting out in lively portratures how young Gentlemen that aime at honour should levell the ende of their affections, holding the love of countrie and friends in more esteeme then those faiding blossomes of beauty, that only feede the curious survey of the eye. A worke full of Pleasure as following Ciceroes vaine, who was as conceived in his youth as grave in his age, profitable as containing precepts worthy so famous an Orator.* 1597.
- *A Looking Glasse, for London and Englande. Made by Thomas Lodge Gentleman, and Robert Greene.* 1598.
- *Greenes Orpharion. Wherin is discovered a muscalle concorde of pleasant Histories, many sweet moodes graced with such harmonius discords, as agreeing in a delightfull close, they sound both pleasure and profit to the eare. Heerein also as in a Diatheeron, the branches of Vertue, ascending by degrees: are counited in the glorious praise of women-kind. With divers Tragical and Comical Histories presented by Orpheus and Arion, being as full of profit as of pleasure.* 1599.
- *Greenes Mourning Garment: given him by repentance at the Funerals of Love; which he presents for a favour to all young Gentlemen, that wish to weane themselves from wanton desires. Both Pleasant and Profitable.* 1616.
- *Dramatic and Poetical Works of Greene and Peele. Ed. Dyce, A.* 1861.
- *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene. In Fifteen Volumes. Ed. Grosart, A.B.* 1881-6.
- Lodge, Thomas. *The lyric poems of Thomas Lodge are to be found chiefly in the following works:*
- *Sollaces Metamorphosis: Entrelaced with the unfortunate love of Glaucus. Whereunto is annexed the delectable discourse of the discontented Satyre: with sundrie other most absolute Poems and Sonnets. Contayn-*

- ing, the detestable tyrannie of Disdaine, and Comickall triumph of
Constantine: Verie fit for young Courtiers to peruse, and coy Dames to
remember. 1589.
- Lodge, Thomas**. A Margarite of America. By T. Lodge. 1596.
- **Rosalynde**. Euphues golden legacie: found after his death in his Cell
at Silexedra. Bequeathed to Philautus sonnes noursed up with their
father in England. Fetcht from the Canaries. 1590.
- **The Famous, true and historicall life of Robert second Duke of Normandy**,
surnamed for his monstrous birth and behaviour, Robin the Divell.
Wherein is contained his dissolute life in his youth, his devout reconci-
lement and vertues in his age: Interlaced with many straunge and
miraculous adventures. Wherein are both causes of profite, and manie
conceits of pleasure. 1591.
- **Phillis**: Honoured with Pastorall Sonnets, Elegies, and amorous delights.
Where-unto is annexed, the tragicall complaynt of Elstred. 1593.
- **A Looking Glasse**. See above under Greene.
- **The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge** [1580-1623?]. Hunterian Club.
Four volumes. 1883.
- Munday, Anthony**. A Banquet of daintie Conceits: furnished with verie
delicate and choyse Inventions, to delight their Mindes who take Pleasure
in Musique; and there-withall to sing sweete Ditties, either to the Lute,
Bandora, Virginalles, or anie other Instrument. 1588. Harl. Misc.
Vol. ix. 1812.
- **Metropolis Coronata, The Triumphes of Ancient Drapery**: or, Rich
Cloathing of England, in a second Yeeres performance. 1615.
- **The Famous and Renowned Historie of Primaleon of Greece**. . . Trans-
lated out of French and Italian. Three vols. 1619. See also Los tres
libros del muy esforçado cauallero Primaleon et Polendos su hermano
hijos del Emperador palmerin de Oliua, Seville, 1524; and Le troisieme
livre de Primaleon de Grece Traduit d'Espagnol en François (by
Gabriel Chapuis), Lyons, 1579.
- **John a Kent and John a Cumber**; a comedy. Ed. Collier, J. P. Shak-
speare Society. 1851.
- Peele, George**. The Araynement of Paris A Pastorall. 1584.
- **An Eglogue Gratulatorie**. Entituled: To the right honorable, and re-
nowned Shepheard of Albions Arcadia: Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe,
for his welcome into England from Portugall. 1589.
- **Polyhymnia**, describing the honourable Triumph at Tylt, before her
Majestie, on the 17. of November last past, being the first day of the
three and thirtieth yeare of Her Highnesse raigne. 1590.
- **The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the first**, sirnamed Edward
Longshankes, with his returne from the holy land. Also the life of
Llewellen rebell in Wales. Lastly, the sinking of Queene Elinor, who
sunk at Charingcrosse, and rose againe at Potters-hith, now named
Queenehith. 1593.
- **The Old Wives Tale**. A pleasant, conceited Comedie, played by the
Queenes Majesties players. 1595.
- **Dramatic and Poetical Works**. See under Greene.
- Boydon, Matthew**. Son of T. Roydon, editor of the Gorgeous Gallery of
Gallant Inventions. His Elegy or friend's passion for his Astrophell is
to be found in Spenser's Colin Clout, 1595, in The Phoenix Nest and in
A gorgeous Gallery. There are verses by him also in H. Gilbert's
True Report, 1583.
- Sable, Francis**. Pans Pipe, Three pastorall Eglogues, in English Hexameter.
With other Poetical Verses delightfull. . . 1595.

Sable, Francis. *Adams Complaint. The Olde Worlides Tragadie. David and Bathsheba.* 1596. (In rime. *Versifications of Scripture.*)

Sable, who was a schoolmaster at Lichfield, also versified Greene's *Pandosto* under the titles *The Fisher-mans Tale*, 1595, and *Floras Fortune*, 1595, in blank verse.

Smith, William. *Chloris, or The Complaint of the passionate despised Shepheard.* 1596. Ed. Grosart, A. B. 1877.

Soowthern, John. *Pandora. The Musyque of the beaultie of his mistresse Diana.* 1584.

(Nothing in this volume of sonnets, based mainly on *Bonsard*, is so beautiful as its title.)

Storer, Thomas (1571—1604). *Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey.* 1599. [See *England's Parnassus.*]

Watson, Thomas. *The EKATOMIIAΘIA or Passionate Centurie of Loue, Divided into two parts: whereof, the first expresseth the Author's sufferance in Love: the latter, his long farewell to Love and all his tyrannie.* [1581 ?.]

— Thomas Watson's 'Italian Madrigals Englished,' 1590. Ed. Carpenter, F. I. [1899.]

— *The Poems of Thomas Watson.* Ed. Arber, E. 1895.

Willoby (?), Henry. *Willobie his Avis.* Or, the true Picture of a modest Maid, and of a Chast and constant wife. In Hexameter verse. . . . 1594. Eptd 1596, etc.

— *Willobie's Avis, &c.* Ed. Grosart, A. B. Manchester, 1880.

For the authorship of this work and its references to Shakespeare, see Grosart as above, *Sidney Lee's Life of Shakespeare*, 1903, and D. of N. B. *Willoughby or Willobie, Henry.* The author was probably one *Hadrian Dorrell*.

Yates, James. *The Castell of Courtesie, Whereunto is adjoyned the Holde of Humillitie, with the Chariot of Chastitie thereunto annexed. Also A Dialogue betweene Age and Youth and other matters herein contened.* [1582.]

Yong, Bartholomew. *Los Sieste Libros de la Diana de Iorge de Mōtemayor.* Valencia. [1559 ?.]

— *Diana of George of Montemayor.* Trans. 1598.

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Barrett, W. A. *English Glee and Madrigal writers.* 1877.

Chappell, W. *Some account of an Unpublished Collection of Songs and Ballads by King Henry VIII and his Contemporaries.* *Archæologia*, xli, p. 371.

Courthope, W. J. *A History of English Poetry.* Vols. II (1904) and III (1903). *Elizabethan Lyric*, The. *Quarterly Review*, No. 302, October 1902.

Erskine, J. *The Elizabethan Lyric. A Study.* New York and London, 1903. (Contains a bibliography on pp. 315-329.)

Furnivall, F. J. *Robert Laneham's Letter; Describing a part of the entertainment unto Queen Elizabeth at the Castle of Kenilworth in 1575.* 1907.

Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians.* Ed. Maitland, J. A. F. 5 vols. 1904.

Greg, W. W. *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama. A Literary Inquiry with special reference to the Pre-Restoration Stage in England.* 1906.

- Madew, W. H. *The Oxford History of Music*. 6 vols. Oxford, 1901-5.
- Kaibler, H. E. Thomas Lodge as an imitator of the Italian Poets. *Modern Language Review*, II, 2, p. 155, January 1907.
- Knaut, C. F. *Über die Metrik Robert Greene's*. 1890.
- Lanier, S. *Shakspeare and his Forerunners*. 2 vols. 1902.
- Penner, E. *Metrische Untersuchungen zu George Peele*. 1890.
- Ritson, J. *Bibliographia Poetica*. 1802.
- Saintsbury, G. *A History of Elizabethan Literature*. 1890.
- *A History of English Prosody*. Vols. I. (1906) and II (1908).
- Schelling, F. E. *Poetic and verse criticism of the reign of Elizabeth*. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. 1891.
- Scott, C. K. *Madrigal Singing*. 1907.
- Scott, M. A. *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*. *Modern Language Association of America*, x, xi, xiii and xiv. Baltimore, 1895, 1896, 1898 and 1899.
- Symonds, J. A. *In the key of blue and other prose essays*. 1893. (*Lyrics from Elizabethan Song-Books*, p. 265.)
- *Essays Speculative and Suggestive*. Third edition. 1907. (*A Comparison of Elizabethan with Victorian Poetry*, p. 365.)
- Tappan, E. M. Nicholas Breton. *Modern Language Association*, XIII. Baltimore, 1898.
- Tovey, D. C. *Reviews and Essays*. 1897.
- Wood, Anthony à. *Athenae Oxonienses*. Ed. Bliss, P. 1820.
- Warton, T. *The History of English Poetry*. 3 vols. 1774-81.

CHAPTER VII

ROBERT SOUTHWELL. SAMUEL DANIEL

- Andrews, John. *Anatomic of Baseness*. 1615. Rptd in Grosart's *Fuller Worthies' Library*, vol. II.
- Barret, Robert (*d.* 1600). For his epic *The Sacred Warr*, see D. of N. B.

ROBERT CHESTER.

Loves Martyr: or Rosalins Complaint. Allegorically shadowing the truth of Love, in the constant Fate of the Phoenix and Turtle. A Poeme entrelaced with much varietie and raritie; now first translated out of the venerable Italian Torquato Caeliano, by Robert Chester. With the true legend of famous King Arthur. . . . 1601. Reissued as: *The Annals of great Brittain*. Or, *A Most Excellent Monument*, wherein may be seene all the antiquities of the kingdome. . . . 1611. Ed. Grosart, A. B. *Occ. Issues*, vol. VII. 1878. [Cf. Nathaniel Baxter's *Sir Philip Sydney's Ourania*, 1606].

Sir Robert Chester, Knight, 1566(?)–1640(?). This extraordinary collection of poems displays much learning in natural history as understood in its author's time, much ingenuity in the making of acrostics and very little poetry. The portions concerning the Phoenix and Turtle appear to relate to Elizabeth and Essex. For the title given to it on its reissue there is little excuse, King Arthur being the only historical, or mythological, subject with which it deals. The translation from 'Torquato Caeliano' appears to be a pure fiction.

SAMUEL DANIEL.

Syr P. S. His *Astrophel and Stella*. Wherein the excellence of sweet Poesy is concluded. To the end of which are added, sundry other rare Sonnets of divers Noble men and Gentlemen. 1591. (2 issues.)

Delia. Contayning certayne Sonnets. 1592.

Delia . . . with the complaint of Rosamond. 1592.

Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra. 1594. Ed. Arber, E. 1877.

The Tragedie of Cleopatra. 1594.

Daniel's *Delia* and Drayton's *Idea*. Ed. Esdaile, A. 1908. (Contains a bibliography of *Delia*.)

The first fowre Bookes of the civile wars between the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke. 1595. (Contains also the fifth book, pagination and signatures following consecutively.)

The Poeticall Essayes of Sam. Danyel. Newly corrected and augmented. 1599.

This volume contains: *Musophilus*: containing a generall defence of learning, 1599; A letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius, 1599; *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, 1599; *The first fowre Bookes of the civile wars*, etc., 1595.

The Works of Samuel Daniel Newly augmented. 1601, 1602.

This folio contains: A Defence of Ryme: Against a Pamphlet entitled: *Observations in the Art of English Poesie*. wherein is demonstratively proved, that Ryme is the fittest harmonie of words that comports with our Language [n.d.], rptd by Haslewood, J., in *Ancient Critical Essays*, 1815; and also: A panegyrike congratulatory Delivered to the Kings most excellent majesty at Burleigh Harrington in Rutlandshire; also certaine Epistles. With a Defence of Ryme, heertofore written, and now published by the Author [n.d.].

The Vision of the 12. Goddesses, presented in a maske the 8. of January, at Hampton Court. 1604.

Certaine small poems lately printed: with the *Tragedie of Philotas*. 1605, 1607.

The Queenes Arcadia. A Pastorall Trage-Comedie presented to her Majestie and her Ladies, by the Universitie of Oxford in Christs Church, in August last. 1605, 1606.

A *Funerall Poeme* uppon the Death of the late noble Earle of Devonshyre. [n.d., 1606.]

The Civile Wares betweene the Howses of Lancaster and Yorke. 1609.

Tethys Festival: or The Queenes Wake. Celebrated at Whitehall, the fifth day of June 1610. 1610.

Hymens' Triumph. A Pastorall Tragicomaedie. Presented at the Queenes Court in the Strand at her Majesties magnificent intertainement of the Kings most excellent Majestie, being at the Nuptials of the Lord Roxborough. 1615.

The whole workes of Samuel Daniel Esquire in Poetrie. 1623.

The Complete Works in verse and prose of Samuel Daniel. Ed. Grosart, A. B. Five volumes. 1885.

A Selection from the Poetry of Samuel Daniel & Michael Drayton. Ed. Beeching, H. C. 1899.

Inedited poems of Samuel Daniel. Philobiblon Society. Bibliographical and Historical Miscellanies. Vol. II. 1854.

JOHN DAVIES OF HEREFORD.

Mirum in modum. A Glimpsee of Gods Glorie and the Soules Shape. Eyes must be bright, or else no eyes at all Can see this sight, much more then mysticall. 1602.

Microcosmos. The Discovery of the Little World, with the government thereof. Oxford, 1603.

Humours Heav'n on Earth; With the Civile Warres of Death and Fortune. As also The Triumph of Death: Or, The Picture of the Plague, according to the Life; as it was in Anno Domini. 1603. 1605.

Bien Venu. Greate Britaines Welcome to her greate friendes, and deere brethren the Danes. 1606.

Summa Totalis or, All in All, and the same for ever: Or, an Addition to **Mirum in Modum.** 1607.

The Holy Roode, or Christs Crosse: Containing Christ Crucified, described in Speaking-picture. 1609.

Humours Heav'n on Earth: With the Civile Warres of Death and Fortune. As also The Triumph of Death: Or, The Picture of the Plague, according to the Life; as it was in Anno Domini 1603. 1609.

Wittes Pilgrimage, (by Poeticall Essais) Through a World of amorous Sonnets, Soule-passions, and other Passages, Divine, Philosophicall, Morall, Poeticall and Politicall. [1610.]

The Scourge of Folly. Consisting of satyricall Epigrams, And others in honour of many noble Persons and worthy friends, together, With a pleasant (though discordant) Descant upon most English Proverbs and others. [1611-12?]

The Muse's Sacrifice, or Divine Meditations. 1612.

The Muses Teares for the losse of their hope; heroick and nere-too-much praised, Henry, Prince of Wales, &c. Together with Times Sobs for the untimely death of his Glory in that his Darling: and lastly, his Epitaphs. Consecrated To th. hight and mighty Prince, Frederick the fift, Count Palatine of Rhoyne. &c. Whereunto is added, Consolatory Straines to wrest Nature from her bent in immoderate mourning. 1613.

A Select Second Husband for Sir Thomas Overburie's Wife, now a matchlesse widow. 1617.

The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford (15...-1618). Ed. Grosart, A. B. 2 vols. 1878.

Les Oeuvres Poetiques et Chretiennes de G. de Saluste, Seigneur du Bartas. 2 vols. [Paris.] 1598.

Chertsey Worthies' Library. The Complete works of Joshua Sylvester. Ed. Grosart, A. B. 2 vols. 1880.

CHARLES FITZGEFFREY.

A Cornish clergyman (1575?-1637) educated at Cambridge, who wrote much Latin verse. His work was well known to, and much admired by, his poetical contemporaries.

Sir Francis Drake, His Honorable lifes commendation, and his Tragicall Deathes lamentations. Oxford, 1596.

A very long poem in rime royal, full of classical allusion; dignified and scholarly, rather than poetical.

The Blessed Birth-day, celebrated in some religious meditations on the Angels . Anthem. Luc. 2. 14. Also Holy Transportations in contemplating some

of the most observable adjuncts about our Saviours Nativity. The second Edition with Additions. Oxford, 1638.

In rimed couplets of decasyllables: a work of considerable accomplishment and religious and poetical fervour.

Poems. Ed. Grosart, A. B. Manchester, 1881.

WILLIAM FOREST.

The History of Joseph the Chaiste composed in balladde royall crudely: largely derived from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. In two parts. MS. Part I in the library of University College, Oxford; Part II in British Museum, Royal Library, 18. C. xiii. Partially ptd in Second Grislde, v. *inf*.

A Notable warke called the pleasaunt poesye of princelie practise, composed of late in meatre royall by the symple and unlearned sir William forrest preeiste, muche parte collecte owte of A. bobke entiteled The governaunce of noblemen, which booke the wise philosopher Aristotele wrote too his discypyle Alexandre the great and mightie Conqueroure. 1548. British Museum, Royal Library, 17. D. iii. Partially ptd in England in the Reign of King Henry VIII. Part 1. Starkey's Life and Letters. Ed. Herrtage, S. J. Early English Text Society. 1878.

A metrical version of fifty of the Psalms. British Museum, Royal Library, 17. A. xxi. Partially ptd in Second Grislde. v. *inf*.

A New Ballade of the Marigolde. Rptd in Harl. Misc. x, 253, 1813.

Paternoster and Te Deum in English Verse. In Foxe's Actes and Monuments, 1563.

A true and moste notable Historye of a right noble and famous ladye produced in Spayne, intytuled, the Seconde Grislde, practiced not longe oute of this tyme, in muche parte tragedious, as delectable bothe to Heearers and Readers. MS in Bodleian library. Ptd by Roxburghe Club. Ed. Macray, W. D. 1875.

An Oration consolatorye to Marye oure Queene. In same MS as preceding entry, and ptd as above.

The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary with other poems. British Museum, Harl. MSS 1703. Ptd as above.

William Forrest (*fl.* 1581) was a Catholic priest, chaplain to queen Mary, and probably holder of an office in Wolsey's new college of Christ Church, Oxford. His most important poem, the Seconde Grislde, presented by him to Mary in 1558, is a narrative of the divorce of her mother, queen Catherine of Arragon. His poems are interesting rather for the light they throw on the theological and social history of his times than for their merits as poetry. Forrest was a friend of Alexander Barclay, whom he mentions in the prologue to the second part of the Pleasaunt poesye of princelie practise. He was a musician, and the owner of copies of much good music of his day; his collection is now at Oxford.

ABRAHAM FRAUNCE.

The Lamentations of Amintas for the Death of Phillis; paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English Hexameteres. 1587, etc.

The Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch. Containing the affectionate life, and unfortunate death of Phillis and Amyntas: That in a Pastoral; This in a Funerall: both in English Hexameteres. 1591.

The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel. Containing the Nativity, Passion, Buriall, and Resurrection of Christ: together with certaine Psalmes of David. All in English Hexameteres. 1591.

The third part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch: entitled, *Amintas Dale*. Wherein are the most conceited tales of the Pagan Gods in English Hexameters: together with their aunient descriptions and Philosophical explications. 1592.

See, also, D. of N. B., 1908, vol. VII, s.v. *Fraunce, Abraham*; and the introduction to *Victoria*, a Latin comedy, ed. Moore Smith, G. C., 1906, in *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas*, vol. XIV.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

Saint Peters Complaint, with other Poemes. 1595. Also Edinburgh, [1595?]. *Saint Peters Complaint*, newly augmented with other Poemes. *I live to dy: I dy to live*. Printed by H. L. for William Leake: and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the holy Ghost. [n.d.] Also 1602, 1620.

Mæoniae. or, certaine excellent Poemes and spirituall Hymnes: Omitted in the last Impression of *Peters Complaint*; being needefull thereunto to be annexed, as being both Divine and Wittie. All composed by R. S. 1595.

[A ?] *Foure-fould meditation*, of the foure last things: viz.

1] of the	[Heure of Death.
2			Day of Judgement.
3			Paines of Hell.
4			Joyes of Heaven.

Shewing the estate of the Elect and Reprobate. Composed in a Divine Poeme. 1606. Ed. Edwards, C. 1895. (*Isham Reprints*, No. 4.)

Poetical Works Ed. Turnbull, W. B. 1856.

Complete Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J. Ed. Grosart, A. B. 1872.

WILLIAM WARNER.

Albions England. Or Historical Map of the same Island: prosecuted from the lives, Actes and Labors of Saturne, Jupiter, Hercules, and Æneas: Originallies of the Bruton, and Englishmen, and occasion of the Brutons their first aryvall in Albion. . . . With Historicall Intermixtures, Invention, and Varietie profitably, briefly and pleasantly performed in Verse and Prose. 1586. Revised and enlarged 1589, etc. and in 1612 with the addition of the Epitome (in prose) of the whole history of England. Rptd, Chalmers, Eng. Poets, vol. IV, 1810. [See, also, *Letters of Charles Lamb*, ed. Ainger, A., 1888, II, 93.]

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Courthope, W. J. *A History of English Poetry*. Vols. II (1904) and III (1903).

Fleay, F. G. On the career of Samuel Daniel. *Anglia*, vol. XI, p. 619. 1889.

— *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642*. 2 vols. 1891.

Hannay, D. *The Later Renaissance*. Edinburgh. 1898.

Isaac, H. Wie weit geht die Abhängigkeit Shakspeare's von Daniel als Lyriker? *Shakspeare Jahrbuch*, XVII, p. 165. 1892.

Prideaux, W. F. Daniel's *Delia*, 1592. *Athenæum*, No. 3952, 25 July 1903.

Quiller-Couch, A. T. *Adventures in Criticism*. 1896.

Saintsbury, G. *A History of Elizabethan Literature*. 1890.

— *A History of English Prosody*. Vols. I (1906) and II (1908).

CHAPTER VIII

THOMAS CAMPION

Thomae Campiani Poemata. Ad Thamesin. Fragmentum Umbrae. Liber Elegiarum. Liber Epigrammatum. 1595.

A Booke of Ayres, Set fourth to be song to the Lute, Orpherian, and Base • Violl, by Philip Rosseter, Lutenist: And are to be solde at his house in Fleetstreete neere to the Gray-hound. 1601.

Observations in the Art of English Poesie. Wherein it is demonstratively proved, and by example confirmed, that the English toong will receive eight severall kinds of numbers, proper to it selfe, which are all in this booke set forth, and were never before this time by any man attempted. 1602. [For Daniel's reply, see *ante* vol. III.]

The Description Of A Maske, Presented before the Kinges Majestie at White-Hall, on Twelfth Night last, in honour of the Lord Hayes, and his Bride. . . . To this by occasion other small Poemes are adjoynd. 1607.

Songs of Mourning: Bewailing the untimely death of Prince Henry. Worded by Tho. Campion. And set forth to be sung with one voyce to the Lute, or Viol: by John Coprario. 1613.

A Relation Of the Late Royall Entertainment Given By The Right Honorable The Lord Knowles, At Cawsome-House neere Redding: to our most Gracious Queene, Queene Anne, in her Progresse toward the Bathe, upon the seven and eight and twentie dayes of Aprill, 1613. Whereunto is annexed the Description, Speeches, and Songs of the Lords Maske, presented in the Banqueting-house on the Marriage night of the High and Mightie, Count Palatine, and the Royally descended the Ladie Elizabeth. 1613.

Two Bookes of Ayres. The First Contayning Divine and Morall Songs: The Second, Light Conceits of Lovers. To be sung to the Lute and Viola, in two, three, and foure Parts: or by one Voyce to an Instrument. [n.d. c. 1613.]

The Description of a Maske: Presented in the Banqueting roome at Whitehall, on Saint Stephens night last, At the Mariage of the Right Honourable the Earle of Somerset: And the right noble the Lady Frances Howard. Whereunto are annexed divers choice Ayres composed for this Maske that may be sung with a single voyce to the Lute or Base-Violl. 1614.

The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres. So as they may be expressed by one Voyce, with a Violl, Lute, or Orpharion. [n.d. c. 1617.]

A New Way of Making Fowre parts in Counter-point by a most familiar and infallible Rule. Secondly, a necessary discourse of Keyes, and their proper closes. Thirdly, the allowed passages of all Concorde perfect, or imperfect, are declared. Also by way of Preface, the nature of the Scale is expressed, with a briefe Method teaching to Sing. [n.d. c. 1617.]

Tho. Campiani Epigrammatum libri II. Umbra. Elegiarum liber unus. Excudebat E. Griffin. 1619.

Bullen, A. H. (ed.). The works of Dr Thomas Campion. 1889.

— (ed.). Songs and Masques with Observations in the Art of English Poesy. 1903.

Reyher, Paul. Les Masques Anglais. Paris, 1909.

Rhys, Ernest (ed.). Lyric Poems. (Lyric Poets Series.) n.d.

Vivian, Percival (ed.). Poetical Works (in English) of Thomas Campion. 1907.

— (ed.). Complete Works of Thomas Campion. Oxford. [In preparation.]

See, also, Egerton MS 2599 (British Museum), being the Account book of Augustine Steward.

CHAPTER IX

THE SUCCESSORS OF SPENSER

WILLIAM BASSE.

The Pastorals and other Workes of W. B. Never before imprinted. Oxford, 1653. Ed. Collier, J. P. Oxford, 1870. (See, also, Collier, J. P., Illustrations of early English Popular Literature, vol. II, 1863 ff.)

The Poetical Works of William Basse, now for the first time collected and edited, with introduction and notes by Bond, R. W. 1893. (With an excellent bibliography.)

Great Brittaines Sunnes-set, bewailed with a shower of tears. Oxford, 1613. Facsimiled by Allnutt, W. H. Oxford, 1872.

William Basse was born c. 1583. He wrote, in close imitation of Spenser's lighter mood, Pastorals and a long poem Urania. Izaak Walton quotes his Angler's Song and mentions Tom of Bedlam and the Hunter in his career with admiration. Full information on his life and writings may be found in Bond's edition.

WILLIAM BROWNE, OF TAVISTOCK.

Works; containing Britannia's Pastorals. The Shepherd's Pipe. The Inner Temple Masque, and other poems. 3 vols. 1772.

Original Poems of W. B. never before published, ed. Brydges, S. E. Lee Priory, 1815.

The Whole Works of W. Browne now first collected. Hazlitt, W. C. Roxburghe Library. 1868.

The Poems of William Browne, of Tavistock. Ed. Goodwin, G. With an introduction by Bullen, A. H. 2 vols. 1894.

An Elegie on the never Inough Bewailed Death of the Worthy, Vertuous, glory of these, and wonder for ensuing times, Henry, Prince of Wales. 1613.

Britannia's Pastorals. The first book appeared in folio, without any date on title-page: but the address to the reader is dated 18 June 1613. Book II, Printed by Thomas Snodham for George Norton, and are to be sold at the signe of the Red Bull without Temple-barre, 1616. Books I and II, 1625, and ed. Thompson, W., 1845. Book III was printed for the first time in 1852 by Croker, T. Crofton, from the MS in the library of Salisbury cathedral.

The Inner Temple Masque. Jan. 13, 1614.

The Shepherd's Pipe. (Other Eclogues by Mr Brooke, Mr Wither, and Mr Davies.) 3 pts. 1614.

Authorities.

Breton, N. Pastoral Poems. Pembroke Booklets, no. 3. 1906.

Gosse, E. The Jacobean Poets. 2nd ed. 1899.

Moorman, F. W. William Browne. His Britannia's Pastorals. 1897.

Prince, J. The Worthies of Devon. 1701.

Sidney, P. The Subject of All Verse: being an enquiry into the authorship of a famous epitaph. 1907.

Transactions of Devonshire Association, vol. VI, 531; vol. XIX, 219-237.

SIR JOHN DAVIES.

Collected Works.

The Poetical Works of Sir John Davies published from a corrected copy formerly in the possession of Mr Thompson. 1773.

Works in verse and prose (including hitherto unpublished MSS). Ed. Grosart, A. B. In Fuller Worthies' Library. 3 vols. 1869-79.
 Complete Poema. Ed. Grosart, A. B. 2 vols. 1876.
 Works. Ed. Morley, H. The Carisbrooke Library. Vol. x. 1889 ff.

Single Works.

- Orchestra* or a Poeme on Dauncing Judicially proving the true observation of time and measure, in the Authentickall and laudable use of Dauncing. 1596. Rptd in Arber's *An English Garner*, vol. v, 1882.
- Orchestra* or A Poeme expressing the Antiquitie and Excellencie of Dauncing. In a Dialogue betweene Penelope and one of her Wooers. Not finished. 1622. (Contains also *Nosce teipsum*, *Hymnes of Astroea*.)
- Nosce teipsum*. This oracle expounded in two elegies. 1. Of humane knowledge. 2. Of the soule of man and the immortalitie thereof. 1599 (rptd in Arber's *An English Garner*, vol. v, 1882), 1602, etc.
- A discoverie of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued... untill the beginning of his Majesties happie raigne. 1612.
- Le primer Report des cases et matters en Ley resolves adjudges en les Courts de Roy en Ireland*. 1615. Translated, Dublin, 1762.
- Hymnes of Astroea* in acrosticke verse. Praises of his Sovereigne Queen Elizabeth. 1618.
- England's Independency*. 1674.
- A Poem on the immortality of the soul. To which is prefixed an essay on the same subject, by Dr T. Sheridan. Together with historical relations concerning Ireland, by Sir J. D. 2 pts. Dublin, 1751.
- The antiquity...and succession of the High Steward of England. The antiquity...of the Earl Marshall of England. Of the antiquity, use...of lawful combats in England. In A collection of curious discourses. Vol. II. Hearne, T. 1771.
- Historical Tracts*. 1786.
- A letter to the Earl of Salisbury. In *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*. Vol. I. 1786.
- Epigrammes*, reprinted from a rare edition in the possession of Sir C. Isham. Isham Reprints. 1870 ff.
- See Woolrych, H. W., *Lives of eminent Serjeants-at-Law*, 2 vols, 1869.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND, OF HAWTHORNDEN.

Collected Works.

- Poems: Amorous, Funerall, Divine, Pastoral*, in *Sonnets, Songs, Sextains, Madrigals*. 1616.
- Poems*, By that most famous Wit, William Drummond of Hawthornden. 1656. (With a preface by Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew. It contains most of the poems previously published, and about sixty new poems, two of which are certainly not by Drummond.) The title-page of the B. M. copy of 1659 reads: *The most Elegant and Elaborate Poems of that Great Court Wit Mr William Drummond, etc.* Printed for William Rands Bookseller, at his House over against the Beare Taverne in Fleet street, 1659. There is also another title-page bound up with the same: *Poems, By that most Famous Wit, William Drummond of Hawthornden*. Printed by W. H. and are to be sold in the Company of Stationers, 1656. It contains the introduction by Phillips.
- The Works of William Drummond, of Hawthornden*. Consisting of those which were formerly Printed and those which were design'd for the

- Press. Now Published from the Author's Original Copies. Edinburgh:
 • printed by James Watson, in Craig's-Cloze, 1711. (Edited by Sage, John,
 and Riddiman, T. Contains about forty additional poems, many of
 doubtful authenticity; various prose tracts and papers; a further selection
 of Drummond's correspondence, and a memoir by bishop Sage which is
 the principal early authority for the life of Drummond.)
 Poems. Ed. Maitland, T. Maitland Club. Edinburgh, 1832. Ed. Turnbull,
 W. B. 1856. Rptd in Library of British Authors. 1890. Ed. Ward,
 W. C., in The Muses Library. 2 vols. 1894. (Contains bibliography.)

Single Works.

- Tearcs on the Death of Meliades. Edinburgh, printed by Andro Hart, and
 are to bee sold at his shop on the north side of the high streete, a litle
 beneath the Crosse. 1613. 3rd ed. 1614.
 Forth Feasting. A Panegyricke to the Kings Most Excellent Majestie.
 Edinburgh, 1617. Rptd in The Muses Welcome to King James,
 Edinburgh, 1618, with the prefixed sonnet by Drummond, which does not
 appear in original edition.
 Flowers of Sion. To which is adjoynd Drummond's Cypress Grove. 1623.
 Edinburgh, 1630. (Contains four new poems, viz. An Hymn of the
 Ascension; a Sonnet, Death's Last Will; The Shadow of the Judgment;
 and a Sonnet to the Obsequies of King James.)
 The Entertainment of the high and mighty Monarch Charles, King of Great
 Britaine, France, and Ireland, into his aunient and royall citie of
 Edinburgh, the fifteenth of June, 1633. Edinburgh, 1633.
 To The Exequies of the Honourable Sr Antonye Alexander, Knight, etc. A
 pastorall Elegie. Edinburgh, printed in King James his College, by
 George Anderson. 1638.
 The History of Scotland, from the year 1423 until the year 1542, containing
 the lives and reigns of James I—V. With several memorials of state
 during the reign of James VI and Charles I. 1655.
 A Cypress Grove. The Venetian Series. 1905. Ed. Bullen, A. H. Stratford-
 on-Avon, 1907.
 See Conversations of Ben Jonson with William Drummond of Hawthornden,
 Shakspr. Soc., 1842.

GILES FLETCHER (THE YOUNGER).

(See also under Phineas Fletcher.)

- Poems. Fuller Worthies' Library. Ed. Grosart, A. B. 1868.
 Complete Poems. Ed. Grosart, A. B. Early English Poets. 1876.
 Sorrowes Joy Or a Lamentation for our late deceased Sovereigne Elizabeth,
 with a triumph for the prosperous succession of our gracious King,
 James. Cambridge, 1603.
 Christ's Victorie, and Triumph in Heaven, and Earth, over, and after death.
 Cambridge, 1610, 1632, 1640.
 The Reward of the Faithfull. 1623.
 See Hunter's Chorus Vatum MS, Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 24487, f. 79.

PHINEAS FLETCHER.

- Poems, ed. Grosart, A. B. Fuller Worthies' Library. 1868.
 Giles and Phineas Fletcher. Poetical Works. Ed. Boas, F. S. Cambridge
 English Classics. 2 vols. 1908, 1909.

Single Works.

Locustæ, vel pietas Jesuitica. (The Locusts or Apollyonists.) Cambridge, 1627.

Brittain's Ida written by that renowned Poët Edmond Spencer. 1628. (Attributed by Grosart and Boas to Phineas Fletcher.)

Sicelides; a piscatory. 1631.

Joy in Tribulation, or Consolations for Afflicted Spirits. 1632.

The Way to Blessedness, a treatise on the First Psalme. 1632.

Sylva Poetica. Cambridge, 1633.

The Purple Island: or the Isle of Man: together with Piscatorie Ecloges and other Poetical Miscellanies. Cambridge, 1633.

Eliæ or An Elegie Upon the Unripe Decease, of Sr Antonie Irby. Cambridge, 1633.

A Father's Testament. Written long since for the benefit of the particular relations of the author. 1670.

See Cole's MS, *History of King's College, Cambridge*, MS xv, 35, and Hunter's *Chorus Vatum MS*, Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 24487, f. 80.

FULKE GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE.

[For sonnets, see vol. III of the present work.]

Certaine learned and elegant workes of the Right Honourable Fulke, Lord Brooke, written in his youth and familiar exercise with Sir Philip Sidney. Printed by E. P. for Henry Seyle, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Tygers head in St Pauls Churchyard. 1633.

The Remains of Sir Fulk Grevill Lord Brooke: Being Poems of Monarchy and Religion: Never before Printed. Printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman at the sign of the Blew Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange. 1670. (Contains Poems, *Alaham*, *Mustapha*, *Coelica*, a Letter to an Honourable Lady a Letter of Travell.)

The Works in verse and prose complete of the Lord Brooke. Ed. Grosart, A. B. 4 vols. Fuller Worthies' Library. 1868.

The Tragedy of Mustapha. 1609.

The life of the renowned Sr Philip Sidney. With the true interest of England, as it then stood in relation to all forrain princes: and particularly for suppressing the power of Spain, stated by him. His principall Actions, Counsels, Designes, and Death. Together with a short account of the maxims and policies used by Queen Elizabeth in her government. Written by Sir Fulke Grevil, Knight, Lord Brook, a Servant to Queen Elizabeth, and his Companion and Friend. 1652. Ed. Brydges, E. 2 vols. Lee Priory, 1816. Ed. Smith, N. Oxford, 1907. [Fully annotated.]

See Bolton, E., *Hypercritica*, 1622; Hunter's *Chorus Vatum MS*, Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 24492, f. 107; A Tractate called the Patron, Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 4839, f. 131; Walpole, H., *Royal and Noble Authors*, II, 220, 1806.

GEORGE WITHER.

Workes. Containing Satyrs, Epigrams, Eclogues, Sonnets, and Poems. Whereunto is annexed a Paraphrase on the Creed and the Lords Prayer. 1620.

- Juvenilia*. A Collection of those Poemes which were heretofore imprinted. 1622. Ed. Gutch, J. M. Bristol, 1820.
- Divine Poems (by way of Paraphrase) on the Ten Commandments. Ed. Elizabeth Barry (Wither's daughter). 1688.
- Poems. Ed. Morley, H. 1891.
- Epithalamia*; or Nuptiall Poems. 1612. Rptd 1633.
- Prince Henrie's Obsequies, or Mournfull Elegies upon his death. 1612.
- Abuses Strippt and Whipt: or satyricall essayes. Divided into two bookes. 1613, 1617. Also 1632, containing *Epithalamia* and *The Shepherds Hunting*.
- Fidelia*. 1615. Newly corrected and augmented. 1619. A rpt of the 1615 edition in Arber's *An English Garner*, vol. vi, 1883.
- Shepherds Hunting, The*: being certaine Eglogues written during the time of the Authors Imprisonment in the Marshalsey. 1615.
- Wither's Motto, *Nec habeo, nec Careo, nec Curo*. London (?) 1621 (?).
- Faire-Virtue*, the *Mistresse of Philarete*. A Miscelany of Epigrams, Sonnets, Epitaphs, etc. 1622. Rptd in Arber's *An English Garner*, vol. iv, 1882.
- Verses intended to the King's Majesty, by Major G. W., whilst he was prisoner in Newgate. 1622.
- The Hymnes and Songs of the Church*, divided into two parts. 1624?.
- Ed. Farr, E., in *Library of Old Authors*. 1857-8.
- Schollers Purgatory, The*, discovered in the Stationers' Commonwealth, and described in a Discourse Apologeticall. 1625 (?).
- Britain's Remembrancer*, containing a narration of the Plague lately past; a declaration of the mischiefs present, and a prediction of judgments to come, if repentence prevent not. 1628.
- Collection of Emblemes, A, ancient and modern. 1634-5.
- Halelujah*, or Britans second Remembrancer bringing to Remembrance (in praisefull and Poenentiall Hymns, Spirituall Songs, and Morall Odes). Meditations, advancing the glory of God, in the practise of Pietie and Vertue; and applied to easie Tunes, to be sung in Families, etc. Composed in a threefold Volume, by George Wither. The first, contains Hymns Occasionall. The second, Hymns Temporary. The third, Hymns Personall. That all Persons, according to their Degrees, and Qualities, may at all Times, and upon all eminent Occasions, be remembered to praise God; and to be mindfull of their Duties. One woe is past, the second, passing on; Beware the third, if this, in vain be gone. 1641. Ed. Farr, E., in *Library of Old Authors*. 1857-8.
- Campo-Musae*, or the field-musings of Captain George Wither, touching his Military Engagement for the King and Parliament, the justnesse of the same, and the present distractions of these Islands. 1643.
- Wither's prophesie of the downfal of Antichrist. 1644.
- Letter of Advice touching the choice of Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament. 1645.
- Vox Pacifica*; a Voice tending to the Pacification of God's wrath. 1645.
- Justifarius justificatus*: Justice justified. 1646.
- Opobalsamum Anglicanum*: an English Balme, lately pressed out of a shrub, and spread upon these papers. 1646.
- Carmen expostulatorium*, or a timely expostulation with those both of the city of London and the present armie. 1647.
- Carmen Eucharisticon*: a private thank-oblation exhibited to the glory of the Lord of Hosts. 1649.
- British Appeals*, with Gods mercifull replies, on the behalfe of the Commonwealth of England. 1651.

- Dark Lantern, The, containing a dim discoverie. 1653.
 Three private Meditations. 1655.
 Epistolium-vagum-prosa-metricum; or an Epistle at randome, in prose and metre. 1659.
 Petition, The, and narrative of G. W. Esq. concerning his many grievances and long sufferings. 1659.
 Fides-Anglicana. Or, a plea for the publick-faith of these nations. 1660.
 Speculum Speculativum: or a considering glass. 1660.
 Tudor-Poeticus. A Poetick-Phrensie. 1660.
 Paralellogrammaton. An epistle to the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland. 1662.
 Echoes from the Sixth Trumpet. Reverberated by a review of neglected remembrances. 1666.
 Nil Ultra; or, the Last Works of Captain G. W. 1668.
 Vox Vulgi. A poem in censure of the Parliament of 1661. Macray, W. D.
 Anecdota Bodleiana. Pt 2. 1879 ff.

Authorities.

- Arber, E. An English Garner. Vol. iv. 1882. Vol. vi. 1883.
 Aubrey, J. Brief Lives. Ed. Clarke, A. Vol. i, 221; vol. ii, 306-7. Oxford, 1898.
 Hunter's Chorus Vatum MS. Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 24491, f. 24.
 Lamb, C. See workæd. Lucas, E. V., 7 vols. 1903-5.
 Spenser Society. The reprints of Wither's Works between 1870 and 1883. 20 pts.
 Wood, A. à. Athenae Oxonienses. Ed. Bliss, P. Vol. iii, 761-75. 1813.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

Works.

- Poems. Ed. Dyce, A. 1842.
 Poems of Sir H. Wotton, Sir W. Raleigh and others. Ed. Hannah, J. 1845 ff.
 A panegyrick of king Charles; being observations upon the inclination, life, and government of our sovereign lord the King. 1649.
 Reliquiae Wottonianae; or a collection of lives, letters, poems; with characters of sundry personages: and other incomparable pieces of language and art. Ed. with life by Walton, Izaak. 1651. Third edition with large additions. 1672. Fourth edition with additions and several letters to Lord Zouch, never publish'd till now. 1685.
 The State of Christendom; or a most exact and curious discovery of many secret passages and hidden mysteries of the Times. 1657.
 Letters to Sir Edmund Bacon. 1661.
 Ad regem e Scotia reducem H. Wottoni plausus et vota. Monarchia Britannica. 1681.
 A short view of the life and death of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham. Harleian Miscellany, vol. viii. 1744.
 Letter to John Milton, in Comus, a mask. 1747.
 The elements of Architecture. In A second collection of scarce and valuable Tracts, vol. i, 1750. Ed. Pridesaux, S. T. 1903.
 A parallel between the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Buckingham. 1753.

Authorities.

- Smith, L. P. The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton. 2 vols. 1907.
 Walton, Izaak. The Life of Sir Henry Wotton. 1670. Also in the 1651 and earlier editions of Reliquiae Wottonianae.
 Ward, A. W. Sir Henry Wotton: a biographical sketch. 1898.

CHAPTER X

MICHAEL DRAYTON

The Harmonie of the Church. Containing, The Spirituall Songes and holy Hymnes, of godly men, Patriarkes and Prophetes: all, sweetly sounding, to the praise and glory of the highest. Now (newlie) reduced into sundrie kinds of English Meeter: meete to be read or sung, for the solace and comfort of the godly. 1591. Rptd 1610 as *A Heavenly Harmonie of Spirituall Songes*. Ed. Dyce, A., Percy Soc., vol. VII, 1843. In *Poems*, ed. Collier, J. P., Roxburghe Club, 1856. In *Works*, ed. Hooper, B., 1876.

Idea The Shepheards Garland, Fashioned in nine Egloga. Rowlands Sacrifice to the Nine Muses. . . . By Peace Plenty. By Wisdome Peace. T. O. 1593. Rptd, ed. Collier, Roxburghe Club, 1856, and facsimiled, ed. Collier [1870?]. Revised and printed as *Egloga*, in *Poemes Lyrick and Pastoral* [1606]. Rptd, Spenser Soc., 1891. Again revised and printed as *Pastorals Containing Eglogues*, in *Poems*, 1619 and 1620. Rptd in *Works*, 1748, etc. Ed. Arber, E., in *An English Garner*, vol. VIII, 1896. Songs from editions of 1593, 1605 and 1606 in *Minor Poems of M. D.*, ed. Brett, C., 1907.

Peirs Gaveston Earle of Cornwall. His life, death, and fortune. [1593 or 1594.] Rptd 1595 (?); and revised in *The Tragical Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy*, etc., 1596; and in *Poems* of 1605, etc.; in *Works*, 1748, etc.; and Spenser Soc., *Poems*, 1888.

Matilda. The faire and chaste Daughter of the Lord Robert Fitzwater. The True Glorie Of The Noble House Of Sussex. 1594. Rptd 1594; and in 1596 to 1888 as *Peirs Gaveston* above.

The Tragical Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy, surnamed Shortthigh, eldest sonne to William Conqueror. With the legend of Matilda. . . . And the Legend of Piers Gaveston. 1596. Rptd in *Poems*, 1605, etc.; in *Works*, 1748, etc.; and in Spenser Soc., *Poems*, 1888.

The Legend of Great Cromwel. 1607. Rptd 1609; in *A Mirour for Magistrates*, 1610, and ed. Haslewood, 1815; in *Poems*, 1619, 1620; and in *Works*, 1748, etc.

Ideas Mirroure. Amours in Quatorzains. 1594. Rptd in *Poems*, ed. Collier, Roxburghe Club, 1856. Second edition, revised, in *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, 1599. Third edition, revised, in *Eng. Her. Ep.*, 1600. Fourth edition, revised, in *Eng. Her. Ep.*, 1602; rptd with alterations in *The Barrons Wars*, 1603. Fifth edition, revised, in *Poems*, 1605; rptd 1608, etc.; in *Poems*, Spenser Soc., 1888. Sixth edition in *Poems*, 1619; rptd 1620, etc.; in *Works*, 1748, etc.; ed. Arber and Lee in *An English Garner*, 1883, 1904; ed. Morley in *The Barons' Wars*, 1887; ed. Crow in *Elizabethan Sonnet-Cycles*, 1897; Collier's *Roxburghe Club Poems*, 1856, contains also the sonnets from editions later than 1594; and Brett's *Minor Poems*, 1907, gives all the sonnets from all editions in the form in which they were first published, with others, not from *Idea*, in the appendix. Daniel's *Delia* and Drayton's *Idea*, ed. Esdaile, A., 1908, contains the 63 sonnets of 1619, with 11 others, and a bibliography of *Ideas Mirroure*.

Endimion and Phoebe. *Ideas Latmus.* n.d. [1595]. Rptd, ed. Collier, Roxburghe Club, 1856, and facsimiled, ed. Collier, 1870 (?). Portions incorporated in *The Man in the Moone*, 1606, *q.v.*

- Mortimeriados.** The Lamentable cruell warres of Edward the Second and the Barrons. 1596. Rptd, ed. Collier, Roxburghe Club, 1856. Later re-written and published as
- The Barrons Wars** in the raigne of Edward the second, with Englands Heroicall Epistles. 1603. Rptd in Poems, 1605, etc.; in Works, 1748, etc.; ed. Morley, 1882; Spenser Soc., Poems, 1888.
- Englands Heroicall Epistles.** 1597. Enlarged in 1598, in 1599 (rptd 1600), in 1602 (rptd in The Barrons Wars, 1603), and in Poems, 1605; rptd in Poems, 1608, etc.; rptd alone [169-], 1697, 1737, [1758?]; in Works, 1738, etc.; and in Spenser Soc., Poems, 1888.
- To the Majestie of King James.** A gratulatorie Poem. 1603.
- The Owle.** Noctuas Athenas. 1604. Rptd in Poems, 1619; in Works, 1748, etc.
- A Psan Triumphall** composed for the Societie of the Goldsmiths of London: congratulating his Highnes magnificent. entering the citie. 1604. Rptd in Nichols, J., The Progresses... of King James the First, 1828.
- Moyes in a Map of his Miracles.** 1604. Altered and published as
- Moses, his Birth and Miracles,** in The Muses Elizium, 1630 (rptd Spenser Soc., 1892); rptd in Works, 1748, etc.
- Poemes Lyrick and Pastorall.** Odes, Eglogs, The Man in the Moone. [1606?]. Rptd in Poems, ed. Collier, Roxburghe Club, 1856; Spenser Soc., 1891.
- Odes.** In Poemes Lyrick and Pastorall, 1606(?); with additions in Poems, 1619, 1620; in Works, 1748, etc.; in Arber's English Garner, 1896 and 1903; in Minor Poems, ed. Brett, C., 1907.
- The Man in the Moone.** In Poemes Lyrick and Pastorall, 1606(?); in Poems, 1619, 1620; in Works, 1748, etc.
- Poly-Olbion or A Chorographically Description of Tracts, Rivers, Mountaines, Forests, and other Parts of this renowned Isle of Great Britaine, With intermixture of the most Remarquable Stories, Antiquities, Wonders, Rarities, Pleasures, and Commodities of the same: Digested in a Poem by Michael Drayton, Esq. With a Table added, for direction to those occurrences of Story and Antiquitie whereunto the Course of the Volume easily leads not.** 1613.
- A Chorographically Description.** ... Divided into two Bookes; the latter containing twelve Songs, never before Imprinted. 1622. Before Song XIX is another title-page: The second part, or A Continuance Of Poly-Olbion From The Eighteenth Song. ... 1622. Rptd in Works, 1748, etc.; ed. Southey, in Select works of the British Poets, 1831; in Works, ed. Hooper, 1876; and Spenser Soc., 1890.
- An Elegie on the Lady Penelope Clifton,** by M. Dr:
- An Elegie on the death of the three sonnes of the Lord Sheffield, drowned neere where Trent falleth into Humber.**
- These two are in Certain Elegies done by Sundrie Excellent Wits, 1618 and 1620. For later reprints, see The Battaille of Agincourt, 1627, etc.
- Elegies upon sundry Occasions.** In The Battaille of Agincourt, 1627, rptd 1631; in Works (with omissions), 1748, etc. Rptd in full from the edition of 1627 in Brett, C., Minor Poems, 1907.
- The Battaille of Agincourt.** ... The Miseries of Queene Margarite, the unfortunate wife of that most unfortunate King Henry the sixt. Nimphidia, the Court of Fayrie. The Quest of Cinthia. The Shepheard's Sirena. The Moone-Calf. Elegies upon sundry occasions. 1627. Rptd 1631; in Works, 1748, etc.; ed. Garnett, E., 1893.
- The Miseries of Queene Margarite.** In The Battaille of Agincourt, 1627, and all subsequent editions.

Nimphidia. In the *Battle of Agincourt*, 1627, and all subsequent editions.
 • Also as *The History of Queen Mab*, 1751. Also ed. Brydges, E., 1814; in *Selections*, ed. Bullen, 1883; in *The Barons' Wars*, ed. Morley, 1887; in *Selections*, ed. Beeching, 1899; in *Minor Poems*, ed. Brett, C., 1907; and in Sidgwick, F., *Sources and Analogues of A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Shakespeare Library, 1908, and elsewhere.

The Shepherds Sirena. In the *Battle of Agincourt*, 1627, and all subsequent editions. Also in *Minor Poems*, ed. Brett, C., 1907.

The Moone-Calfe. In the *Battle of Agincourt*, 1627, and all subsequent editions.

The Quest of Cynthis. In the *Battle of Agincourt*, 1627, and all subsequent editions. Also in *Minor Poems*, ed. Brett, C., 1907.

The Muses Elizium. Lately discovered, By A New Way Over Parnassus. The passages therein, being the subject of ten sundry Nymphalls, Leading three Divine Poemes, Noahs Flood, Moses, his Birth and Miracles, David and Goliath. 1630. Rptd in *Works*, 1748, etc.; Spenser Soc., 1892; in *The Barons' Wars*, ed. Morley, 1887; in *Minor Poems*, ed. Brett, C., 1907.

Noahs Flood. In *The Muses Elizium*, 1630; rptd in *Works*, 1748, etc.

David and Goliath. In *The Muses Elizium*, 1630; rptd in *Works*, 1748, etc.

Fugitive Pieces.

In Morley, T., *A First Book of Ballets*, 1595; England's *Helicon*, 1600 and 1614, rptd, ed. Bullen, 1887; Middleton, C., *Legend of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, 1600; Geffe, N., *The Perfect Use of Silk-Wormes*, 1607; Davies, J., of Hereford, *The Holy Roode*, 1609; Murray, D., *Sophonisba*, 1611; Coryate, T., *Crudities*, 1611; Chapman, G., *The Georgicks of Hesiod*, 1618; Munday, A., *Primaleon*, 1619; *Naumachia or Hollands Sea-fight*, 1622; Beaumont, Sir J., *Bosworth-field*, 1629; *Annalia Dubrensis*, 1636, rptd, ed. Grosart, A. B., 1877; Elton, O., *Michael Drayton*, 1905, p. 210. Some of these are collected by Brett, C., *Minor Poems*. For others of doubtful authenticity, see Elton, *ut supra*, pp. 203, 204.

Collected Works.

1. Editions published in Drayton's life-time.

Poems: By Michael Drayton Esquire. London, Printed for N. Ling, 1605.

Poems: by Michael Drayton, Esquire. 1608, 1610, 1613.

Poems: by Michael Drayton Esquire, Viz. *The Barons Warres*, *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, *Idea*, *Odes*, *The Legends of Robert, Duke of Normandie*, *Matilda*, *Pierce Gaveston And*, *Great Cromwell*, *The Owle*, *Pastorals*, *Contayning Eglogues*, with the *Man in the Moone*. n.d.

• This volume contains separate title-pages for certain sections, all dated 1619. Rptd in 1620.

Poems. Newly Corrected and Augmented. n.d., but 2 separate title-pages are dated 1620.

Poems: Newly Corrected by the Author. n.d. [1631?]

2. Editions published after Drayton's death.

Poems, 1637. *Works* (in one volume), 1748; rptd in four volumes, 1753; in *British Poets*; ed. Anderson, R., vol. III, 1795; in *English Poets*, 1810.

Poems. By Michael Drayton, *From The Earliest And Rarest Editions*, Or *From Unique Copies*. Ed. Collier, J. P. Roxburghe Club. 1856.

The Complete Works of Michael Drayton. Ed. Hooper, R. 3 vols. 1876 (unfinished).

Poems. Spenser Soc. 1888. (A reprint of the *Poemes* of 1606.)

Minor Poems of Michael Drayton. Ed. Brett, C. Oxford, 1907.

Selections.

- Selections from the Poems of Michael Drayton. Ed. Bullen, A. H. 1883.
 The Barons' Wars, Nymphidia, And Other Poems By Michael Drayton.
 Ed. Morley, H. 1887.
 A Selection from the Poetry Of Samuel Daniel and Michael Drayton. Ed.
 Beeching, H. C. 1899.

Biography and Criticism.

- Historical Essay in Works of 1748 and 1753.
 Beeching, as under Selections, *supra*.
 Brett, as under Collected Works (2), *supra*.
 Bullen, as under Selections, *supra*.
 Collier, as under Collected Works (2), *supra*.
 Courthope, W. J. History of English Poetry, vol. III.
 Elton, O. Michael Drayton. A Critical Study With a Bibliography (which
 see for fuller details than can be given here). Spenser Soc. 1895. Second
 edition, enlarged and revised. 1905.
 Esdaille, A., as under Ideas Mirrour, *supra*.
 Fleay, F. G. Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama. 1891.

CHAPTER XI

JOHN DONNE

I. POEMS.

- An Anatomy of the World. Wherein By Occasion of the untimely death of
 Mistris Elizabeth Drury the frailty and the decay of this whole world is
 represented. Printed for Samuel Macham and are to be solde at his shop
 in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Bul-head. 1611. (Contains
 only the first Anniversary and A Funeral Elegie.) Second edition with
 addition of Of the Progresse of the Sowle, Wherein By occasion of the
 Religious death of Mistris Elizabeth Drury, the incommodities of the
 Sowle in this life, and her exaltation in the next, are contemplated. The
 second Anniversarie. 1612. Rptd 1621, 1625.
 Lachrymae Lachrymarum. By Joshua Sylvester. Third edition. 1613.
 (Contains Donne's Elegie upon The Untimely Death of the Incomparable
 Prince Henry.)
 Coryat's Crudities. 1611. (Among the Pastegyricke Verses upon the Author
 and his Booke appears one headed 'Incipit Joannes Donne.'
 'Oh to what heighth will love of greatness drive
 Thy leavened spirit, sesqui-superlative.'
 It has a macaronic verse ('In eundum Macaronicon') as a kind of post-
 script, and is terminated by the words 'Explicit Joannes Donne.'
 Farther on, the phrase 'Incipit Joannes Dones' introduces the piece of
 verse beginning:
 'Loe her's a man worthy indeed to travell.'
 Coryat's Crudities. 1776. (The two former poems reappear. Also, among
 the 'Extracts relating etc.' is another piece of verse assigned to Donne.
 'Another here thy Booke doth much commend
 That none can study it to any end,' etc.
 It repeats the conceits of the first poem.)

- Poems**, by J. D. With *Elegies on the Author's Death*. 1633, 1635 (with new arrangement, and several new poems, some of which are not Donne's), 1639, 1649 (very scarce).
- Poems**. With *Elegies on the Author's Death*. To which Is added divers Copies under his own hand never before in print. 1650, 1654, 1669.
- Poems on several Occasions**. 1719.
- Satires** (versified) by Alexander Pope. 1735.
- Poetical Works**. With life by Isaak Walton. 3 vols. Bell's Poets. Vols. XXIII-XXV. 1779. See also Anderson's Poets, vol. iv, 1793; and Chalmers's English Poets, vol. v, 1810.
- Two Elegies** by Dr Donne not in any edition of his works. In Waldron's *Shakspearean Miscellany*, part III, 1802. (Probably not by Donne.)
- Unpublished poems**. Ed. Simeon, Sir J. Philobiblon Society Miscellanies. 1856. (All doubtful or spurious.)
- Complete Poems**. Ed. Grosart, A. B. 2 vols. Fuller Worthies' Library. 1872-3.
- Poems**. From the Text of the Edition of 1633. Revised, Lowell, J. R. With the various readings of the other Editions, etc. By Norton, C. E. 2 vols. The Grolier Club. New York, 1895.
- Love-Poems**. Ed. Norton, C. E. Boston. MDCCCVC.
- Poems**. Ed. Chambers, H. K., with an introduction by Saintsbury, G. 2 vols. 1896.

II. MISCELLANEOUS PROSE WORKS.

- Pseudo-Martyr**. Wherein out of Certaine Propositions and Gradations, this Conclusion is evicted that those which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome may and ought to take the Oath of Allegiance &c. 1610.
- Conclave Ignatii: sive ejus in nuperis Inferni comitiis inthronisatio: Accessit et Apologia pro Jesuitis** etc. [1611.]
- Ignatius his Conclave: or his Inthronisation in a late election in Hell: wherein many things are mingled by way of Satyr**. Translated out of Latin. 1611, etc.
- Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, and severall Steps in my Sickness**, etc. 1624, 1638.
- Juvenilia: or Certaine Paradoxes and Problemes**. 1633.
- ΒΛΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ**. A Declaration of that Paradox or Thesis that selfe-homicide is not so naturally sinne that it may never be otherwise. 1648, 1700 (dedicatory Epistle by John Donne, the son).
- Paradoxes, Problemes, Essayes, Characters, ... to which is added a Book of Epigrams**. 1652. (The Epigrams are not by Donne.)
- Essayes in Divinity**, being several-disquisitions, interwoven with meditations and prayers, before he entered into Holy Orders. Now made publick by his son. 1651. Ed. Augustus Jessopp, 1855.
- Letters to severall Persons of Honour**. 1651, 1657.
- A Collection of Letters made by Sir Tobie Mathews**. 1660. (Includes several by Donne.)

III. SERMONS.

- A Sermon ... preached to the honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation**, 13th November, 1622.
- A Sermon upon the xv verse of the xx chapter of the Book of Judges**. 1622.
- A Sermon ... Preached at the Crosse the 15th of Sept. 1622**.
- Encomia**. The Feast of Dedication. Celebrated at Lincolne's Inne in a sermon At the dedication of a new Chapell there, etc. 1623.
- The first sermon preached to King Charles**, 3rd April, etc. 1625.

- A Sermon of commemoration of the Lady Dævera.... 1627.
 A Sermon preached to the Kings Mtie at Whitehall, 24 Feb. 1625. 1626.*
 Death's Duell, or a Consolation to the Soule against the dying Life and living Death of the body. Delivered in a sermon at Whitehall, before the King's Majesty in the beginning of Lent 1630, etc....Being his last Sermon and called by his Majesties household The Doctor's owne Funerall Sermon. 1632, 1633.
 Six Sermons... preached before the King and elsewhere. 1634.
 LXXX Sermons. 1640/1..
 Fifty Sermons. Second Volume. (The LXXX Sermons forming the first.) 1640.
 XXVI Sermons never before published. The Third Volume. 1660/1.

IV. BIOGRAPHIES AND APPRECIATIONS.

- Alford, H., in *Collected Works of Donne*. 6 vols. 1839.
 Courthope, W. J. *A History of English Poetry*. Vol. III, chap. VIII, *The School of Metaphysical Wit—John Donne*. 1803.
 Gosse, Edmund. *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St Paul's*. Now for the first time revised and collected. 2 vols. 1899.
 Harrison, John Smith. *References to Donne's conceptions of Love and Woman in Platonism in English Poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1903.
 Jessopp, Augustus. *John Donne*. (See, also, D. of N. B.) 1897.
 Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*. (Cowley.) Vol. I. 1779.
 Lightfoot, J. B. *Donne, the Poet-Precacher*. 1877.
 Melton, Wightman Fletcher. *The Rhetoric of John Donne's Verse*. Johns Hopkins University. 1906.
 Phillips, Edward. *Theatrum Poetarum, or a Compleat Collection of the Poets*, etc. 1674.
 Walton, I. *The Life and Death of Dr Donne*. Prefixed to LXXX Sermons, and signed I. W. 1640-. Also much enlarged in 1658, 1670, etc.

Articles.

- Dowden, Edward. *The Poetry of John Donne*. *The Fortnightly Review*, New Series, vol. XLVII, p. 791. Reprinted in *New Studies in Literature*, 1895.
 Fathers of Literary Impressionism. *Quarterly Review*, vol. CLXXXV, p. 173.
 Gosse, Edmund. *The Poetry of John Donne*. *The New Review*, vol. IX, p. 236.
 John Donne and His Contemporaries. *Quarterly Review*, vol. CXCII, p. 217.
 Minto, William. *John Donne*. *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. VII.
 Stephen, Leslie. *John Donne*. *National Review*, vol. XXXIV, p. 595.
 Symons, Arthur. *John Donne*. *The Fortnightly Review*, New Series, vol. LXVI, p. 734.

CHAPTER XII

THE ENGLISH PULPIT FROM FISHER TO DONNE

I. HISTORY OF PREACHING.

The best complete survey of Christian preaching is the art. Predigt by Schian in *Hauck-Herszogs Realencyklopädie*, vol. xv. A good outline is given in *A History of Preaching, A.D. 70-1572*, by Dargan, E. C., 1905.

For the later medieval sermon see Gasquet, F. A., *The Eve of the Reformation* (3rd ed., 1905), and *The Old English Bible* (2nd ed., 1906):

Neale, J. M., *Mediaeval Preachers* (1856); Baring Gould, S., *Post-Mediaeval Preachers* (1865); and the ridicule by Erasmus in *Encomium Moriae*.

For the reformation period: of general ecclesiastical historians, Dixon gives most attention to the preachers. The best special account is *Sketches of the Reformation and Elizabethan age taken from the contemporary Pulpit*, by Haweis, J. O. W., 1844. See also *Puritan Preaching in England*, by Brown, John. The most important regulations about preaching are given in *Documents illustrative of English Church History*, compiled by Gee, H., and Hardy, W. J., 1896.

Contemporary views of the proper methods of preaching may be found in Erasmus, *Ecclesiastes sive concionator Evangelicus*, Basel, 1535; Amandi Polani *De Concionum sacrarum methodo*, Basel, 1574; William Perkins, *Prophetica, sive de sacra et unica ratione concionandi*, Cambridge, 1592 (translated as *The Art of Propheying*, 1606); Matthaei Sutlivi (i.e. Sutcliffe, 1550?-1629), *De concionum formulis*, 1602. For a later criticism see Bishop Burnet, *Of the Pastoral Care*, chap. ix.

II. SERMONS.

Andrewes, Lancelot. *XCVI Sermons... published by his Majesties speciall Command. Folio. 1629. 2nd ed. 1631; 3rd, 1635.*

— *The Moral Law expounded... whereunto is annexed 19 Sermons... upon Prayer... Also 7 Sermons on our Saviours Tentations. 1642.*

— *Ἀποκρυφάκια Sacra; or a collection of posthumous & orphan Lectures delivered at St Paul's and St Giles his church. 1657.*

— *Collected Edition by Wilson, I. P. (Anglo-Catholic Library.) 5 vols. Oxford, 1841-3.*

— *Index of texts, & general index to sermons, by Bliss, J. (Anglo-Cath. Libr.) Oxford, 1854.*

See, also, a lecture by Church, R. W., in *Masters in English Theology*, 1877, and biographies by Otteley, B. L., 1894, and Whyte, A., 1896.

Bancroft, Richard (1544-1610). *A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse the 9 of Februarie, being the first Sunday in the Parliament, anno 1588.*

Becon, Thomas (1512-67). *A new Postil conteinyng most godly & learned sermons upon all the Sonday Gospelles. 1566.*

Bilson, Thomas (1547-1616), bishop of Winchester. *The effect of certain Sermons touching the full Redemption of Mankind. 1599.*

Bradford, John. *A Sermon on Repentance. 1553.*

— *Two Sermons. (The above, with one on the Lord's Supper.) 1574.*

— *Writings. Parker Soc., ed. Townshend, A. Cambridge, 1848.*

Broughton, Hugh (1549-1612). *An Exposition upon the Lord's Prayer... preached in a Sermon at Oatlands... Aug. 13, 1603. 1613(?)*

— *The Works of the great Albionean divine renowned in many nations for rare skill in Salems and Athens tongues, & familiar acquaintance with Rabbinical learning. 4 tomes, folio. 1662.*

Cole, Thomas (d. 1571). *A godly & learned sermon, made... before the Queens majestie, the first of Marche, 1564. 1564.*

Colet, John. *Oratio... ad Clerum in Convocatione, anno 1511.*

— *The Sermon... made to the Convocation at Pauls. Berthelet, T., 1511(?)*

See Maitland's *Early Printed Books*, p. 239. *Eptd as A Sermon of Conforming & Reforming, with extracts from Andrewes and Hammond, and notes by Smith, T., Cambridge, 1661; also in The Phoenix, 1708, vol. II; in Life by Knight, Samuel, 1724 and 1823; and in Life by Lupton, J. H., 1887; 2nd ed., 1909.*

Valuable information in *Erasmi Epistolae* (Leyden ed.), III, no. cccxcv, and especially in annotated edition of the same by Lupton, J. H., *The Lives of Vitrier & Colet*, written in Latin by Erasmus of Rotterdam, in a Letter to Justus Jonas, 1883.

Dering, Edward. A Sermon preached at the Tower of London the xi day of December, 1569.

— A Sermon preached before the Quenes Majestie tht̄ 25 Februarie, anno . 1569.

— Maister Derings Workes. 3 vols. 1590 and 1614.

Donne, John. See bibliography to chap. xi.

See, also, article on Isaak Walton's Life of Donne in *Religio Laici* by Beeching, H. C., 1902, and Lightfoot, J. B., in *Classic Preachers of the English Church*, ed. Kempe, J. E., 1877.

Drant, Thomas (d. 1578?). A fruitfull... Sermon, specially encouraging Almes giving. 1572. [For his Latin verses, see D. of N. B.]

— Three godly & learned sermons. 1584.

Fisher, John. This treatyse concernynge the fruytful saynges of Davyd the kynge & prophete in the seven penytenccyall psalmes. Devyded in seven sermons was made & compyled... at the exortacion and sterynge of... Margarete, countesse of Rychemount & Derby, etc. Wynkyn de Worde, 1508 and 1509. Reprints in 1714, 1876 (Mayor), and 1888 (Vaughan, K.).

— This sermon folowynge was compyled & sayd in the Cathedrall chyrche of saynt Poule... the body beyng present of... kynge Henry the VII the x day of Maye... mccccxix. Wynkyn de Worde. 1509.

— Hereafter followeth A Mornyng Remembraunce had at the moneth minde of the noble prynces Margarete countesse, etc. Wynkyn de Worde, without date [1509]. Reprints edited by Baker, T., 1708; Hymers, J., 1840; Ashbee, C. B., 1906.

— The sermon of... made agayn y^e pernycious doctryn of Martin luther, 1521. Wynkyn de Worde, 1521 (?). Reprints 1528 (?), 1554, 1556, 1876 (Mayor).

— A Sermon had at Paulis by the cōmandment of... my lorde legate, & sayd by Johñ the bishop of Rochester, upō quinquagesom sonday concernynge certayne heretickes, whiche thā were abjured for holdynge the heresies of Martyn Luther. Berthelet, T., 1525 (?).

(This sermon is sometimes confused with the preceding sermon. It is not included in any modern edition. The Brit. Mus. copy (C 53 b. 15) has several corrections, made in a 'contemporary hand, not Fisher's, but perhaps at his instance.)

— The English Works, now first collected by Mayor, John E. B. (E.E.T.S. Ex. Ser. xxvii), Part I. (No other Part published.) 1876.

See, also, John Fisher, sein Leben und Wirken by Kerker, M., Tübingen, 1860; *Vie du bienheureux Martyr J. F., texte anglais et traduction latine du xvr^e siècle*, publiés par Fr. van Ortrooy, Brussels, 1893; and *Life* by Bridgett, T. E., 1888; 2nd ed., 1890.

Gilpin, Bernard. A Godly Sermon preached in the court at Greenwich the first Sunday after the Epiphanie An. Do. 1552. 1581. Rptd in *Life* by Carleton, bp G., 1629, and in *Life* by Gilpin, W., 1752. See *Leaders in the Northern Church* by Lightfoot, J. B., 1890.

Gosson, Stephen. The Trumpet of Warre. A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse the seventh of Maie, 1598.

- Grindal, Edmund (1519-83). A Sermon, at the funeral solemnitie of the
 ••• most high & mighty Prince Ferdinandus. 1564. Eptd in Remains,
 • edited for the Parker Soc. by Nicholson, W., Cambridge, 1843.
- Harpesfield, John (1516-78). Concio quaedam habita coram Patribus et
 Clero in ecclesia Paulina Londini, 26 Oct. 1553.
 — A notable & learned sermon or Homilie upon S. Andrewes Daye last
 past. 1556.
- Hooker, Richard. See bibliography to chap. XVIII in vol. III.
- See, also, Puritan and Anglican, by Dowden, E., 1900; Religio Laici, by
 Beeching, H. C., 1902; and Notes on English Divines, by Coleridge, S. T.,
 1853.
- Hooper, John. An oversichte and deliberacion uppon the holy prophet
 Jonas... Comprehended in seven Sermons. 1550.
 — A funerall oratyon made the xiiii day of January... 1549.
 — Early Writings of. Ed. Carr, S. Parker Soc. Cambridge, 1843.
- Hutchinson, Roger (d. 1555). A faithful Declaration of Christes holy supper,
 comprehended in thre Sermons preached at Eaton Colledge... 1552.
 1560.
 — Works. Edited for the Parker Soc. by Bruce, J. Cambridge, 1842.
- Jewel, John. The Copie of a Sermon pronounced by the Byshop of
 Salisburie at Paules Crosse the second Sondaye before Easter... 1560.
 (The famous challenge was first given in a sermon at Paul's Cross on
 26 Nov. 1559; it was repeated in substance at court on 17 Mar. 1560,
 and at Paul's Cross again on 31 Mar. It was then printed, as above.)
 — Certaine sermons preached before the Queens Majestie and at Paules
 Crosse. 1583.
 — Seven godly and learned sermons. 1607.
 — Works. With Life by Featley, D. 1609.
 — Works. Ed. for Parker Soc. by Ayre, J. 4 vols. Cambridge, 1845-50.
 — Works. Ed. by Jelf, R. W. 8 vols. Oxford, 1848.
- Latimer, Hugh. See bibliography to chap. II in vol. III and add
 — Concio quam habuit... epus Worcestrie in cōuētu spiritualiū nono
 Junii, ante inchoationē Parlamenti celebrati anno 28... Regis Henrici
 octavi. Southwarke, 1537. (An English translation also in 1537.)
 — Certain Sermons made... before... Katherine, duchess of Suffolk,
 1552, 1562 (edited by Latimer's Helvetian Secretary, Augustine
 Bernher).
 — Sermons. (Everyman's Library). With Introduction by Beeching,
 H. C. 1906.
- See, also, on Latimer's preaching, The Jewel of Joy (1553) by Thomas
 Becon, and chap. III in Leaders of the Reformation by John Tulloch,
 Edinburgh, 1883.
- Lever, or Leaver, Thomas. A fruitfull Sermon made in Poules church
 at London in the Shroudes the seconde daye of Februari. 1550.
 — A Sermon preached y^r fourth Sunday in Lent before the Kynge
 Majestie... 1550.
 — A Sermon preached at Poules Crosse, the xiiii day of Decembre. 1550.
 — Three fruitfull sermons... made 1550, and now newlie perused by the
 authour. 1572. The only reprint is Edward Arber's, 1870, 1901.
- Longland, John. Johannis Longlondi dei gratia Lincolnensis Episcopi,
 Tres Conciones. (The first was delivered in the presence of Wolsey
 and the legate, 10 Jan. 1519, the second at the foundation of Cardinal
 college in 1525, the third before an assembly of bishops in Westminster
 • Abbey on 27 Nov. 1527.) Printed by Pynson, R., 1527 (?).

Longland, John. *Quinque Sermones, sextis quadragesimae feriis habiti coram illustrissimi regis Henrici VIII.* 1517. Printed by Pynson, R. Re-issued with the preceding, 1527. Both are translated from the original English, probably by Thomas Caius.

— A Sermon made before the kynge hys hyghenes at Rychemunte uppon good fryday, ... MCCCCXXXVI (Petyt?, 1536?). (An imperfect copy, without imprint, in the library of Trin. Coll. Camb.)

— A Sermonde made before the Kynge, his majestye at grenewiche, upon good Frydaye, ... MDXXXVIII. Thomas Petyt, undated, [1538?]. (The Brit. Mus. copy, C 53 k. 14, has on the flyleaf, Tho. Baker coll: Jo: Socius ejectus, 'liber rarissimus,' and other MS notes.)

Perkins, William. A godly and learned exposition upon the whole epistle of Jude, containing threescore & six sermons, preached at Cambridge. 1608.

— A ... exposition of Christ's Sermon in the Mount. Cambridge, 1608.

— The Workes ... gathered. 3 vols. Cambridge, 1616-18.

Rainolds, or Reynolds, John. The prophesie of Obadiah opened & applyed in sondry sermons. Oxford, 1613. (Edited by Hinde, W., after Rainolds's death, apparently from H.'s own MS notes.) Rptd Edinburgh, 1864.

— The Discovery of the Man of Sinne ... first preached in divers sermons to the Universitie & Cittie of Oxon. (Ed. by Hinde, W.) Oxford, 1614.

— The Propheisie of Haggai interpreted & applied in sundry Sermons. Never before printed. 1649.

See Hallam's appreciation of Rainolds in *Hist. Eur. Lit.* II, 86.

Sandys, or Sandes, Edwin. Sermons. (The Epistle to the Reader is not by the preacher.) 1585 and 1616.

— Sermons. Edited for Parker Soc. by Ayre, J. Cambridge, 1842.

Smith, Henry. The Examination of Usurie in two sermons, taken by characterie, & after examined. (With a short preface, signed, Thine H. S.) 1591. These and several other sermons were printed in the author's lifetime, and for twenty years after his death there was a remarkably large output of his sermons, singly, in small sets and in collected editions. On the use of shorthand for taking down sermons, see *Encycl. Brit.*, art. Shorthand (Keith-Falconer, I.) and Watson, Foster, *The English Grammar Schools*, Cambridge, 1908.

— The Sermons ... gathered into one volume. 1592. Another edition, ed. by Thomas Fuller (with a short memoir). 1657. Reprint, 1866.

— A selection of the Sermons. Edited by Brown, John. Cambridge, 1908.

Udall, or Uvedale, John (1560?-92). 'Amendment of Life, in three sermons. 1584. Reprint, 1596.

— Obedience to the Gospell. Two Sermons. 1584 and 1596.

— Peters Fall: two sermons. 1584.

Whitgift, John (1530?-1604). A Godlie Sermon preached before the Queenes Majestie at Grenewiche the 26 of March last past. 1574. Reprint in Parker Soc.'s ed., 1853.

III. DEVOTIONAL WRITINGS.

Alcock, John (1430-1500), bishop of Ely. *Mons perfectionis, otharwyse in Englyshe, The Hylle of perfeccyon. Wynkyn de Worde*, 1497, 1499 and 1501.

Andrewes, Lancelot. A manual of the private devotions of ..., Translated out of a fair Greek MS of his amanuensis by R. D[rake]. 1648.

- Andrewes, Lancelot. *Preces Privatae, Graeco & Latine*. (Ed. by Lamphire, John.) Oxonii, 1675. Important modern editions: Newman, J. H., 1842; Meyrick, F., 1865-73; Medd, P. G., 1892 and 1899, and especially Brightman, F. E., 1903.
- Babington, Gervase (1550?-1610), bishop of Worcester. *A briefe Conference betwixt mans Frailty and Faith*. 1584.
- Bayly, Lewes (d. 1631), bishop of Bangor. *The Practice of Piety*. 1612. 51 editions by 1714. Printed also in French (1625), German (1629) and Welsh (1630). Modern edition by Webster, G., 1842.
- Becon, Thomas. *Dauids Harpe ful of moost delectable armony newly strynged & set in tune by Theodore Basille [i.e. Becon, T.]*. Mayler, J., 1541.
- *The Pomaunder of Prayer*. 1558. (Another Book with this title was printed by W. de Worde in 1532.)
- Bradford, John. *Godlie Meditations*. Hall, R. 1562.
- Bull, Henry (d. 1575?). *Christian Prayers & holie meditations...gathered*. 1566 and 1570. Parker Soc. 1842.
- Byfield, Nicholas (1579-1622). *The Marrow of the Oracles of God*. 1620.
- Catherine Parr, queen of England. *Prayers or Medytacions...collected out of holy woorkes*. 1545.
- Daye, Richard (1552-1607?). *A Booke of Christian Prayers, collected out of the aunciēt writers, and best learned in our tyme*. 1569.
- Donne, John. *Devotions upon emergent occasions, & severall steps in my sicknes*. 1624. Pickering's ed. 1840.
- Elyot, Sir Thomas. *A swete & deuoute sermon of holy saynct ciprian of mortalitie of men. The rules of a christian life made by Pious erle of Mirandola, both translated into englyshe*. 1539.
- Feastley, Daniel (1582-1645). *Ancilla Pietatis, or, The Hand-Maid to Private Devotion*. 1626.
- Fisher, John. *A spirituall consolation...to hys sister Elizabeth, at suche tyme as hee was prisoner*. 1535 and 1577. Paris, 1640. E.E.T.S. 1876.
- *The wayes to perfect Religion, made by...being Prysoner in the Tower of London*. 1535. E.E.T.S. 1876.
- *A godlie Treatisse declaryng the benefites, fruites, & great commodities of prayer*. 1560. Modernised version, 1887. (*De Fructu Orationis*, 1575.)
- Hunnis, William (d. 1579). *The Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soule for Sinne*. 1583.
- Norden, John (fl. 1600). *A pensive mans practise*. 1584.
- *The Progresse of Piety, whose Jesses lead into the Harborough of heavenly Hearts-ease*. 1591. Parker Soc. 1847.
- Parsons, or Persons, Robert (1546-1610), S.J. *The first booke of the Christian Exercise appertayning to resolution*. (Preface signed R. P.) Rouen, 1582. Rptd with additions, as *A Christian Directorie, guiding men to their salvation, commonly called the Resolution...with Reproofe of the corrupt & falsified edition...by E. Buny*. Rouen(?), 1585. (Edmund Bunny edited several protestant editions, from 1584 onwards, which Parsons described as 'punished & plumed (which he termeth purged).')
- Primera, reformed and unreformed. See bibliography in Sarum and York Primers, with kindred books, by Edgar Hoskins, 1901.
- Prose lives of Women Saints. Ed. Horstmann, C. E.E.T.S. 1886.
- Rogers, Thomas (d. 1616). *A pretious book of heavenly meditations, called a private talke of the soule with God*. Written, as some thinke, by... S. Augustine, and not translated only, but purified also...by T. B. 1581.
- Southwell, Robert, S.J. *Mary Magdalens Teares*. 1591.

- Southwell, Robert, S.J. *The Triumph over Death; or, A consolatorie Epistle.* 1596.
- *A hundred Meditations on the Love of God.* Ed. Morris, J. 1878.
- Sutton, Christopher (1565?-1629). *Disce Mori.* 1600. Ed. Newman, J. H., 1839.
- *Disce Vivere.* 1603.
- Symon, 'the Anker of London Wall' (*J.* 1512-29). (Sometimes identified with Whytford, E.) *The Fruyte of Redempceyon... comfyled... in Englysshe for your ghostly conforte that understande no latyn.* W. de Worde, 1514.
- Whytford, Richard (*J.* 1495-1555?), 'wretch of Syon.' *A Werke for Householders, or for them that have the gydyng or governaunce of any company.* W. de Worde, 1530.
- *A werke of preparation... unto communion.* Redman, R. (c. 1531).
- *The folowyng of Christ.* (Based on version of Atkynson, W., 1503.) 1535 (?). Cawood, 1556. Edited by Raynal, W., 1872 and 1908.
- (attributed to). *The Psalter of Jesus.* The earliest printed copy yet found is at the end of a *Salisbury Primer*, printed by Thielman Kerver, Paris, 1532. But, for earlier authority, see *The Psalter of Jesus*: from a MS of the fifteenth century, preface signed H. G[ough], 1885. Also (written without knowledge of H. G.'s tract), *Jesus Psalter: what it was at its origin*, by Sole, S. H., 1888.

CHAPTER XIII

ROBERT BURTON, JOHN BARCLAY AND JOHN OWEN

I. BURTON.

i. *Biography, and Burton's Library.*

MSS Marshall, 132 (Bodleian), an early fourteenth century volume of *Statuta Angliae*, at one time in the possession of Burton's ancestor, William Burton, who fell in the battle of Towton, 1461. It has been used for memoranda, and contains a pedigree of the Burton family, medical recipes and notes by Burton's father.

The original will of Robert Burton, proved in May 1640 in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, is now at Somerset house. (See, also, Stephen Jones's *Life of Burton* in the 1800 edition of the *Anatomy*, and often in later reprints.)

MSS Seld. *supra* 80 (Bodleian). Among the contents is 'A Note of Mr Robert Burton's books, given to the Library by his Last Will and testament A° Dni. 1639.' The Bodleian contains many books with Burton's autograph. In some, passages are marked by his pen. Those of his books which belong to the library of Christ Church have, through Osler's liberality, been brought together and placed in a special case, with editions of the *Anatomy*.

Burton, William. *Description of Leicester Shire*, 1622, pp. 178-9. On the engraved title is a bird's-eye view of Lindley, the house in which Robert Burton was born. The Brit. Mus. copy (at one time Peter de Neve's) has MS notes on the Burton pedigree.

Hearne, Thomas. His edit. of *Benedictus, Abbas Petroburgensis*, Oxford, 1735, Appendix ad Praefationem, pp. lv, lvi.

- Hearne, Thomas. *Reliquiae Hearnianae*. Ed. Bliss, P. 2nd ed. Vols. i, 282; iii, 113, 114-5. 1869.
- Kennet, White. *A Register and Chronicle*. Vol. i (all published), 320. 1728.
- Lilgelyn, Martin. *Elegie: On the Death of Master R. B., in Men-Miracles, with other Poemes by M. Ll.*, p. 124. Oxford, 1646.
- Macray, W. D. *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, pp. 46, 90-92, 159. 1890.
- Nichols, J. *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*. Vols. iii, 415-9, 557-9, 1137; iv, 635, 668. 1795-1811.
- Thompson, H. L. *Christ Church (College Histories, University of Oxford)*, pp. 245, 254. Oxford, 1898.
- Wood, Anthony à. *Athenae Oxonienses*. Ed. Bliss, P. Vol. ii, cols. 652-4. 1815.
- *Fasti Oxonienses*. Ed. Bliss, P. Part i, cols. 296, 305, 357.

ii. *Philosophaster, and Occasional Latin Verse.*

A MS of *Philosophaster* was formerly in the possession of W. E. Buckley. Another is in Lord Mostyn's library.

Philosophaster, Comoedia; *Poemata adhuc sparsim edita, nunc in unum collecta*. Ed. Buckley, W. E. Roxburghe Club. Hertford, 1862. The poems had appeared in *Academiae Oxoniensis Pietas erga Jacobum Regem*, Oxford, 1603; *Musa Hospitalis, Ecclesiae Christi, Oxon.*, Oxford, 1605; *Justa Oxoniensium* (in memory of Henry, Prince of Wales, London, 1612); *Death Repealed, Verses on Lord Bayning*, Oxford, 1638; and similar collections. Buckley did not give all Burton's Latin verse. At the beginning of the 1617 ed. of Rider's *Dictionarie*, corrected by Francis Holyoake, are some Latin elegiacs by Burton addressed to the editor.

An edition of *Philosophaster* by Bensly, E., is announced as in preparation in W. Bang's *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas* (Louvain).

iii. *The Anatomy of Melancholy.*

The Anatomy of Melancholy, What it is. With all the Kindes, Causes, Symptomes, Prognostickes, and Severall Cures of it. In Three Maine Partitions with their severall Sections, Members, and Subsections. Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, Opened and Cut up. By Democritus Junior, With a Satyricall Preface, conducing to the following Discourse. Macrob. *Omne meum, Nihil meum*. 4to. Oxford, 1621. The next seven editions are in folio. The first edition of the *Anatomy* contains the Conclusion of the Author to the Reader, signed in Burton's own name. Second ed., Oxford, 1624. Third (first with engraved frontispiece explained in English verses, and introductory poems in English and Latin), Oxford, 1628. Fourth, Oxford, 1632. Fifth (begun at Edinburgh and stopped by Burton's printers), Oxford, 1638. Sixth, Oxford, 1651, and London, 1652. Seventh, 1660. Eighth (double columns), 1676. Editions of 1728 and 1738, mentioned in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, appear to be imaginary. Ninth edition, 2 vols, 1800. For this reprint see Lamb, C., *Detached thoughts on Books and Reading*, and Coleridge, S. T., *Letters*, ed. by Coleridge, E. H., vol. i, 428. The 1800 ed. was reprinted several times, and so was that published in 1845.

The Anatomy of Melancholy. Ed. by Shilleto, A. R., with introduction by Bullen, A. H. 1893. Supplies many references, chiefly for quotations from well known authors. Text, apparently, from seventh ed. Reviewed in *Academy*, 15 Sept. 1894, by Robert Steele, also *Athenæum*, 6 Jan.

1894; *Saturday Review*, 17 Feb. 1894; *Spectator*, 6 Oct. 1894. Reprinted in 1896, etc.; with some corrections, 1904.

W. Aldis Wright has made a collation of all the editions from 1621 to 1876.

iv. *The Anatomy of Melancholy abridged.*

Melancholy. . . . Drawn chiefly from . . . Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. 1801. A careless reprint was published in 1824 and in 1827. Further eds., 1865, 1881.

v. *Comment, Criticism and Imitation.*

Bensly, E. A hitherto unknown source of Montaigne and Burton. *Athenaeum*, 5 Sept. 1908 (see 6 June and 13 June).

— Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. N. & Q. Ser. ix, vols. xi, xii; Ser. x, vols. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, x. (Passages from earlier authors identified.)

— Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Presentation Copy of the First Edition. N. & Q. Ser. x, vols. viii, xi.

— Burton and Fletcher. N. & Q. Ser. x, vol. vi.

— Burton and Jacques Ferrand. N. & Q. Ser. x, vol. xi.

— The Scene of Burton's *Philosophaster*. N. & Q. Ser. x, vol. xii.

— The title of B. Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vol. iv.

— Theodorus Prodromus, John Barclay and Robert Burton. N. & Q. Ser. x, vol. xi.

Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. xc, 323-342. Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

Boswell, James. *Life of Johnson*. Ed. Hill, G. Birkbeck. Vols. ii, 121, 440; iii, 415. Oxford, 1887 ff.

Brown, T. E. Robert Burton (Causerie). *New Review*, vol. xiii (1895), 257-266. (A curiously perverse and unsympathetic treatment.)

Byron, Lord. *Letters and Journals*. Ed. Prothero, R. E. Vols. ii, 383; v, 184, 392. 1898-1901. Poetry. Ed. Coleridge, E. H. Vol. ii, 236. 1898-1904. *Letters and Journals with notices of his Life*, by Moore, T. Vol. i, 98. 1890.

Dieckow, Fritz. John Florio's Englische Übersetzung der Essais Montaigne's und Lord Bacon's [*sic*], Ben Jonson's und Robert Burton's Verhältnis zu Montaigne. Diss. Strassburg, 1903.

Ferriar, John. *Illustrations of Sterne*. 2nd ed. Vol. i, 82-120. 1812.

Fuller, Thomas. *The Worthies of England*. Part ii, 134. 1662.

Greenwood, William. *Ἀνεπαφύετος ὁρμή*. Or, A Description Of The Passion of Love. 1657.

Herring, Thomas (archbishop of Canterbury). *Letters to William Duncombe*, pp. 148-150. 1777. (Among the wits whom Herring thought to have been beholden to Burton were probably Swift, and possibly Addison. Compare No. 1 of the *Spectator* with the beginning of Democritus to the Reader.)

Johnson, Samuel. *Letters*. Ed. Hill, G. Birkbeck. Vol. i, 293, 383. Oxford, 1892.

Jusserand, J. J. *Hist. lit. du peuple Angl.* Part ii, livr. 5, sect. 2, 873-9. Paris, 1894.

Keats, John. *Poetical Works and other Writings*. Ed. Forman, H. Buxton. Vol. ii, 40. 1883. See, also, *Complete Works*, vol. iii, 266-275, Glasgow, 1901; Marginal notes on B.'s *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. ii *ost.* 1813.

Lake, Bernard. A General Introduction to Charles Lamb, together with a Special Study of his Relation to Robert Burton. Diss. 49-91. Leipsig, 1903.

- Lamb, Charles. Curious Fragments, extracted from a Common-place Book which belonged to Robert Burton, the Famous Author of the Anatomy of Melancholy, in John Woodvil, A Tragedy, to which are added Fragments of Burton, the Author of the Anatomy of Melancholy. Reprinted with alterations in Lamb's Works, 1818. See the Works of Charles and Mary Lamb, ed. by Lucas, E. V., vol. 1, 31-36 and notes (an imitation of Burton, by Craigie, W. J.), 394-8, 1903-5.
- Letters in Lucian's Edition. Vol. vi, 159, 161, 173.
- Essays of Elia, and Last Essays of Elia. Lucas's ed., vol. II, 40, 67, 174. See, also, vols. I, 175, 452, and v, 27, 29.
- Nichols, John. Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century. Vol. iv, 210. 1822.
- ΠΕΡΙΛΑΜΜΑ ΤΕΙΛΙΑΗΜΙΟΝ: Or, Vulgar Errours in Practice Censured. 1659. See N. & Q. Ser. x, vol. iv, 123. (J. T. Curry.)
- Steevens, George. MS notes in a 1632 copy of the Anatomy. See Nichols's Leicestershire, III, pt. 1, 558.
- Toynbee, Paget. Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary. Vol. 1, 114-116. 1909.
- Warton, Thomas. Poems upon several occasions... by John Milton. 2nd ed.; esp. pp. 94-96. 1791.
- Whibley, Charles. Literary Portraits. Robert Burton, pp. 251-288. 1904.

II. BARCLAY.

[At the end of P. A. Becker's article (see below, iv) is a general bibliography of Barclay's works, translations of his works, and productions that have been attributed to him on dubious grounds. See, also, pp. 34 and 114, 115 of the same essay. Dukas (see below, iv) supplies a bibliography of Euphormio; Collignon, one of Icon Animorum in his *Le Portrait des Esprits de Jean Barclay*, and one of Argenis in his *Notes sur l'Argenis*. The fullest and best bibliography of the last work is to be found in John Barclays *Argenis*, by Schmid, K. F. The following select list is necessarily based in great part on these authorities.]

i. *Biography*.

(A useful summary of the original sources for Barclay's life and a list of later biographical works and articles is given by Becker, pp. 109-111 and 114, 115.)

- Abram, Nicolas. *Historia Universitatis et Collegii Mussipontani quam conscripsit P. Abram S.J. ab institutione ad annum 1650*. In MS. A copy is in the municipal library at Nancy, another in the library at Épinal. A French translation of the parts dealing with John Barclay and Euphormio is printed on pp. 9-21 of Collignon's *Notes sur l'Euphormion*.
- Bayle, Pierre. *Dictionnaire historique et critique*. (For a criticism of the article on Jean Barclai see R. Garnett's life of J. B. in the D. of N. B.).
- Bugnot, Louis Gabriel. *Joannis Barclai Vita* in Bugnot's ed. of *Argenis*. Leyden, 1659.
- Dalrymple, Sir David (Lord Hailes). *Sketch of the life of John Barclay*. 1786.
- Gassendi, Pierre. *Vita Peireskii*. 1655.
- Irving, David. *Lives of Scottish Authors*. Vol. 1, 371-384. Edinburgh, 1839.
- Mackenzie, George. *The Lives and Characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scots nation*. Vol. III, 476. Edinburgh, 1822.
- Ménage, Gilles. *Vita Petri Aerodii*. Paris, 1675.

- Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de. *Lettres*. Ed. by Larroque, Ph. Tamizey de.
Vol. vii. Paris, 1898.
- Scaliger, J. J. *Epistres françaises de M. J. J. de la Scala*. Harderwyck, . .
1624. Three letters by Barclay on pp. 15, 198, 361.
- Thorie, Ralph. In obitum Jo. Barclaii Elegia. Signed R. Th. 1621.
- Tomasinus, J. Ph. *Elogia*. 1644.
- Urbain, Charles. Apropos de J. de Barclay. In the Bulletin du Bibliophile,
• 1891, pp. 315-330 (contains some hitherto unpublished letters of Barclay
from the Bibliothèque Nationale).

References to Barclay are found in Isaac Casaubon's *Ephemerides* (where we have a glimpse of Barclay in England), the *epistolæ* of J. J. Scaliger, Grotius, Claude Morisot and elsewhere. For a mention of Barclay in Gilbert Gaulmin's ed. of Theodorus Prodromus, see N. & Q. Ser. x, vol. xi, 101.

ii. Works.

- Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon. (London ?), 1603. (See Dukas, p. 29. No copy of this edition is known to exist.)
- Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon nunc primum recognitum, emendatum, et varijs in locis auctum. Paris, 1605.
- Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon Pars Secunda Nunc primum in lucem edita. Paris, 1607.

Both parts of Euphormio and Apologia were first published together, with separate titles and pagination, in 1610-11 (s.l.). These three, with Icon Animorum, were first published together in 1616 (s.l.) in the same way. The 1628 (Rouen) ed. first added pt. v (Morisot's continuation) which had appeared separately in 1625; the annotated edition of Bugnot with pt. vi (Aletophilus Castigatus) was published in 1674 (Leyden).

The Clavis is first found in the editions of 1623.

- Euphormionis Satyrici Apologia Pro Se. Paris, 1610.
- In Phaethonta Gallicum (signed I. B.). Paris.
- In P. Statii Papinii Thebaidos libros IIII commentarii et in totidem sequentes notae, cum argumentis. Pont-à-Mousson, 1601.
- Ioannis Barclaii Argensia. Parisiis, Apud Nicolavm Bvon, in via Iacobaea, sub signis S. Claudij, & Hominis Siluestria. MDCXXI.

The Elzevir ed. of 1627 (Leyden) is the first that contains Discursus in Io. Barclaii Argenidem (Clavis). The Elzevir of 1630 (Leyden) is the first that contains Discursus de Autore Scripti (Schmid, pp. 13-17).

For Tabula Nominum fictorum, see Schmid, pp. 9 and 16, 17.

- Io Barclaii Argensia. Nunc primum Illustrata. Leyden, 1659. (The notes are by Bugnot.)
- Joannis Barclaii Icon Animorum. 1614.
- Johannis Barclaii Pietas, sive publica regum ac principum, et privata Guil. Barclaii sui parentis defensio adversus Roberti S. R. E. Card. Bellarmini Tractatum. Paris, 1612. (Replied to by Andreas Eudaemon-Joannes in Epistola Monitoria ad Joannem Barclaium Guillelmi filium. Cologne, 1613.)
- Paraenesis ad Sectarios. Rome, 1617.
- Poematum Libri Duo. 1615. (Dedicated to prince Charles.)
- Poematum Libri II cum l. III ex Argenide. Cologne, 1626.

Preface to William Barclay's *De Potestate Papae, an et quatenus in reges et principes saeculares jus et imperium habet* (printed in London, some copies s.l., some with imprint of Pont-à-Mousson). 1609. (Bellarmine attacked this work in *Tractatus de Potestate summi Pontificis in temporalibus adversus Gulielmum Barclaium*.)

Regi Jacobo primo, carmen gratulatorium, auct. Joanne Barclai. Paris, 1608. (See Becker, p. 36.)

**Series Patefacti Divinitus Parricidii in Ter maximum Regem regnumque Britanniae cogitati et instructi: Nonis ixhribus MDCV. Illo ipso novembri Scripta, nunc demum edita.* Printed at the end of the 1628 (Amsterdam) ed. of *Euphormio*.

Sylvae. 1606. (Dedicated to Christian IV of Denmark.)

According to Fr. Pons (Life of Barclay in his Italian trans. of *Argenis*); Barclay left in MS De Bello sacro, dealing with the same subject as Tasso's *Gerusalemme*, and some pages of a History of Europe.

iii. *Translations into English.*

Argenis. A trans. by Ben Jonson was entered at Stationers' hall, 2 Oct. 1623.

Barclay His *Argenis*: Or, The Loves of Poliarchus and *Argenis*: Faithfully translated out of Latine into English, By Kingsmill Long, Gent. 1625 and 1636. (The verse is by May.)

John Barclay His *Argenis*, Translated out of Latine into English: The Prose upon His Majesties Command: By Sir Robert Le Grys, Knight: And the Verses by Thomas May, Esquire. 1629. (Southey's copy with MS notes by Coleridge is in the Brit. Mus.)

Icon Animorum. The Mirrour of Mindes, Englished by Thomas May. 1633. The Adventures of Poliarchus And *Argenis*. Translated from the Latin of John Barclay. By the Revd. Mr John Jacob. Dublin, 1734. (For this English abridgment of *Argenis*, not mentioned in the bibliographies of Barclay, see Bensly, E., *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vol. iv, 392-5.)

The Phoenix; or, the History of Polyarchus and *Argenis*, translated from the Latin, By a Lady. 4 vols. London and York, 1772. (By Clara Reeve.)

(For translations of *Argenis* in other languages, and continuations, see Schmid, K. F. For dramatisations, see Collignon. For translations of *Euphormio* and *Icon Animorum*, see Dukas.)

iv. *Criticism, etc.*

Becker, Ph. Aug. Johann Barclay, 1582-1621. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, Neue Folge, Band xv, 33-118. Berlin, 1903.

Boucher, Léon. De Joannis Barclaii *Argenide*. Paris, 1874.

Censura Euphormionis auctore Anonymo. Paris, 1620. (Pierre Musnier's *Censura Censurae Euphormionis* in same vol.)

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *Literary Remains*. Vol. i, 255-258. 1836.

Collignon, Albert. *Le Portrait des Esprits* (*Icon animorum*) de Jean Barclay. Nancy, 1906. (Extrait des *Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanislas*, 1905-6.) (On pp. 68, 69 is a list of *Ouvrages relatifs à l'Icon animorum*.)

— Note complémentaire sur l'*Argenis*. Appendix to C.'s *Le Portrait des Esprits* de J. B.

— Notes Historiques, Littéraires et Bibliographiques sur l'*Argenis* de Jean Barclay. (Extrait des *Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanislas*, 1901-2.) Paris and Nancy, 1902.

— Notes sur l'*Euphormion* de Jean Barclay. (Extrait des *Annales de l'Est*.) Nancy, 1901.

Dukas, Jules. *Étude Bibliographique et Littéraire sur le Satyricon de Jean Barclay*. Paris, 1890.

Dapond, Albert. *L'Argenis de Barclai. Étude Littéraire*. Paris, 1875.

- Fournel, Victor. *La Littérature indépendante et les écrivains oubliés, essais de critique et d'érudition sur le XVII^e siècle*, pp. 212-4. Paris, 1862.
- Körting, Heinrich. *Geschichte des französischen Romans im XVIIⁿ Jahrhundert*. 2 vols. Leipzig and Oppeln, 1885-7.
- Schmid, Karl Friedrich. *John Barclays Argenis. Eine literarhistorische Untersuchung. I. Ausgaben der Argenis, ihrer Fortsetzungen und Übersetzungen*. Berlin and Leipzig, 1904. (Heft XXXI of Josef Schick and M. v. Waldberg's *Literarhistorische Forschungen*.)
- (For 17th and 18th cent. works on *Argenis* see Schmid, pp. 167-174.)

III. OWEN.

i. *Biography*.

- Archaeologia Cambrensis*. New Series, vol. IV, 130. 1853.
- Colville, F. L. *Worthies of Warwickshire*. Warwick and London, 1870.
- Dwnn, Lewys. *Heraldic Visitations of Wales and Part of the Marches*. Ed. by Meyrick, Sir S. R. Vol. II, 180. Llandovery, 1848.
- Hughes of Kimmel, H. B. *The Two Hugh Owens*. Y Cymmrodor, vol. XVI. 1903.
- Leach, A. F. *History of Warwick School*, pp. 124-134. (See Benaly, E., *John Owen the Epigrammatist*, N. & Q. Ser. x, vol. XI, 21.)
- Williams, W. Ll. *The Two Hugh Owens*. Appendix H to *Welsh Catholics on the Continent*. Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorion, Session 1901-2, pp. 128-144.
- Wood, Anthony à. *Athenae Oxonienses*. Ed. Bliss, P. Vol. II, cols. 320-2.

ii. *Works*.

- Epigrammatum Ioannis Owen Cambro-Britanni Libri Tres*. Ad Illustrissimam D. Mariam Neuille, Comitiss Dorcestriae filiam Patronam suam. Editio Tertia, prioribus emendatio. 1607. (The first two eds. had appeared in 1606.)
- Epigrammatum Ioannis Owen Cambro-Britanni Ad Excellentissimam & doctissimam Heroïnam, D. Arbellam Stuart, Liber Singularis*. Editio Prima. 1607. (Uniform with the above.) (Fourth ed. of Owen's first volume was published in 1612. Lond. ex off. Joh. Legati, sumtibus Simonis Waterson, and also the two following.)
- Epigrammatum Ioannis Owen Oxoniensis, Cambro-Britanni, Libri Tres*. Ad Henricum Principem Cambriae Dvo. Ad Carolum Eboracensem unvs. Editio prima. 1612.
- Epigrammatum Ioannis Owen Cambro-Britanni Oxoniensis. Ad Tres Mecæneses, Libri Tres*. Ad Edoardum Noel equitem & Baronetum, vnus. Ad Guilielmum Sidley equitem & Baronetum, alter. Ad Rogerum Owen equitem auratum, Tertius. Editio Prima. 1612. (Uniform with the above.)

Additional epigrams are printed in the Leyden ed. of 1628 and in *Ioannis Oweni libellus epigrammatum*, etc., ed. by Ebert, F. A., Leipzig, 1824.

iii. *Translations*.

English.

- Vicars, John. *Epigrams Of That most wittie and worthie Epigrammatist Mr John Owen, Gentleman*. Translated by John Vicars. 1619.
- Hayman, Robert. *Qvodlibeta, Lately Come Over From New Britaniola, Old Newfound-land*. Epigrams and other small parcels, both Morall and Divine. The first foure Bookes being the Authors owne: the rest translated out

• of that Excellent Epigrammatist, Mr John Owen, and other rare Authors:
 • With two Epistles of that excellently wittie Doctor, Francis Rabelais:
 • Translated out of his French at large. All of them Composed and done
 • at Harbor-Grace in Britaniola, anciently called Newfound-Land. By
 • R. H. Sometimes Governour of the Plantation there. 1628.

Pecke, Thomas. *Parnasi Puerperium*: or, Some Wellwishes to Ingenuity, in the Translation of Six Hundred, of Owen's Epigrams; Martial de Spectaculis, or of Rarities to be seen in Rome; and the most Select, in Sir Tho. More. To which is annext A Century of Heroick Epigrams, (Sixty whereof concern the Twelve Caesars; and the Forty remaining, several deserving Persons.) By the Author of that celebrated Elegie upon Cleaveland: Tho. Pecke of the Inner Temple, Gent. 1659.

Harvey, Thomas. John Owen's Latin Epigrams, Englished by Tho. Harvey, Gent. 1677.

Cowper, William. Epigrams translated from the Latin of Owen. Life and Works, ed. Grimshawe, T. S. Vol. VIII, 368-9.

Translations of isolated epigrams of Owen occur in various collections.

Harflete, Henry. A Banquet of Essayes, Fetched out of Famous Owens Confectionary, Disht out, and serv'd up at the Table of Mecoenas. By Henry Harflete, sometime of Grayes-Inne, Gent. 1653. (Essays on Ep. 1, 2, with a trans. of that Epigram.)

German.

(For early German translators and very numerous imitators of Owen, see Erich Urban's treatise. For translations in other languages, see Brit. Mus. Cat.)

iv. Criticisms and Literary History.

Gervinus, Georg Gottfried. *Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung*. Vol. III (ed. 5), IX, 4. Epigramme und Satiren, pp. 396-423. Leipzig, 1872.

Lafestrestre, Pierre. François Maynard. *Révue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, pp. 457-477. 1903.

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. Zerstreute Anmerkungen über das Epigramm, und einige der vornehmsten Epigrammatisten, pp. 214 sqq. in vol. XI, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart, 1895) of Karl Lachmann's ed. of Lessing's *Sämtliche Schriften*.

Urban, Erich. *Owenus und die deutschen Epigrammatiker des XVII Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1900. (Heft XI in *Literarhistorische Forschungen* ed. by Josef Schick and M. v. Waldberg.)

v. Mention and imitation of Owen in Latin epigrammatists.

(A selection.)

Barth, Caspar. *Amphitheatrum seniorum Jocosum*. Hanau, 1613. (Several references.)

Bauhuus, Bernard. *Epigrammatum Libri v*, ed. altera. Antwerp, 1620. (1st ed. 1615.) (Slight touches of imitation.)

Bruch, Richard. *Epigrammatum Hecatontades duae auctore R. B.* 1627. (Imitations of Owen.)

Cabilliau, Baldwin. *Epigrammata Selecta*. Antwerp, 1620. (Slight touches.)

Dunbar, John. *Epigrammaton Ioannis Dvnbari Megalo-Britanni Centvriae Sex, Decades totidem*. 1616. (Imitations of Owen.)

Harder, H. *Epigrammata*, in *Deliciae Poetarum Danorum* ed. Rostgaard, F. • Leyden, 1693. Tom. II. (Much imitation of Owen.)

Paterson, Ninian. *Epigrammatum Libri Octo*. Edinburgh, 1678. (Imitation • of Owen.)

Stradling, John. *Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor*. 1607. (Owen addressed in Hb. iv, 91.)

Owen's epigrams are freely quoted in such books as Caroli A. S. Antonio Patavino, *Anconitani, de Arte Epigrammatica Libellus*, Cologne, 1650, and Nic. Mercier's *De Conscribendo Epigrammate*, Paris, 1653.

[For the writings of Thomas Newton (1542?-1607), see D. of N. B. A. R. W.]

CHAPTER XIV

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH PHILOSOPHY¹.

FRANCIS BACON.

Philosophical Works (Spedding's arrangement).

i. Parts of the *Instauratio Magna*.

Instauratio magna. 1620. (After two pages beginning 'Franciscus de Verulamio sic cogitavit,' an epistle dedicatory to the king, preface, distributio operis and a page announcing 'deest pars prima instaurationis, quae complectitur partitiones scientiarum,' there follows a second title-page: *Pars Secunda Operis, quae dicitur Novum Organum, sive Indicia Vera de interpretatione naturae*. The same volume also contains: *Parasceve ad Historiam Naturalem et Experimentalem*.)

Opera. Tomus primus. Qui continet De Augmentis Scientiarum libros ix. 1623. (The second title is: *de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum libri ix.*)

Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis ad condendam philosophiam: sive Phaenomena Universi: quae est Instaurationis Magnae pars tertia. 1622. (This volume contains *Historia Ventorum*, also titles and 'aditus' to five other *Historiae*, namely, *Densi et Rari*, *Gravis et Levis*, *Sympathiae et Antipathiae Rerum*, *Sulphuris Mercurii et Salis*, *Vitae et Mortis*.)

Historia Vitae et Mortis. Sive Titulus Secundus in Historia Naturali et Experimentalis ad condendam philosophiam: quae est Instaurationis Magnae pars tertia. 1623.

Historia Densi et Rari (1658)².

Sylva Sylvarum: or A Natural History. In ten centuries. Written by the Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St Alban. Published after the author's death by William Rawley. 1627.

Scala intellectus, sive Filum Labyrinthi (1653) (a preface intended for the fourth part of the *Instauratio*).

Prodromi, sive Anticipationes Philosophiae Secundae (1653) (a preface intended for the fifth part of the *Instauratio*).

ii. Works connected with the *Instauratio*, but not intended to be included in it.

Cogitationes de natura rerum (1653).

De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris (1653).

De Principiis atque Originibus secundum Fabulas Cupidinis et Coeli (1653).

New Atlantis: a work unfinished. (First published by Rawley at the end of the volume containing *Sylva Sylvarum* in 1627.)

¹ For scholastic works, see bibliography to chap. x, vol. i, of the present work.

² Writings published for the first time in posthumous collections have the date of the collection given in parentheses. Titles will be found under 'Editions.'

iii. Works originally designed for parts of the *Instauratio* but superseded or abandoned.

Cogitationes de Scientia Humana. (A series of fragments of uncertain date, first published by Spedding (Bacon's Works, vol. III), who supplied the title.)

Valerius Terminus of the Interpretation of Nature; with the annotations of *Hermes Stella* (1734).

The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning Divine and Humane. 1605.

Filum Labyrinthi, sive Formula Inquisitionis (1734) (little else than an English version of the *Cogitata et Visa*).

De Interpretatione Naturae Prooemium (1653).

Temporis Partus Masculus sive Instauratio Magna Imperii Humani in Unversum (1653).

Partis Instaurationis Secundae Delineatio et Argumentum, et Redargutio philosophiarum (1653, in part).

Cogitata et Visa: de Interpretatione Naturae, sive de Scientia Operativa (1653).

Filum Labyrinthi; sive Inquisitio Legitima de Motu (1653).

Sequela Cartarum; sive Inquisitio Legitima de Calore et Frigore (1734).

Historia et Inquisitio Prima de Sono et Auditu, et de Forma Soni et Latente Processu Soni; sive Sylva Soni et Auditus (1658).

Phaenomena Universi; sive Historia Naturalis ad Condendam Philosophiam (1653).

* *Descriptio Globi Intellectualis et Thema Coeli* (1653).

De Interpretatione Naturae Sententiae XII (1653).

Aphorismi et Consilia (1653).

Literary Works.

Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasion. Seene and allowed. 1597. (There are ten essays in this volume. The Religious Meditations are in Latin and are entitled *Meditationes Sacrae*; the Places of perswasion and disswasion are in English and are entitled *Coulers of Good and Evill*; a fragment. Reprinted in 1598, 1604 and 1606.)

The Essaies of Sir Francis Bacon Knight the kings solliciter generall. 1612. (This volume contains essays only—thirty-eight in number, twenty-nine of them new, and the rest corrected and enlarged.)

The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St Alban. 1625. (This volume contains fifty-eight essays, twenty of them being new and most of the rest altered and enlarged.)

De Sapientia Veterum Liber, ad inclytam academiam Cantabrigiensem. 1609.

The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh. 1622.

Advertisement touching an Holy Warre. Written in the year 1622. 1629.

Of the True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain (1734).

Apothegmes new and old. 1625.

Promus of Formularies and Elegancies (begun 1594, published 1882, and in part by Spedding, vol. VII).

Translation of Certaine Psalmes into English Verse. 1625.

Professional Works.

Maxims of the Law (written about 1597; first printed 1630).

Reading on the Statute of Uses (read at Gray's Inn in the Lent vacation, 1600; first printed in 1642).

- The Arguments of Law of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, The King's Solicitor-General, in certain great and difficult cases.** (Revised by Bacon in 1616, but not published by him; first printed by Blackbourne in 1730.)
- Argument in Chudleigh's Case.** (Easter Term, 1594.) (Translated from Law French and printed in Spedding's edition, vol. vii.)
- The Argument of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, His Majesty's Solicitor-general, in the Case of the Post-Nati of Scotland.** (Delivered before Easter Term, 1608; first printed in 1641.)
- The Argument of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, Attorney-General in the King's Bench, in the Case De Rege Inconsulto.** (Delivered Jan. 25, 1616; first printed in *Collectanea Jurid.*)
- A Preparation towards the Union of Laws.**

Occasional Writings (a selection).

- An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England** (written 1589; first published as pamphlet, 1640).
- A Declaration of the Practices and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert, late Earle of Essex.** 1601.
- A Brief Discourse touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland** (written 1603).
- Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England** (written 1603).
- Sir Francis Bacon his Apologie, in certaine imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex.** 1604.
- A Proposition to His Majesty...touching the Compiling and Amendment of the Laws of England** (written 1616, first published 1653).

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1. Collections chiefly of works unpublished in his life-time :
 - (a) Collected by Bawley, W.:—*Certaine Miscellany works.* 1629. *Opusum moralium et civilium tomus primus.* 1638. *Resuscitatio.* 1657. *Opuscula varia posthuma.* 1658.
 - (b) Collected by Gruter, L.:—*Scripta in naturali et universali philosophia.* Amsterdam, 1653.
 - (c) Collected by Stephens, R.:—*Letters written during the reign of King James.* 1702. *Letters and Remains.* 1734.
2. Editions of collected works: by Schönwetter and Gruter, Frankfort, 1665; Mallet, 4 vols., 1740; Stephens, Locker and Birch, 5 vols., 1765; Lasalle, A., French translation, 15 vols., Dijon, 1801-4; Montagu, 16 vols., 1825-36; Spedding, J., Elms, R. L. and Heath, D. D., 14 vols., 1857-74. In the last-named edition, vols. I-III contain the *Philosophical Works*, vols. IV-V translations of the same, vols. VI-VII *Literary and Professional Works*, vols. VIII-XIV the *Letters and the Life*. The *Philosophical Works* were edited in one volume by Robertson, J. M., 1905.
3. Among editions of separate works mention may be made of the editions of the *Advancement of Learning* by Wright, W. A., Oxford, 1869, 5th ed., 1900, and by Case, T., Oxford, 1906, and of the *Novum Organum* by Fowler, T., Oxford, 1878, 2nd ed., 1889.

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- Abbott, E. A. *Bacon and Essex.* 1877.
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SIR RICHARD BARCKLEY.

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NATHANAEL CARPENTER.

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EVERARD DIGBY.

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 rumque Philosophorum mysteria arcanaque dogmata enucleans. 1579.

De duplici methodo libri duo, unicam P. Rami methodum refutantes. 1580.
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 1580.

* De Arte Natandi. 1587. [Believed to be the earliest treatise on swimming
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WILLIAM FULKE.

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ROBERT NORMAN.

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WILLIAM TEMPLE.

Francisci Mildapetti Navarreni ad Everardum Digbeium Anglum Admonitio de unica P. Rami Methodo rejectis ceteris retinenda. 1580.

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• CHAPTER XV

EARLY WRITINGS ON POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

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- *Letter to Isabella Countess of Rutland complaining of her waste of the timber in Sherwood Forest*. 28 July, 1594. Brit. Mus. Lansd. CIII, 80.
- *Memorial on the question of preparing for the Spanish invasion*. 1587. Brit. Mus. Cotton. MS Vesp. C. viii, 4.
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- Roecher, W.** Zur Geschichte der Englischen Volkswirtschaftslehre, in Abhandlungen der phil. hist. Classe der k. sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissen. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1857.
- S., M.** Greevous Grones for the Poore done by a Well-Willer who wisheth that the poore of England might be so provided for as none should neade to go a begging. 1622.
- Sanderson, R.** Logicae Artis Compendium. 1618. Ten Sermons: (i) ad Clerum 3; (ii) ad Magistratum 3; (iii) ad Populum 4. 1627.
- Sandys, E.** Sermon 4. Parker Soc. 1841.
- Selden, J.** Titles of Honor. 1614.
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- Smith, H.** Examination of Usury, in two sermons. 1591.
- Smith, Capt. J.** Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New-England, or any where. Or The Path-way to experience to erect a Plantation. 1631.
- Smith, Sir T.** De Republica Anglorum. 1583. Ed. Alston, L. and Maitland, F. W. Cambridge, 1906.
- Spenser, E.** The Faerie Queene, book v. 1596.
— View of the State of Ireland. 1633. [Globe ed. 1869 ff.]
- Stanley's remedy;** or, the way to reform wandring beggers, theeves, highway-robbers and pick-pockets. 1646.
- Starkey, T.** A dialogue between Cardinal Pole and T. Lupset. Ed. Cowper, J. M. E.E.T.S. Ex. Ser. XII.
- Symonds, W.** Virginia; a sermon... preached... in the presence of... the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia. 1609.
- Tusser, T.** A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie. 1557.
— Five hundreth pointes of good husbandry. 1573. Ed. Payne, W. and Hertridge, S. J. 1878.
- Ussher, J.** The Power communicated by God to the Prince, and Obedience required of the subject. 1683.
- Vaughan, R.** Most approved and long experienced Water-Workes. Containing the manner of Winter and Summer drowning of medow and pasture... thereby to make those grounds... more fertile, ten for one. 1610.
- Vehse, E.** Shakspeare als Protestant, Politiker, Psycholog und Dichter. 2 vols. Hamburg, 1851.
- Vintners, The** retayling, their answer to a Petition against the said Retaylors. 1641.

- Walter of Henley's Husbandry, together with an anonymous Husbandry, Seneschancie and Robert Grosseteste's Rules. The transcripts, translation and glossary by Lamond, E. 1890.
- Westcote, T. A view of Devonshire in 1630 and pedigrees of most of our Devonshire families. Edd. Oliver, G. and Jones, P. Exeter, 1845.
- Wheeler, J. The Lawes, Customes and Ordinances of the Fellowshippe of Merchantes Adventurers of the Realme of England. 1608. In Univ. of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints. Lingelback, W. E. 1902.
- A treatise of commerce, wherein are shewed the commodities arising by a wel ordered... Trade... such as that of Merchantes Adventurers is proved to bee. 1601.
- Wilson, T. A Discourse uppon usurye. 1572.

CHAPTER XVI

LONDON AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR LITERATURE

HENRY CHETTEL.

- The batynge of Dyogens. Licensed 27 Sep. 1591 (identified by Collier, J. P., with A satyricall Dialogue or a Sharplye-invective conference, betweene Alexander the great and that truelye Woman-hater Diogenes 1616 (?), an invective against women).
- Englande's Mourning Garment. n.d., but with address to reader signed Hen. Chettle. 1st ed. certainly appeared 1603. Rptd 1603, etc.; 1744 *et seq.*, Harl. Misc.; 1874, Ingleby, C. M., New Shakspr. Soc. Allusion-bks. pt. I.
- Kind-Hart's Dreame. n.d. (Licensed Dec. 1592.) Rptd 1842, Rimbault, E. F., Percy Soc.; 1874, Ingleby, C. M., New Shakspr. Soc. Allusion-bks. pt. I. (The tract, though of slight merit, illustrates the style and literary form which was most fashionable at the moment. It is a dream vision: five popular celebrities (including Greene: see Harvey-Nashe Controversy) are introduced; they present complaints which expose existing abuses and gratify the people's insatiable appetite for tales of deception.)
- Pierce Plainnes seaven yeres Prentiship. 1593. See *ante*, vol. III, chap. XVI, p. 367.

ROBERT GREENE.

Beginning of the reaction from Euphuism.

- Greenes Mourning Garment... which he presents for a favour to all Young Gentlemen that wish to weane themselves from wanton desires... licensed 2 Nov. 1590, published same year.
- Greenes Never too Late. Or a Powder of Experience: sent to all Youthful Gentlemen. 1590.
- Greenes farewell to Folly: sent to Courtiers and Schollers as a president to warne them from the vaine delights that drawes youth on to repentance. Licensed 11 June 1597, published 1591.
- A Maiden's Dreame. 1591.

Conny-Catching Pamphlets.

(Professionalism betrayed in the fabrication of pretentious titles and the claim to disinterested motives in publishing.)

A Notable Discovery of Coosnage. Now daily practised by sundry lewd persons called Conny-catchers and Crosse-biters. 1591. Rptd 1592 and 1859 by Halliwell, J. O. Second part, 1591. Third part entered in Stationers' register, 7 Feb. 1591/2.

The Defence of Conny-catching. By Cuthbert Cony-catcher. 1592. Rptd 1859 by Adjard, J. E.

A Disputation Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher whether a Theefe or a Whoore is most hurtfull in Cousnage to the Common-wealth. . . 1592. Rptd with additions in 1617 as Theeves falling out, True Men come by their Goods, and in 1637 with sub-title The Belman wanted a clapper. A Peale of new Villanies rung out. (See Belman of London under Dekker.)

The Black Bookes Messenger. Laying open the Life and Death of Ned Browne, one of the most notable Cutpurses, Crosbiters, and Conny-catchers, that ever lived in England. 1592. (Thomas Middleton followed Greene's idea with The Blacke Booke, 1604.)

(Of the imitations entitled: Questions concerning Conie-hood and the nature of the Conie, n.d.; Nihil Munchance, n.d. See, also, Chandler, F. W., The Literature of Roguery, 1907, vol. I, chap. III. For origins of genre, see vol. III, chap. v. of the present work.)

Social Tracts and Confessions.

Philomela. The Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale. . . 1592.

A Quip for an Upstart Courtier: or, a quaint dispute between Velvet-breeches and Cloth-breeches. Wherein is plainly set downe the disorders in all Estates and Trades. Licensed 20 July 1592. Rptd 1606, etc.; 1871, Hindley, C., *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*, pt. III.

Greens Groatworth of Wit, bought with a Million of Repentance. . . Written before his death, and published at his dying request. Licensed 20 Sept. 1592. Edited by Chettle, H. Earliest extant ed. 1596. Rptd 1600, etc.; 1813, Brydges, Sir E. (privately printed); 1874, Shakspeare Allusion Bks. pt. I; 1889, The Bookworm's Garner, No. VI; 1871, Hindley, C., *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*.

Authorities:

Bernhardi, W. Robert Greenes Leben und Schriften. Leipzig, 1874.

Collins, J. Churton: General Introduction to Plays and Poems. Oxford, 1905.

Grosart, A. B. Greene's Complete Works. Huth Library. 1881-6.

Schelling, Felix E. The Queen's Progress. n.d.

Storojenko, N.: Life of R. Greene. 1878. See vol. I of Huth Lib. ed.

THOMAS NASHE.

(For The Unfortunate Traveller and Nashe's Marprelate tracts, see *ante*, vol. III, chaps. XVI and XVII.)

The Anatomie of Absurditie: contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayes to feminine perfection, with a short description of the severall practises of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times. 1589. (Licensed 19 Sept. 1588.) Rptd 1590; 1866, Collier, J. P., *Illustrations of Old Eng. Lit.*

Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Divell. Describing the over-spreading of Vice, and suppression of Vertue. 1592 (licensed 8 Aug.). Rptd 1592,

etc.; 1842, Collier, J. P., Shakspr. Soc.; 1870, Miscellaneous Tracts, Temp. Eliz. and Jac. I.

Strange Newes, of the intercepting certaine Letters, and a convey of Verres, as they were going Priville to victuall the Low Countries. 1592. Rptd 1592, etc.; 1870, Misc. Trs., Temp. Eliz. and Jac. I. (In page headings the book is entitled *Four Letters Confuted* and is licensed (12 Jan. 1592) as *The Apologie of Pierce Penilesse*.)

Christa Teares over Jerusalem. Whereunto is annexed a comparative admonition to London. 1593. (Licensed 8 Sep.) Rptd 1594; 1613; 1815, Brydges, Sir E., *Archaica*. (The *Terrors of the Night* was licensed three months earlier but not published till 1594.)

The Terrors of the Night, or, A Discourse of Apparitions. 1594. (Licensed 30 June 1593 and 15 Oct. 1594.)

Have with you to Saffron-walden. Or, Gabriell Harveys Hunt is up. Containing a full Answer to the eldest sonne of the Halter-maker. Or, Nashe his Confutation of the sinfull Doctor. 1596. (No entry in register.) Rptd 1870, Collier, J. P., Misc. Trs., Temp. Eliz. and Jac. I.

Nashes Lenten Stufe, Containing, The Description and first Procreation and Increase of the towne of Great Yarmouth in Noffolke: With a new Play never played before, of the praise of the Red Herring. 1599 (licensed 11 Jan. 1598-9). Rptd 1745; 1809-10, Harl. Misc.; 1871, Hindley, C., *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*.

The choise of Valentines. (In MS; see McKerrow, R. B., *Works*, vol. III, A piece of pornography not devoid of literary art.)

Complete Works:

Grosart, A. B. Huth Library. 1883, 1885.

McKerrow, R. B.: Text 1904-5, Notes 1908. (4 vols. 5th vol. with memoir in preparation.)

(Cf. Cunningham, P., *New Facts in the Life of Nashe*, Shakspr. Soc. Papers, III, 178, and Upham, A. H., *French Influence in English Literature*, 1908.)

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS.

For representations previous to Nashe, see Rogers, F., *The Seven Deadly Sins in Literature*, 1907, and Schofield, W. H., *Eng. Lit. from the Norman Conquest*, p. 416, 1906. See also Dekker, T., *The Seven Deadly Sins*; Lodge, T., *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse: discovering the Devils incarnat of this Age*, 1596; More, Sir T., *Treatise on the Four Last Things*; Nashe, T., *Pierce Penilesse*; Rowlands, S., *The Seaven deadly Sins all Horst and riding to Hell* (satire appended to *The Kpave of Spades*); Tom Tel-Troths Message and his Pens Complaint, 1600, rptd 1876, Furnivall, F. J., *New Shakspr. Soc.* A modified form of this classification is also used by Anton, R., Bankins, W., Rowlands, S., *Times Whistle*.

BURLESQUE ENCOMIA.

Origins:

Batrachomyomachia, then supposed to be by Homer, Eng. trans., Crowne of all Homers Works. *Batrachomyomachia*, or the Battaille of Frogs and Mice, George Chapman; Catallus's poem on his yacht and two on Lesbian's sparrow; Vergil's *Culex*, trans. Spenser, E., published 1591; Lucian, *Musae encomion* (*Muscae encomium*), trans. in *Works* by Fowler, H. W. and F. G., 1905.

German:

The collection in the *Nymwegen Pallas*, 1666. See Herford, C. H., *Literary Relations*, 1886, chap. VII.

English:

The Necessesse of the Asse... by A. B., 1595; Cornwallis, Sir W., *Essayes of certaine Paradoxes*, 1616 (2nd impression 'enlarged,' 2 pts., 1617), contains mock-eulogia on Richard III, etc.; Nashe, T., *Lenten Stuffe*; *Pimlyco* or *Runne Red Cap*; Randall, Thomas (i.e. Randolph), *The High and mightie commendation of the Vertues of a Pot of Good Ale, full of Wit*, 1642 (published with *The Battie fought betweene the Norfolk Cock and the Wisbich Cock*), rptd 1661; Pills to Purge Melancholly as *The Ex-Ale-tation of AM* (Ebreworth, J. W., in his ed. of the Pills assigns the song to Rowlands), 1783; Ritsen, J., *English Song*, vol. II; Skelton, J., *Prayse of Phylp Sparrow* (*ante*, vol. III, chap. IV); *The Treatyse Answerynge the boke of Berdes* (*ibid.* chap. v, bibl. p. 493); Taylor, J., *The Praise of Antiquity and the Commodity of Beggery*, 1621 (verse and prose), *The Praise and Vertue of a Jayle and Jaylers*, 1623 (verse), *The Praise of Cleane Linnen*, 1624, *The Needles Excellency*, 1640.

Grobianism, as Herford has pointed out (*Literary Relations*), should also be regarded as a development, in which satire soon blended with burlesque.

FLYTINGS.

Origins:

See *ante*, vol. III, chap. v, bibl. p. 490; Beowulf; Brotanek, R., *Alex. Montgomerie*, 1896; Christie, R. C., *Étienne Dolet*, 2nd ed., 1899; Nisard, M. E. C., *Les Gladiateurs de la République des Lettres aux XV^e, XVI^e, XVII^e Siècles*, 1860; Schipper, T., *William Dunbar*, 1884; Sandys, J. E., *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning*, 1905 (chap. vi).

Gabriel Harvey.

For sketch of Harvey-Nashe Controversy, see *ante*, vol. III, chap. XVII, bibl. pp. 545-6.

Brydges, Sir E. *Restituta*. Vol. III. 1814-6.

Collier, J. P. *Rpts of both Nashe's and Harvey's pamphlets*. 1870.

Disraeli, I. *Quarrels of Authors*. 1814 ff.

Grosart, A. B. *Introduction to works of Harvey*. Huth Lib. 1884-5.

Morley, H. *Hobbinol*. *Fortnightly Review*, vol. v, pp. 274-283. (Attempt to rehabilitate Harvey's character.)

Smith, G. C. Moore. *Introduction to Pedantius*. Louvain, 1905.

Subsequent Controversies.

Vide Greene's attacks on Marlowe; Gosson, Lodge and the stage-controversy (vol. v of present work); Ben Jonson's war with the Poetasters (Penniman, J. H., *The War of the Theatres*, Boston, 1897; Small, R. A., *The Stage-quarrel*, Breslau, 1899), also with Inigo Jones, Nath. Butter and Alex. Gill.

Marston, J. *Scourge of Villanie*. 1598. Answered by W. I. (William Ingram or John Weaver?) in *The Whipping of the Satyre*, 1601, which provoked *The Whipper of the Satyre*, his *Pennance in a White Sheet*, 1601 (by Marston?).

Rowlands, S. *Tis mery when knaves mete*. 1600. Rptd 1609, expurgated as *Knave of Clubs*. Rowlands severely criticised Belman of London, 1608 in *Martin Mark-all... his Defence and Answer to the Belman of London*, 1610.

Davies, J. *Scourge of Folly*. 1611. Amongst other personal attacks, represents himself submitting Nefarius (no doubt easily recognisable at the time) to the indignities of a school flogging (*Eng.* 212).

Taylor, John, attacked Thomas Coryate in the Sculler, 1612, Laugh and be Fat, 1613, W. Fenner, H. Walker, G. Wither and other contemporaries. Stephens, J., attacked the stage in the character of A Common Player in Essays and Characters, 1615, which was answered by the character of an Excellent Actor in the Overbury Collection and in Ignoramus, 1630 (Latin Comedy by Ruggles, G., answered by Cocke, J., in 3rd ed. of Stephens's Essays and Characters, 1631).

EPIGRAMS AND SATIRES.

For Barclay, J., Skelton, J., Cock Lorell's Bote, etc., see *ante*, vol. III, chaps. IV and V.

For tracts on Usury see: Coplands, W., Newes come from Hell of love unto all her welbelovéd frendes, 1565; Wilson, Sir T., Discourse upon Usurye, 1572; Lodge, T., An Alarum against Usurers containing tryed experiences against worldly abuses, 1584, rptd 1853, Shaksp. Soc., 1883, Complete works, Hunterian Club; Morse, M., The Arraignment and Conviction of usurie, 1595.

For more general satire: Hake, Edward, Newes out of Paules Churchyard, A Trappe for Syr Monye, 1567, Touchestone for this time present, 1574, Of Golds Kingdome and this unhelping age, 1604; Wilcox, T., A glasse for gamesters: and namelie for such as delight in cards and dice, 1581; Salter, T., A contention betwene three brethren; that is to say the whore-monger, the drunkarde and the dice-player, 1581; E[ankins], W[illiam], The English Ape, the Italian Imitation, the Foote-steppes of Fraunce, 1588; Timme, T., Discoverie of Ten Lepers, 1592; Gosson, S., An excellent newe ballad, declaringe the monstrous abuse in apparell, 1594, A glasse for vaynglorious women, 1594-5, Quippes for upstart new fangled Gentlewomen, 1595, rptd 1866, Haslitt, W. C., E.E.P.P. (issued anonymously, authorship assigned by Collier, J. P., on evidence of 2nd ed. inscribed 'authore Stephen Gosson').

Prynne, W., began his turbulent career with an attempt to reform the fashions of the day in Health's Sicknesse, The Unloveliness of Lovelocks, 1628.

For Origins and Development of Classical Epigram and Satire see:

- Boisacier, G. L'opposition sous les Césars. 1875.
 Butler, H. E. Post-Augustan Poetry from Seneca to Juvenal. 1909.
 Croiset, A. and M. Histoire de la Littérature Grecque. 1899. Tomes I, II, V.
 Mackail, J. W. Latin Literature. 1891.
 Martha, C. Les Moralistes sous l'Empire Romain. 1865.
 Murray, G. A History of Ancient Greek Literature. 1897.
 Nettleship, H. Essays in Latin Literature. 1885. Lectures and Essays. 2nd series. 1895.
 Nisart, J. M. N. D. Études de Mœurs et de Critique sur les Poètes latins de la Décadence. 1849.
 Sellar, W. Y. The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age. 1892.

Heywood, John. A dialogue conteynyn the number of the effectuall proverbes in the Englishe tounge. . . . With one hundred of Epigrammes and three hundred of Epigrammes upon three hundred of proverbes; and a fifth hundred of Epigrams. Whereunto are now newly added a syxt hundred of Epigrams by the sayde John Heywood. 1562. Rptd 1576, etc; 1867, Spenser Soc.; 1874, the Proverbs ed. by Shagman, J.; 1906, Proverbs, Epigrams and Miscellanies ed. by Farmer, J. S., Early Eng. Drama Soc.

Drant, Thomas. Medicinable Morall, that is the two bookes of Horace his Satyres englyshed. 1566.

- Guesaigne, George. *Steele Glas*. 1576. (*Ante*, vol. III, chap. x, p. 517.)
- Kendall, Timothy. *Flowres of Epigrammes*. 1577.
- D[avies], [J.] and M[arlowe], C. *Epigrammes and Elegies*. 1590.
- Lodge, Thomas. *A Fig for Momus: containing pleasant Varietie, included in Satyres, Eclogues and Epistles*. 1595. Rptd 1883, Gosse, E., *Works*.
- Donne, John. *Satires*. (See *ante*, chap. xi.)
- Hall, Joseph. *Virgidemiarum*. Sixe Bookes. First three bookes of Toothlesse Satyre. 1597. Sixe Bookes, three last bookes of byting Satyres. 1598. Rptd 1599; 1602; 1879, Grosart, A. B., *Complete Poems, Manchester*. [For Hall's indebtedness to Scaliger, J. C., see article by Bensly, E., shortly to appear in *Modern Language Review*. See, also, Hall's works, ed. Pratt, J., 1808; ed. Hall, P., Oxford, 1837; ed. Wynter, P., Oxford, 1863.]
- Gullpin, Edward. *Skialetheia, or a Shadowe of Truth in certain Epigrams and Satyres*. 1598. Rptd 1878, Grosart, A. B.
- Marston, John. *The Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image, and certain Satyres*. 1598 (published anonymously). *The Scourge of Villanie, three Bookes of Satyres*. 1598. Rptd 1856, Halliwell, J. O., *Library of Old Authors*; 1879, Grosart, A. B.
- Rankins, William. *Seaven Satyres applied to the weeke*. 1598.
- Anon. *Tyros Roving Megge. Planted against the walles of Melancholy*.
- Bastard, Thomas. *Chrestoleros: Seven bookes of Epigrammes*. 1598. Rptd 1880, Grosart, A. B.
- Barnfield, Richard. *Encomion of Lady Pecunia*. 1598. Rptd 1605. (*Vide* Collier, J. P., *Bibl. Cat.*, 1865, vol. 1, pp. 47-50.)
- Weever, John. *Epigrammes in the oldest Cut and Newest Fashion*. 1599.
- M., T. (Possibly Thomas Middleton, prob. Thomas Moffat). *Micro-cynicon, Sixe Snarling Satyres*. 1599.

(1 June 1599, edict of Jo[hn Whitgift] Cantuar. and Ric[hard Bancroft] London entered in Stationers' register to the effect that *Virgidemiarum*, *Pygmalion* with certaine other Satyres, *The Scourge of Villanye*, *The Shadowe of Truthe in Epigrams and Satyres*, *Snarlinge Satyres*, *Caltha Poetarum*, *Davyes Epigrams with Marlowes Elegyes*, the booke againste woemen, viz. of marriage and wyvinge, the xv joyes of marriage, should be burnt and 'that noe Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter . . . that all Nasches bookes and Doctor Harveys bookes be taken wheresoever they maye be found and that none of theire bookes be ever printed hereafter.' *Pygmalion*, *The Scourge of Villany*, *Skialetheia*, *Snarling Satires*, *Davies's Epigrams*, *Marriage and Wyving*, xv *Joyes of Marriage*, and the *Harvey-Nashe* bookes were burnt. Hall's *Satires* and *Caltha Poetarum* (by Cutwode, T., mostly love poems, rptd 1815, Roxburghe Club) were 'staided.')

Rowlands, Samuel. *The letting of humours blood in the Head Vaine*. 1600. *Humors Looking-glasse*. 1608. (Anonymous, attributed to Rowlands.)

Thynne, Francis. *Emblemes and Epigrames*. 1600. 1876, Furnivall, F. J.

Breton, Nicholas. *Pasquils Mad-Cappe and his Message. Pasquill's Foolescap. Pasquils Mistresse, or the Worthy and Unworthy Woman. Pasquill's Passe and Passeth Net, set downe in three pees, his Passe, Precession, and Prognostication*. All in 1600.

Woodhouse, Peter. *The Flea*. 1605. Rptd 1877.

P[arrot], H[enry]. *Mous-Trap*. 1606. *Epigrams by H. P.* 1608. *Laquel Ridiculosi, or Springes to catch Woodcocks*. 1613. *The Mative, or Young-Whelpes of the Old-Dogge. Epigrams and Satyres*. 1615. VIII

Cures for the Itch. Characters, Epigrams, Epitaphs, by H. P. 1626.

Waddington, T. (d. 1621). *The Optick Glasse of Humors*. 1607. [A predecessor of Burton.]

- West, Richard. *The Court of Conscience or Dick Whippers Sessions*. 1607.
A Century of Epigrams. 1608. (*Vide* Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*,
vol. iv.) [See D. of N. B. for other works by, or attributed to him.]
- Anon. *Epigrams or Humours Lottery*. 1608.
- Tofte, Robert. *Translation of Ariosto's Satyres*. 1608.
- Heath, John. *Two Centuries of Epigrammes*. 1610.
- Sharpe, Roger. *More fooles yet*. 1610. (Epigrams.)
- Scot, T. *Philomythie or Philomythologie*. Wherein outlandish birds, beasts
and fishes are taught to speake true English verse. 1610, 1616.
- Davies, John, of Hereford. *The Scourge of Folly*. (See *ante*, p. 475.)
- Taylor, John. *The Scoller . . . or Gallimawfry of Sonnets, Satyres and
Epigrams*. 1612. Rptd 1614. *Taylor's Water-Works*. Epigrammes . . .
being ninety in number, besides two new made Satyres. 1651.
- Wither, George. *Abuses Stript and Whipt*. 1613 ff.
- Freeman, Thomas. *Rubbe and a Great Cast; and Runne and a Great Cast.
The second Bowle*. In 200 Epigrams. 1614.
- C., R. *The Times Whistle: or A Newe Daunce of Seven Satires, and other
Poema*. c. 1614. Rptd 1871, Cowper, J. M., E.E.T.S.
- Brathwaite, Richard. *A Strappado for the Divell*. Epigrams and Satyres
alluding to the time. 1615. Rptd 1878, Elsworth, J. W. (with intro.).
*Natures Embassie: or, the Wilde-mans Measures: Danced naked by
twelve Satyres*. 1621. [See Hales, J. W., *Folia Litteraria*, 1893.]
- Goddard, William. *A Neaste of Wasps latelie found out and discovered in
the Law (Low) Countreys yealding as sweete hony as some of our
English bees*. 1615. A Satyricall Dialogue, or a sharplye-invective
Conference betweene Alexander the Great and that trulye woman-hater
Diogynes. Imprinted in the Lowe Countreys for all such gentlewomen
as are not altogether Idle nor yet well occupied. n.d. A Mastif Whelp,
with other ruff-Island-lik Currs fetcht from amongst the Antipodes.
Which bite and barke at the fantastickall humorists and abusers of the
time. . . . Imprinted amongst the Antipodes and are to be sould where
they are to be bought. n.d. (Assigned by Collier, J. P., *Poetical
Decameron*, to T. M. and dated c. 1600.)
- Anton, Robert. *Philosophers Satyrs*. 1616. Of which a 2nd ed. was produced
as *Vices Anotimie scourged and corrected in new satira*. 1617.
- Harrington, Sir John. *The most elegant and witty Epigrams of Sir John
Harrington*. 1618. Rptd 1625, etc. (A few had been appended to *Alcilia*
by J. C., 1613. For miscellaneous remnants in prose and verse and
especially for letters, *vide* Harrington, R. H., *Nugae Antiquae*, 1769.
Rptd 1779; 1792; 1804, re-ed. by Park, T.)
- Jonson, Ben. *Epigrams*. Published with *Works*. 1616.
- Hutton, Henry, Dunelmensis. *Follie's Anatomie or Satyres and Satyricall
Epigrams with a Compendious History of Ixion's Wheele*. 1619. Rptd
1842, Bimbault, E. F., Percy Soc.
- Wroth, Thomas. *An Abortive of an idle Hour, or a century of Epigrams*.
1620.
- Peacham, Henry. *Thalia's Banquet*. 1620.
- Martyn, Joseph. *Newe Epigrams, having in their Company a mad Satyre*.
Licensed to George Eld, 1619. Earliest extant copy, 1621.
- Hayman, Robert. *Quolibets*. 1628.
- Randolph, Thomas. *Aristippos or, The Joviall Philosopher*. 1630.
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The following books should be consulted:

- Alden, R. M. *The Rise of Formal Satire in England*. Philadelphia. 1890.
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- Shade, O. Satiren u. Pasquille a. d. Reformationzeit. 1862-3.
- Warton, T. History of English Poetry from the Twelfth to the close of the Sixteenth century. Ed. by Hazlitt, W. C. 1871. Vol. IV, sections LXII—LXVI.

CHARACTER WRITERS.

Anticipations of the Genre.

Vision concerning Piers the Plowman (allegorical portraits, *ante*, vol. II, chap. I); Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Higden (description of national and social types, *ibid.* chap. III); Skelton (Bowege of Court: types of courtiers, vol. III, chap. IV); Barclay (Ship of Fools: types of folly discussed rather than portrayed, *ibid.*); Cock Lorell (glimpses of individual types of lower classes, chap. V); Mock Testaments (classification according to some dominant characteristic, *ibid.*); Copland's Hye Waye to the Spittel Hous (vivid descriptions of character and appearance from the view of failure in life, *ibid.*); Fraternitie of Vagabonds, Caveat and xxv Orders of Knaves (precise definitions of rogue-nomenclature, *ibid.*); T. Lodge's Wits Miserie (portrayal of devils as impersonations of specific vices, see above); T. Greene's Quip; T. Nashe, especially Pierce Penilless.

Classical Sources.

Aristotle: Rhetoric, Bk II. Ed. Cope, E. M., and Sandys, J. E., 1877. Ethics, Bk. IV. Ed. Grant, Sir A., 1857-8. (Except in the case of Earle and Bacon, Aristotle's influence can be traced only through Theophrastus.) Theophrastus. Trans. Casaubon, I., 1592; Editio ultima recognita . . . aucta et locupletata, 1617; Healey, J., 1616; Jebb, R. C., revised by Sandys, J. E., 1909.

English Writers.

- Ormerod, Oliver. The Picture of a Papist, and a Discourse of Popish Paganisme. 1605. The Picture of a Puritane. 1605.
- Hall, Joseph. Characters of Vertues and Vices. 1608.
- Anon. The Cobler of Canterburie. 1608. ('The exposition of the eight degrees of Cuckolds.')
- M., W. The Man in the Moone telling Strange Fortunes. 1609. Bptd 1849, Halliwell, J. O., Percy Soc.
- Overbury, Thomas. A Wife: now the Widdow of Sir Thomas Overburye. Being a most exquisite and singular Poem of the Choice of a Wife. Whereunto are added many witty characters, and conceited Newes, written by himself and other learned Gentlemen his friends. 1614 ff. (There had already appeared in the same year A wife, now a Widowe, without characters). Note contemporary imitations, The Husband, with commendatory verses by Ben Jonson, 1614; A second Select Husband, by John Davies of Hereford, in 1616; The Description of a Good Wife, by Brathwaite, and the Happy Husband, by Patrick Hannay, 1619; Pieturae loquentes, by Saltonstall, W., with a Poem of a Maid, 1631 (?); A Wife not ready made but bespoken, Robert Aylett, 1653. (See D. of N. B. art. Overbury.) 1890, Rimbault, E. F., Library of Old Authors, rpt of ninth ed. (i.e. in 1616). See Fox, A. W., A Book of Bachelors, 1899.
- Stephens, John. Satyrical Essayes, characters and others. 1615. New Essayes and Characters. With a new Satyre in defence of the Common Law and Lawyers: mixt with reproofe against their enemy Ignoramus. 1631. (*Vide* Brydges, Reconstituta, vol. IV, 503 ff. (N. & Q. Ser. IV, vol. III, 550).)

- Breton, Nicholas. Characters upon Essaies, morall and divine. 1615. The Good and the Badde, or Descriptions of the Worthies and Unworthies of this Age. 1616. 2nd ed. 1648, under title England's selected characters.
- Mynshul, Geffray. Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners. 1618. Rptd 1698; 1821, Edinburgh.
- P[arrot], H. Cures for the Itch. Characters, Epigrams, Epitaphs. 1626.
- Earle, John. Microcosmographie or a Piece of the World discovered; in Essays and Characters. 1628 (54 characters). Re-ed. 1811, Bliss, P., with bibliography of Character writers; 1871, Fowler, J. T. (ed. from a MS among Hunter MSS in Durham Cath., dated 14 Dec. 1627, with 46 characters of which 3 are unique, collated with printed eds. from which it frequently differs. *Vide* N. & Q. Ser. IV, vols. VIII & IX); 1897, West, A. S., with excellent introduction and notes.
- M., R. Micrologia. Characters or Essayes of Persons, Trades and Places. 1629.
- Alexandrinus, Clitus [Richard Brathwaite]. Whimzies, or, A new Cast of Characters. 1631. Rptd 1859, Halliwell, J. O.
- Saltonstall, Wye. Picturae Loquentes. 1631. 2nd ed. 1635.
- Lupton, Donald. London and Country Carbonadoed and quartered into severall Characters. 1630. (See British Bibliographer, vol. I, 464.) Rptd Harl. Misc. (ed. Park), vol. IX.
- Anon. A Strange Metamorphosis of Man, transformed into a Wildernesse. Deciphered in Characters. 1634. (Noticed by Haslewood in *Censura Literaria*, vol. VIII, 284.)
- Habington, William. Castara. 2nd ed. 1635, has characters of A mistress, A wife, A friend; 3rd ed., 1640, has further addition, The Holy Man.
- Anon. A Brown Dozen of Drunkards (ali-ass Drinkhards) whipt and shipt to the Isle of Gulls. 1648.

For adaptation of the character sketch to party politics, its subsequent development as social satire, especially in the hands of John Cleveland and Samuel Butler, its application to moral instruction, especially by William Law (*Serious Call to the Unconverted*, 1729), see later vols. of present work.

Works to be consulted :

- Baldwin, C. S. Modern Language Association of America, June 1904.
- Cross, W. L. Development of the English Novel. 1899.
- Greenough, C. N. Studies in the Development of Character-writing in England. Harvard, 1898. Larger work in preparation.
- Halliwell, J. O. Books of Character. Illustrating habits and manners of Englishmen, from the reign of James 1st to the Restoration. 1857. Confused Characters. 1860.
- Lee, E. Selections from La Bruyère and Vauvenargues. 1902.
- Baleigh, W. A. The English Novel. 1891.
- Secombe, T. and Allen, J. W. Age of Shakespeare. Vol. I, bk. II, § 4.
- Whibley, C., in Blackwood's Magazine, June, 1909.

English character writing should be distinguished from French *portraits*, which may have been imitated from Holland or copied from the famous *relations* in which the Venetian ambassadors depicted the most important personalities of the court to which they might be attached; see M. de Boislisle Ann-Bulletin de la Soc. de l'Hist. de France, t. XXXII, 1896. The French *portrait* consists in a description of the physiognomy, complexion, figure, appearance and mannerisms of an individual designated under a pseudonym. This art was cultivated in the salons which flourished during the

first half of the 16th cent., in such romances as *Le Grand Cyrus* and *Clélie* and in the collection of *portraits* made under the auspices of Mlle de Montpensier. After the appearance of Charles Sorel's *Description de l'isle de Portraiture*, 1659, the art, as a social amusement, began to decay, but reached its consummation in the memoir-writers, especially Saint Simon, and started on a new stage of development in La Bruyère. Owing to the absence of salons in England, this style of writing has remained undeveloped, though there are a few striking exceptions, such as Philautus's description to Psellus of the Gentlewoman in Euphuus and his England (p. 340 of Arber's ed.), Nashe's portrait of Harvey in *Have with you*, the pictures of low-class passengers in the *Cobler of Canterburie* and *Westward for Smelts*, the portrait of Colonel Hutchinson by his wife and the historical portraiture of the second half of the 17th cent. On the other hand, the cultivation of portraits, maxims, etc., have left French 17th cent. literature poor in character sketches of the English type, Le Moine's *Peistures Morales*, 1643, being the nearest parallel in this period. It should also be noted that the same influence which favoured the *portrait* and starved the generic character also hindered the development of the discursive essay, in spite of Montaigne's example, but encouraged the *maxime* and the *pensée*, i.e. condensed and aphoristic reflections, of which the most accomplished master was La Rochefoucauld.

See Cousin, V., *La Société française au XVII^e Siècle, 1654-1869*; Fournel, V., *La litt. indépendante et les écrivains oubliés au XVII^e siècle*; Franz, A., *Das literarische Porträt in Frankreich im Zeitalter Richelieus und Mazarins*, 1906; Lee, E., *Intro. to selections from La Bruyère and Vauvenargues*, 1903; Petit de Julleville, *Hist. de la langue et de la litt. française*, 1897, vol. iv, chap. II; Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de Femmes*, 1840, *Causeries du Lundi*, 1853, vols. xi, xiv, *Nouveaux Lundis*, 1863, vols. v, x.

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Sources:

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Plutarch's *Moralia*. Bernardakis. 1888-96. Trans. Holland, P. 1603. *Vitae Parallelae*. Trans. North, T. 1579.
Lucius Annaeus Seneca (not the dramatist). *Dialogi*; *De Beneficiis*; *Epistolae morales*. Text. Haase, F. 1853. Trans. Lodge, Thomas: *The Works*, both *Morrall* and *Natural*, of Lucius Annaeus Seneca. 1614.

Montaigne. First appearance of essays, 1580. Revises and expands his work and adds a third book, 1588. Early trans. by Florio, John, 1603, 2nd ed. 1613.

See Becker, P. A., *Montaignes geistige Entwicklung in Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 4 Sept. 1909; Bond, R. W., *Montaigne*, 1907; Dieckow, F. A. F., *John Florio's englische Übersetzung der Essays Montaigne's und Lord Bacon's, Ben Jonson's und Robert Burton's Verhältnis zu Montaigne*, 1903; Dowden, E., *Montaigne*, 1907; Texte, J., *Études de Litt. Européenne*, 1898; Villey, P., *Les sources et l'évolution des Essays de Montaigne*, 1908.

Anticipations in English Literature.

Caxton's prefaces (*ante*, vol. III, chap. XIV). Jest-books (especially *Merrie Tales and quicke answers*, *ibid.* chap. v). Andrew Boorde, *William Bullein* (*ibid.*). *Disquisitions on Women* (especially the *Scholehouse for Women*). Lord Burghley, *Precepts or Directions for the well ordering and carriage of a man's life* (printed 1637, though composed in 16th cent. See Peck's *Delectata Curiosa*, and Kippis's ed. of *Biographia Britannica*.)

English Essays.

Remedies against Discontentment, drawn into severall Discourses from the writings of auncient Philosophers. 1596. (See Arber, E., *A Harmony of the Essays, etc.*, 1895, Prologue, pp. ix and x.)

Greeneham. Diverse sermons and tracts upon severall textes. 1598.

Essayes by Sir William Corne-waleys. 1600, etc. **Essayes of certaine Paradoxes.** 1616. **Essayes.** Newlie corrected. Discourses upon Seneca the tragedian. 1632.

Johnson, Robert. **Essaies or Rather Imperfect Offera.** 1601, etc.

J., H. **The Mirrour of Worldly fame.** 1603. Rptd Harl. Misc. 1808, II, 515.

Anon. **Essays of conjecture.** 1607.

T[uvill], D[avid]. **Essaies Politicke and Morall.** 1608. **Essayes Morall and Theologicall.** 1609, 1629, etc.

Stephens, John. **Satyricall Essayes.** 1615.

A Discourse against flattery. 1620.

Brathwaite, Richard. **Essaies upon the five Senses.** 1620. Rptd 1635; 1815.

Horae Subsecivae. **Observations and Discourses.** 1620. (See N. & Q. Ser. x, vol. XII, nos. 293 and 296 for attempt to father the essays on Bacon. Generally attributed to lord Chandos or Gilbert Cavendish. See Brydges, Sir S. E., *Censura literaria*, 2nd ed., 1815.)

Mason, William. **A handfull of Essaies or Imperfect Offera.** 1621.

Bacon, Francis. **Essays.** 1597-1625. For the development of the essays and the addition of new ones in the different editions, for reprints of the Religious Meditations and Places of perswasion and dissuasion, see Arber, E., *A Harmony of the Essays, etc.*, 1895. (Among other modern commentators and editors may be mentioned: Abbott, E. A., 1885 (attempt to trace influence of B.'s scientific research on the Essays); Spedding, J., Ellis, R. L., Heath, D. D., 1857 (highly appreciative); West, A. S., 1897; Whateley, E., 6th ed., 1864; Wright, W. Aldis, 1862 ff.

Felltham, Owen. **Resolves.** n.d. (1620?). First complete ed. 1628. Rptd 1631, etc. See also, *Retrospective Review*, vol. x, 343-355.

Peacham, H. (the younger). **The Truth of our Times. Revealed out of one Man's Experience by way of Essay.** 1638.

Jonson, Ben. **Timber; or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter as they have flowed out of his daily readings; or had their reflux to his peculiar Notion of the Times.** (Published posthumously in vol. II of fol. ed. 1640-1. Among modern editors and commentators are: Castelain, M. *Discoveries*, a critical edition, with an introduction and notes on the true purport and genesis of the book, 1906 (contents that Timber was extra title added by publisher: suggests that Discoveries was a note-book begun after the burning of B. J.'s library, 1623, and that some, at least, of the notes were destined to be put into verse; Castelain was the first thoroughly to investigate the extent of B. J.'s indebtedness to other writers); Ben Jonson. *L'homme et l'œuvre*. 1572-1637, 1907 (in chap. III constructs character and habit of thought of the writer out of Discoveries); Gifford, W., *Works of Ben Jonson*, 1816, re-ed. Cunningham, F., 1875; Schelling, F. E., *Timber; or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter*, Boston, 1892 (intro. contains careful analysis of Jonson's style); Spingarn, J. E., *The sources of Jonson's Discoveries*, 1905 (traces some thoughts to Heinsius, *de Tragoediae constitutione*, 1611, and Jacobus Pontanus, *Poeticarum Institutionum Libri III*, 1594); Swinburne, A. C., *A study of Ben Jonson*, 1889; Whalley, P., *Jonson's Works*, 1756 (first pointed out the fact, admitted in sub-title of Discoveries, that the book was not original).)

- (Cf. Littleboy, A. L., *Relations between French and English Literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, 1895; Maiberger, M., *Studien über d. Einfluss Frankreichs auf d. Elizabethan Literatur*, 1903; Upham, A. H., *French Influence in English Literature*, 1908.)

TREATISES AND DISSERTATIONS AKIN TO THE ESSAY.

(The development of the Baconian essay was retarded by the age's love of more formal literature, especially of dialogues, which covers almost exactly the same ground as the Jacobean essayists, with the added attractions of style, and influenced Addison and his circle no less than Cornwallis, R. Johnson, Bacon, Felltham, etc.)

The Booke of Honor and Armes Wherein is discoursed the causes of Quarrell, and the nature of Injuries, with their repulses. Also the Meanes of satisfaction and pacification. 1590.

Brathwaite, Richard. *The English Gentleman*. 1630, 1641, 1652. *The English Gentlewoman*. 1631, 1641. *Ar't asleepe Husband?* 1640. (Prose. Bolster lectures on moral themes and a novelette.)

— The Schollers Medley. Rptd 1638 as *A Survey of History, or a Nursery for Gentry*, and in 1651.

Breton, Nicholas. [See D. of N. B. for fuller bibliography.]

— Wits Trenchmour, in a Conference betwixt a Scholler and an Angler. 1597. (A trenchmour (i.e. riotous dance) of repartees, similes and reflections beginning as a dialogue on angling and developing into tales and discourses delivered by a scholar.)

— The Wil of wit, Wits Wil, or Wils Wit, chuse you whether. 1599. Rptd 1606; 1860, Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O.

— The Figure of Foure. Registered 1597 and 1607. Only The Second Part of ed. 1636 (rptd 1654) exists. (Proverbial utterances, each describing four things united under some common similarity.)

— Wonders Worth the Hearing which being read or heard in a Winters evening by a good fire, or a Summers morning . . . may serve both to purge melancholy from the minde, and grosse humours from the body. 1602.

— A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters. 1603, 1609, 1637. (Letters mostly addressed to typical figures. It should be remembered that letter-writing had already become an art under the influence of Cicero, Seneca and Guevara. Angell Day's *English Secretary* (1586), had been followed by many other manuals of letter-writing. J. Hall had published *Six Decads of Epistles* (1607-10), and the letters of J. L. Guez de Balzac had been translated by W. T[yrwhit] and R. B. (Sir R. Baker?).)

— Strange Newes out of divers countries. 1622. (Facetious satire against society under the guise of news.) Cf. Overbury's *Newes*.

— The Court and Country, or, a Briefe Discourse betweene the Courtier and Country-man. 1618.

— Fantasticks: serving for a perpetual Prognostication. 1626.

Bryskett, Ludowick. *Discourse of Civil Life*. 1606. (Composed 1584-9; dialogue on moral philosophy in which Spenser takes part.)

Munday, Anthony. *The Mirrour of Mutabilitie: or principal Part of the Mirrour of Magistrates*. 1579.

— The Paine of Pleasure, profitable to be perused of the Wise, and necessary to be by the Wanton. 1580.

— The Defence of Contraries. Translated out of French. 1593.

Peacham, Henry (the elder). *The Garden of Eloquence, conteyning the Figures of Grammar and Rhetorick, from whence may bee gathered all manner of Flowers, Coulors . . . Formes and Fashions of speech*. 1577.

- Peacham, Henry (the younger).** (See, also, under English Essays.) *The Art of Drawing with the Pen, and limning in water colours . . . with the true manner of painting upon glass, the order of making your furnace. . .* 1606. Rptd 1612 as *Graphice*, etc. *The Compleat Gentleman*, fashioning him absolute in the most necessary and commendable qualities concerning *Minde or Bodie. . .* 1622. Rptd 1634; 1661; 1906, intro. by Gordon, G. S. Tudor and Stuart Lib. (Peacham treats of the details of a nobleman's education. Criticises flogging in schools, strongly recommends travel and insists on the study of heraldry.) *The Worth of a Penny: or a caution to keep money. With the causes of the scarcity and misery of the want hereof in these hard and mercilesse times.* 1647 (misprint for 1641?), etc. Rptd 1903, in Arber's English Garner.
- Powell, Thomas.** *Tom of All Trades or The Plaine Path-way to Preferment.* 1631. Rptd 1876, Farnivall, F. J., New Shakspr. Soc.
- Of Ducci, L., *Ars Aulica*, trans. Blount, E., 1607; de Befuge, E., *Traité des Cours*, 1617, trans. Reynolds, J., 1642; Faret, N., *Des Vertus nécessaires à un prince*, 1623; L'Honnête Homme ou l'art de plaire, 1630.
- Rich, Barnabe.** *Opinion Diefied. Discovering the Ingins, Traps and Traynes that are set in this age, whereby to catch opinion.* 1613. *The Honestie of this Age*, proving by good circumstance that the world was never honest till now. 1614 ff. (Rptd 1844, Cunningham, P., Percy Soc.) *The Irish Hubbub, or the English Hue and Crie.* 1617. (General denunciation of society.)
- Wits Common-Wealth.** (Generic title for *Politeuphuia*, *Wits Common-Wealth*, by John Bodenham, 1597 (18 eda. before Restoration). *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury. . .* by Meres, F., 1598. *Wit's Theatre of the Little World*, 1599. *Palladis Palatium*, 1604. These four books contain quotations and maxims from various writers. See Ingleby, C. M., *Shaks. Allusion-Bks. Part I*, 1874; New Shakspr. Soc., and cf. *Theatrum Virtutis et Honoris; oder Tugend Büchlein aus etlichen . . . Griechischen und Lateinischen Scribenten ins Teutsch gebracht*, durch W. Pirckheymern, . . . Nürnberg, 1606.)
- THOMAS DEKKER.
- Canaans Calamitie, Jerusalems Misery, or the dolefull destruction of faire Jerusalem by Tytus.** (Verse. Ascribed to Dekker by Grosart, A. B.)
- The wonderfull Yeare 1603, wherein is shewed the Picture of London, lying sicke of the Plague.** 1603.
- The Batchelor's Banquet.** 1603, etc. (Founded on the *Quinze Joyes de Mariage* (see *ante*, vol. III, chap. v, bibl. p. 485). Important as evidence of the interest still taken in satires on women and married life (see *ibid.* pp. 88-91, bibl. pp. 485-7). Cf. *Tom Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift*, 1593, a satire on jealousy, *The passionate Morrice*, 1593, a review of the art of wifing as exemplified by eight typical couples dancing a morris-dance. See also *The praise of Vertuous Ladies in Breton's The Wil of Wit*, and *Rowlands's pamphlets*. Cf. vol. III, chap. v, pp. 88-91, bibl. pp. 485-7.)
- The seven deadly Sinnes of London: drawne in seven severall Coaches through the seven severall Gates of the Citie, bringing the Plague with them.** 1606. Rptd, Arber, E., 1879, *The English Scholar's Lib.*, no. 7.
- Newes from Hell; brought by the Devils Carriers.** 1606. Rptd 1607, enlarged and entitled *A Knights Conjuring done in Earnest discovered in Jest*; 1842, Rimbault, E. F., Percy Soc. (For earlier conceptions of visions of Hell, Heaven and Purgatory, see Homer: *Odyssey*, xi (trans. Chapman, G.); Aristophanes: *Frogs*; Plato: picture of the infernal judges at the end of the *Gorgias*, of Tartarus in *Phaedo* and the vision of

- Er the Armonian in the Republie (trans. Jowett, B., 1871, 3rd ed. revised, 1898); Plutarch: vision of Timarchus in *Περὶ τῶν Σοφιστῶν Σοφιστικῶν* in *Moralia* (trans. Holland, P., 1603); Vergil: Georgics IV and Aeneid VI; Lucian: the Kerdidovs and the Mivwvovs (trans. Necromantia . . . interlocutors, Menippus and Philonidas; ptd by Bastell, J., n.d.) in *Dialogues of the Dead*; Dante: Inferno, Paradiso, Purgatorio; Staunton, W.: St Patrick's Purgatory, 1409; Damerval: Sensuit le grât dyablerie qui traicte coment Sathan fait demōstrance a Lucifer de tous les maux q'ug les mōdains font selon leurs estatz vacations et mestiers . . .; Dunbar, William: The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis, 1503-8; Lyndsay, Sir David, Ane Satyre of the Three Estaits, 1540; Rabelais: Pantagruel, Bk. II, chap. 30 (imitated in Le Nouveau Panurge, Gaillard, Michel); Ford, J.: 'Tis Pity she's a Whore, act III, sc. 6; Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie, c. 1589; Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift, 1593 (represents Robin Goodfellowe as just returning from Hell whence he brought an oration on jealousy). Cf. also title Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell, 1593, by Barnabe Rich, and Dekker His Dreame (below). See Wright, T.: St Patrick's Purgatory, an essay on the legends of Purgatory, Hell and Paradise, current during the Middle Ages, 1844; Becker, E.: Visions of Heaven and Hell, 1898, Johns Hopkins Univ. Diss.)
- The Double P.P., a Papist in Armes, Bearing Ten severall Sheilda, encountered by the Protestant. . . 1606. (Verse attack on the Roman Catholics ascribed to Dekker by Collier, J. P. (Bibl. Cat. I, 197).)
- Jests to make you merie. Written by T. D. and George Wilkins. 1607. (Jest-book: ascribed to Dekker.)
- The Dead Terme or Westminster's Complaint for long Vacations and short Termes. Written in manner of a Dialogue betweene the two Cityes London and Westminster. 1608. (A compilation of history, anecdotes, comment, satire, conceits, descriptions, exposures and complaints all dealing with London; mostly anticipating the themes which he treated more fully in subsequent works.)
- The Belman of London: Bringing to Light the most notorious Villanies that are now practised in the Kingdome. 1608. 2nd and 3rd eds. (with additions) in same year. Re-edited 1612 as O per se O, or a newe Cryer of Lanthorne and Candle Light.
- Lanthorne and Candle Light: or, the Bell-Mans Second Nights Walke. In which he brings to light a Brood of more strange Villanies than ever were till this yeare discovered. 1608. Rptd 1609 (twice); 1612 as O per se O, or a new cryer of Lanthorne and Candlelight Being an addition or Lengthening of the Bell-mans Second Night-walke.
- (Both rogue-pamphlets frēquently rptd under such titles as English Villanies six severall Times prest to death, but still reviving again, are now the seventh time discovered. . . 1632; English Villanies seven severall Times prest to Death by the Printers . . . are now the eighth time, etc. . . 1637.)
- The Ravens Almanacke, Foretelling of a Plague, Famine and Civill Warre. 1609. (Parody on prognostications.)
- Four Birdes of Noahs Arke; the Dove, the Eagle, the Pelican and the Phoenix. 1609. Rptd 1857, Halliwell, J. O. (A devotional work.)
- Workes for Armourours, or the Peace is broken. Open Warres likely to happen this yeare 1609. 1609. (Allegorical description of the rising of poverty against wealth.)
- The Gulls Horne-booke or Fashions to please all sorts of Guls. 1609. Rptd 1812, Nott, Dr, Bristol; 1892, Saintsbury, G., Elia. and Jac. Pamphlets;

- 1902, McKerrow, R. B., *King's Lib.* (For Friedrich Dedekind's *Grobianus vide* Goedeke, K., *Grundriss sur Gesch. der deuts. Dichtung*, 2^a Aufl., 1886, Bd II, Buch IV, § 158, and Herford, C. H., *Literary Relations*, 1886, chap. VIII. A Nuremberg poet at the end of the 15th cent. parodied German poems on courtesy and manners into instructions for negligence. Seb. Brant in *Narrenschiff* (*ante*, vol. III, chap. IV) invented St Grobrianus as a suitable figure-head for the ill-mannered character. Dedekind, F., produced, 1549, *Grobianus, De morum simplicitate* (Latin poem), ed. 1903, by Bömer, A., in *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des xv und xvi Jahrhts.*, English trans. 1605, *The Schqole of Slovenrie or, Cato turnd wrong side outward*, by E. F.
- A strange Horse Race, at the End of which comes in the Catch-pols Masque. And after that the Bankrouns Banquet: which done, the Divell falling sicke, makes his last Will and Testament this present yeare, 1613. 1613.
- Dekker, *His Dreame*: in which beeing rapt with a Poeticall Enthusiasme, the great volumes of Heaven and Hell to him were opened, in which he read many wonderfull Things. 1620. Rptd 1860, Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O., see *The Bookworm*, vol. II, p. 349, 1888.
- Rod for Run-aways. 1625. (Satire on those who desert London in plague-time.)

Authorities:

- Grosart, A. B., in *Non-Dramatic Works of T. Dekker*. Huth Lib., 1881.
- Swinburne, A. C. *Nineteenth Century*. Jan. 1887.

SAMUEL ROWLANDS [for full bibliography, see D. of N. B.].

- The Betraying of Christ, Judas in Despaire with other poems on the Passion*. 1598.
- Tis mery when Knaves mete*. 1600, and later years under differing titles. (Contains humorous tales of knavery and burlesque adventure, reminiscent of *fabliaux* and jest-books, narrated in bright easy verse.)
- The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vaine; with a new Morisco daunced by seaven Satyres upon the bottome of Diogenes Tubbe*. 1600. (Suppressed.) Rptd, Edinburgh, 1815.
- Humors Ordinarie*, where a Man may be verie merrie, and exceeding well used for his Silepence. n.d.
- Greenes Ghost haunting Cony-catchers, With the Merry Conceits of Doctor Pinchbacke a notable Makeshift*. 1602. Rptd 1626. (Marks another step in the fusion of the rogue pamphlet into the picaresque novel; the anecdotes illustrating triumphs of ingenuity and mother wit rather than a felonious professionalism. For another example of trading on Greene's name, see *Barnabe Rich, Greenes Newes*, 1593.
- 'Tis Merrie when Gossips meete*. 1602 ff. (For previous literature of this type see *ante*, vol. III, chap. v, bibl. pp. 485-7.)
- Looke to it: for Ile stabbe ye*. 1604.
- Hell's broke loose*. 1605. (Epic on John of Leyden.)
- A terrible Battell betweene the two consumers of the whole world; Time and Death. n.d. (1606 according to Gosse, see below, *Collected Works*.) Rptd 1841, Utterson, E. V., Beldornie Tower Press.
- Diogenes Lanthorne*. 1607. (Copied from Lodge: *Catharos Diogenes in his Singularity*, 1591. Consists of misanthropic monologue of Diogenes in streets of Athens and ends with jest-book fables in verse.)
- Democritus or Doctor Merryman his Medicines against melancholy Humours* by S. R. 1607. Rptd 1609, etc.
- Famous History of Guy, Earl of Warwick*. 1608.

Humours Looking-glasse. 1608. (Epigrams on London characters and incidents similar to Humours Blood.)

Whole crew of Kind Gossips. 1609. (Six wives discuss their husbands in the usual Elizabethan spirit. The husbands afterwards pass equally severe strictures on them.)

The Knave of Clubbs. 1609. (See above, *Tis mery when Knaves mete.*)

Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell; his Defence and Answers to the Belman of London. Discovering the long concealed Originall and Regiment of Rogues, when they first began to take head, and how they have succeeded one the other successively unto the sixe and twentieth yeare of King Henry the eight, gathered out of the Chronicle of Crackeropes, and (as they term it) the Legend of Lossels. 1610. (The last part, the Bunnagates Race tells of the foundation of the order of vagabonds by Jack Mendall (J. Cade) and of their cooperation in the risings of the North (cf. Jusserand, *J., La Vie Nomade*, trans. Smith, L. T., 8th ed., n.d.). The tract ends with an unhistorical sketch of the subsequent vagabond leaders who were now becoming proverbial, and in some sort shared in the popular imagination the place occupied by the older and not less questionable heroes such as Robin Hood, Sir Bevis, etc. The list includes Hugh Roberts, Jenkin Cowdiddle, Spysing, Puffing Dicke, Laurence Croshiter, and Cock Lorell (*ante*, vol. III, chap. v, bibl. p. 482).)

The Knave of Harts. Haile Fellow, well met. 1612. (Verse portraits of types of knaves and anecdotes of knavery.)

More Knaves yet. The Knaves of Spades and Diamonds, with new Additions. 1613. (Verse anecdotes, etc., mostly dealing with rogues.) Rptd 1843, Kimbault, E. F., Percy Soc.; 1841, Utterson, E. V., Beldornie Tower Press.

A Foles Bolt is soone shott. 1614. (Jests and Tales in verse mostly recording the blunders of fools.)

The Melancholie Knight, by S. B. 1615.

The Night Raven. 1620. Rptd 1634; 1841, Utterson, E. V., Beldornie Tower Press. (Purports to represent scenes after dark, but presents the usual sketches of knavery.)

A Paire of Spy-knaves. n.d. (1620?).

Good Newes and bad Newes. 1622. Rptd 1841, Utterson, E. V., Beldornie Tower Press. (Another verse jest-book.)

Heavens Glory, seeke it. Earths Vanitie, flye it. Hells Horror, fere it. 1628. (The vol. contains The Common Cals, Cryes and Sounds of the Bell-man; or, divers Verses to put us in Minde of our Mortalitie.)

See Gosse, E., *Complete Works of S. Rowlands*, Hunterian Club, 1880. (Contains an admirable appreciation of Rowlands's work.)

ROGUE PAMPHLETS AND PRISON TRACTS.

(See footnote to p. 99, chap. v, vol. III, and cf. Ben Jonson's masque *The Gipsies Metamorphosed*, 1621.)

S., E. *The Discoverie of the Knights of the Poste: or the Knights of the post, or common baylers newly Descried. Wherein is shewed and plainly laide open many lawde actions and subtill devises, which are daily practised by them: to the great abuse of most honorable Councelers, learned Judges and other grave Majestrates: And also to the defrauding and gtter undoing of a greate no. of her Majesties good and loyall subjects.* 1597. (E. S., supposed by G. C. Moore Smith to be Edward Sharpham, *vide* N. & Q. 11 July 1908.)

Hutton, Luke. *Luke Hutton's Lamentation.* 1597(?) (Haslitt).

- Hutton, Luke. *The Blacke Dogge of Newgate*. c. 1600. 1638 enlarged as *The Discovery of a London Monster*.
- The Life and Death of Gamaliel Ratsey, a famous thief of England*. 1605. Rptd 1866, Collier, J. P., *Illus. of Old Engl. Lit.*, vol. III.
- Johnson, R. *Looke on me, London. I am an honest Englishman, ripping up the Bowels of Mischiefe, lurking in thy sub-urbs and Precincts*. 1613. Rptd 1864, Collier, J. P., *Illus. of Early Engl. Pop. Lit.*, vol. II.
- Anon. *The severall notorious and lewd counsonages of John West and Alice West, . . . who were convicted in the Old Baily. . .* 1613. (Narrates impostures and confidence tricks. The gold finding and necromancy are strikingly similar to the deceits exposed by Erasmus, *Colloquia Familiaria Aleumistica and Exorcismus sive Spectrum*, and Scot, R., *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. The soothsaying and clairvoyance illustrate the tales told by Doctor Bureot and William Cuckoe in Chettle's *Kind-Hart's Dreame*, and the pranks played by Dr Pinchbacke in Rowlands's *Greenes Ghost*.)
- Fennor, William. *Comptors Common-Wealth*. 1617. Rptd 1619; 1629.
- Mynahul, Geffray. *Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners*. 1618. (Of Ashton, J., *The Fleet, its rivers, prison and marriages*, 1888.)
- Anon. *A briefe collection of the exactions, extortions, oppressions . . . towards the lives, bodies and goods of prisoners, done by Alexander Harris. . .* 1620-1 (broadsheet). Rptd 1879, Camden Soc.
- Clavell, John. *Recantation of an ill led Life: a discoverie of the High-way Law*. 1628. See Collet, S., *Reliques of Literature*, 1823; Granger, J., *Biog. History of Great Britain*, 5th ed., vol. III; Caulfield, J., *Portraits and Memoirs*, 1813, vol. I.
- Anon. *Frogges of Egypt, or the Catterpillars of the Commonwealth Truly Dissected and Laid open*. 1641.
- A Whip for the Marshal's Court by Robert Robins*. 1647.
- See Chandler, F. W., *The Literature of Roguery*, 1907, chap. III. The writer of the present chapter is indebted to this book in many ways.

TOBACCO PAMPHLETS.

(The whole output of literature on tobacco is eminently characteristic of the age in its elaborate titles, far-fetched conceits and bitter invective. The spirit of criticism is so strong that even the partisans of the weed satirise the habits of the smoker.)

Frampton, John. *Joyfull newes oute of the newe founde worlde. . . Englished by 1577*. According to Arber, E., the earliest detailed account of the herb. See also Athenæum, 27 June, 1 Aug. 1857.

Buttes, Henry. *Dyets Dry Dinner*. (That is, varietie of Fare: provided, prepared and ordered, at Dyets own prescription: Prandium, without Wine, but Accipitrimum, without all drinke except Tobacco (which also is but Dry Drinke): . . . 1599. (Recommends tobacco as a sedative, narcotic, purge, but adds A Satyricall Epigram, upon the wanton, and excessive use of Tobacco.)

Anon. *The Metamorphosis of Tobacco*. 1602. (Dedicated To my loving Friend Master Michael Drayton.)

Anon. *Work for Chimney-sweepers: or A warning for Tabacconists*. Describing the pernicious use of Tobacco. . . As much to say, Better be choht with English hemp, then poisoned with Indian Tobacco. Written by Philaretes. 1602.

Anon. *A Defence of Tobacco: with a friendly answer to the late printed Booke called Worke for Chimney-sweepers*. 1602.

- King James. *A Counter Blaste to Tobacco*. 1604; 1616. Ed. Arber, E., 1896 (good introduction). [For King James's other works, see D. of N. B. and E. S., *Lusus Regius*, 1902.]
- G[ardiner], E[dmund]: *The Triall of Tabacco*. Wherein his worth is most worthily expressed. 1610. (A medical defence.)
- Anon. *Perfuming of Tobacco, and the great Abuse committed in it*. 1611.
- Barclay, William. *Nepenthes; or, the vertues of Tobacco*. Edinburgh, 1614. Bp^{td} 1841, *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. 1.
- Sylvester, Joshua. *Tobacco battered; and the Pipes shattered* (about their cares that idly Idolize so base and barbarous a Weed; or at least-wise over-love so loathsome Vanitie:) by a Volley of holy Shot thundered from Mount Helicon. 1614 (verse).
- T., C. *An Advice how to plant Tobacco in England*. 1615.
- Deacon, John. *Tobacco tortured, or the filthie fume of tobacco refined*. 1616.
- Rich, Barnabe. *The Irish Hubbub, or the English Hue and Crie*. 1617. (Denounces tobacco-smoking in a general attack on society.)
- Brathwaite, Richard. *The Smoking Age, or the Man in the Mist*. Dedicated to those three renowned and inparallel'd heroes, Captain Whiffe, Captain Pipe and Captain Snuffe; to whom the Author wisheth as much content as this smoking age can afford them. At the signe of Teare-nose. 1617. Bp^{td} 1703. *Vide* Corser's *Collectanea*, pt. II, p. 361.
- Bennett, E. *A treatise . . . touching the inconveniences, that the importation of tobacco out of Spaine, hath brought into this land*. (About 1620.)
- Thorius, R. *Hymnus tabaci*. 1626.

Authorities:

- Bragge, W. *Bibliotheca nicotiana*. Birmingham, 1880.
- Cleland, H. W. *On the History and Properties, Chemical and Medical, of Tobacco*. Glasgow, 1840.
- Fairholt, F. W. *Tobacco: its history and Associations*. 1859.
- Tiedeman, F. *Geschichte des Tabaks*. 1854.

JEST-BOOKS AND MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS ON LONDON.

- Barclay, Sir R. *Discourse of the Felicitie of Man: or his Summum Bonum*. 1598. (Amusing histories and anecdotes.)
- Tarlton, Richard. *Tarlton's Jigge of a horse loade of Fooles*. (Composed before 1588.) 1884, Halliwell, J. O., *Tarlton's Jests*, Shakspr. Soc. (Verse. Idea of the Ship of Fools converted into journey in cart down Fleet Street for a puppet show. Types suggested by contemporary London society. See Herford, C. H., *Literary Relations*, chap. VI, pp. 372 ff.)
- Anon. *Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie*. n.d. (P^{td} before *The Cobler of Canterbury*, 1590.)
- The Cobler of Canterbury*. 1590. Bp^{td} 1862, Ouvry, F. (privately p^{td}). (Coll. of prose stories, mostly about cuckolds.)
- Anon. *Tarlton's Jests*, drawn into three parts. 1. *His Court-witty Jests*. 2. *His sound city jests*. 3. *His Countrey Pretty Jests*. 1611 (earliest ext. ed., but 1st series mentioned by Nashe 1592 and 2nd series licensed 1609). Bp^{td} 1864, Hazlitt, W. C., *Shakspr. Jest-books*, vol. II (illustrates the universal fame of Tarlton by quotations from contemporary authors); 1876 (?), Ashbee, E. W., *Fac-simile reproduction* (privately printed); 1884, Halliwell, J. O., with notes and life, Shakspr. Soc.
- Anon. *Maroccus extaticus*. Or Bankes bay horse in a trance. A discourse set downe in a merry dialogue between Bankes and his beast; Anato-
mising some abuses and tricks of this age. 1595. (Dialogue between the

- animal and its master is a satire on the abuses of London life. The horse's description of the hypocrisy of the puritan and of the landlady particularly noteworthy, and foreshadow the character written.)
- Jack of Dover, his quest of Inquirie, or His Privy Search for the Veriest Foole in England. 1604. 1842, Percy Soc.; 1864, Haslitt, W. O., *ibid.* vol. II.
- Pasquills Jestes, mixed with Mother Bunches Merriments. 1604, etc.; Rptd 1864, Haslitt, *ibid.*
- Newes from Graves End. 1604. (Assigned by Collier, J. P., to Dekker.)
- Jests to make you merie . . . written by T. D. (Dekker?) and George Wilkins. 1607.
- Johnson, Richard. The Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields. 1607. Rptd 1864, Collier, J. P., *Illus. of Early Engl. Pop. Lit.*, vol. II. Pleasant Conceits of Old Hobson. 1607. Rptd 1843, Percy Soc.; 1864, Haslitt, *op. cit.*
- Anon. Merrie Conceited Jestes of George Peele. 1607, etc. 1864, Haslitt, *ibid.*
- Munday, Anthony. Song of Robin Hood in Metropolis. (Verses on the Guildhall Gate (see Stow's Survey, bk. III).)
- The Great Frost. Cold doings in London, except it be at the Lottery. With news out of the Country. 1608. Rptd 1903, Social Engl. *Illus.*, An Engl. Garner. (An excellent piece of journalism describing the amusements and accidents connected with the freezing of the Thames, etc.)
- Armin, Robert. A nest of Ninnies. 1608. Rptd 1842, Collier, J. P., Fools and Jesters, Shakspr. Soc. (Records a number of jests perpetrated by court fools. See Herford, *op. cit.* chap. VI, p. 375, for relation of Nest to Ship literature of the 16th cent., and Fool literature of the 17th.)
- Pimlico, or, Runne Red-Cap. Tis a mad world at Hogsdon. 1609. Rptd 1891, Bullen, A. H., *Antient Drolleries* (no. 2).
- Rowley, W. A search for money, or the lamentable complaint for the Loose of the wandring Knight, Mounsieur l'Argent. 1609. 1840, Percy Soc.
- Anon. Westward for Smelts, or, the Waterman's fare of mad merry Western wenches whose tongues, albeit like Bell-clappers they never leave ringing, yet their tales are sweet, and will much content you. Written by Kinde Kit of Kingstone. 1620. Rptd 1848, Halliwell, J. O.
- Taylor, John. [See D. of N. B. for full list.]
- Cold Tearme . . . or the Metamorphosis of the River of Thames. 1621. (Ballad ascribed to Taylor, J.)
- The World runnes on Wheeles, or oddes betwixt carts and coaches. 1623. (Review of the new modes of locomotion in the city which were starving the waterman's profession. Cf. A pleasant Dispute between Coach and Sedan. 1636.)
- The Fearefull Sommer. 1625. Rptd 1869, Spenser Soc. (Description of the plague.)
- Wit and mirth. Chargeably collected Out of Taverns, Ordinaries, Innes, Bowling-Greenes and allyes, ale-houses, Tobacco-shops, Highwayes and Water-passages. Made up and fashioned into Clinches, Bulls, Quirkes, Yerkes, Quips and Jerkes. Apothegmatically bundled up and garbled at the request of old John Garretts Ghost. 1629. Appeared in collected ed. of Taylor, . . . 1690. Rptd 1864, Haslitt, *op. cit.* vol. III.
- John Taylor the Water-Poet's Travels through London to visit all the Taverns. 1636. Rptd 1870-7, Spenser Soc.
- Anon. Robin Good-Fellow; his mad pranks and merry jests. Earliest ext. ed. 1628. Some version probably existed in the 16th cent., see intro. to rpt 1841, Collier, J. P., Percy Soc.; 1845, Halliwell, J. O., *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of a Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakspr. Soc.; 1875, Haslitt, W. O., *Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare*. Early in the 17th cent. a number of incidents drawn from the book were versified and sold as a

chap-book with the title *The merry pranks of Robin Good-Fellow*; cf. *The merry Prankes of Robin Goodfellow in Percy's Reliques*. (Begins as a jest-book copied from *Eulenspiegel* (*ante*, vol. III, chap. v, p. 94 and bibl. p. 489) and develops into the jests and tricks played by a fairy. The Second Part of *Robin Good-Fellow*, commonly called *Hob-Goblin*: with his mad Prankes and merry Jestes, published the same year, contains a proportion of songs and catches inserted among the tricks. The legend of *Robin Good-Fellow*, according to Wright, T. (*Foreign Quarterly Review*, no. 35), dates from the 13th cent. at least. It is frequently alluded to in Eliz. literature (e.g. *Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie*, *Munday's The Two Italian Gentlemen*, *Guilpin's Skialetheia*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, etc.).)

P[eacham], H. *The Art of Living in London*. 1642. Rptd *Harl. Misc.* vol. IX.

For supplementary list of Jest-books, see Hazlitt, W. C., *Handbook to Early Engl. Lit.*, 1867, p. 300.

BURLESQUE AND WAGERING VOYAGES.

The most dangerous and memorable adventure of Richard Ferris, ... who departed from Tower Wharf, on Midsummer Day last past ... who undertook, in a small wherry boat, to row, by sea, to the city of Bristow.... 1590. Rptd 1903, *Social England Illustrated*, *An English Garner*.

Kemp's nine days' wonder. Performed in a dance from London to Norwich. 1600. Rptd 1840, Dyce, A., *Camden Soc.*; 1903, *Social England Illustrated*. Alluded to by Marston, *The Scourge of Villanie*, 1599; Jonson, B., *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted 1599); Rowley, W., *A Search for Money*, 1609; Brathwaite, B., *Remains after Death*, 1618. Kemp figures in *The Returne from Parnassus*, 1606, and *The Travalles of The three English Brothers*, 1607 (?).

Taylor, John. *The Pennyles Pilgrimage, or the Money-lesse perambulation* ... from London to Edenborough (prose and verse). 1618.

— *A Very Merry Wherry-Ferry-Voyage; or Yorke for my Money* (verse). 1622. Rptd, Hindley, C., *Misc. Antiq. Angl.* See Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O., *Lit. of the 16th and 17th cents. illustrated*, 1851.

Brathwaite, B. *Barnabae Itinerarium*. *Barnabees Journall*, under the Names of *Mirtilus* & *Faustulus* shadowed. 1638. Rptd 1820, by Haslewood, J., with elaborate bibl.; 1876, W. C. Hazlitt's rpt of Haslewood.

MISCELLANEOUS BURLESQUES AND GOLIARDIC EXTRAVAGANCES.

Harington, Sir John. *A New Discourse of a stale subject called the Metamorphosis of Ajax*. 1596.

Ulysses upon Ajax. 1596. (Davies, U., of Hereford speaks of *Ulysses upon Ajax* as being the work of a different hand (*Wits Bedlam*, 1617) but the similarity of style is unmistakable.)

An Anatomie of the Metamorphosed Ajax. By T. O.... Rpt of all three tracts, 1814, from press of Whittingham, C., Chiswick. *Vide* Collier, J. P., *Poetical Decameron*, 1820. (*Ajax is meiosis* for 'a jakes' and the series of pamphlets, probably all published in the same year, exemplify the nearest approach in English literature to the humour of *Rabelais*. Marston in *The Scourge of Villanie*, Bk. III, Sat. 11, speaks of
loathsome brothel rime,
that stinks like Ajax froth, or muck-pit slime.)

The Knight of the Sea. 1600.

Anton, R. *Meriomachia*. 1613. Rptd 1909, Becker, G., in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen etc.*, Vol. CXXII.

- Brathwaite, Richard. *A Solemne Joviall Disputation*. 1617. (On the laws of drinking.)
- Pasquils Palmodia, and His progresse to the Taverne. Eptd 1620; 1634; 1866, Collier, J. P., *Illus. of Old Engl. Lit.*, vol. 1.
- Taylor, J. *A Dogge of Warre, or, the Travels of Drunkard* (mostly verse). 1630.
- *Drinke and welcome: or, the Famous Historie of ... Drinke*. 1637. Eptd 1871, no. 17 of Ashbee's *Occasional Fac-simile Reprints*.

PROGNOSTICATIONS, SERIOUS AND BURLESQUE

(Of Pantagrueline Pronostication, 1533, and the Fool's prophecy in *Lear* (act III, sc. 2).)

- Nashe, T. *A wonderfull, strange and miraculous Astrologicall Prognostication for this year of our Lord God, 1591 ... by Adam Foulweather, student in Assetronomy*. Eptd 1892, Saintsbury, G., Ellis and Jac. Pamphlets. (Parody of soothsayers' pamphlets. (*Ante*, vol. III, chap. v, p. 110.) No entry in Stationers' register.)
- Breton, N. *Pasquill's Passe and Passeth Not, set downe in three pees, his Passe, Precession, and Prognostication*. 1600.
- Waldegrave, R. (publisher). *The whole prophetic of Scotland, England and some part of France and Denmark, prophesied bee mervellous Merling, Beid, Bertlington, Thomas Rymour, Waldhave, Eltraine, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according to one. Containing many strange and mervelous things*. 1603. See also Laing, D., *A Collection of Ancient Scottish Prophecies*, 1833; and *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceledoune*, intro. by Murray, J. A. H., *E.E.T.S.* 1875, no. 61.
- A *Piece of Friar Bacon's Brassen-heads Prophecie*. By William Terilo. 1604. Eptd 1844, Halliwell, J. O., Percy Soc. (The pamphlet is a satire contrasting the distrust and artificiality of the 17th cent. with the simplicity and industry of the former generation.)
- Newes from Rome of two mightie armies ... also certaine prophecies of a Jew called Oabel Shilock ... Translated out of Italian by W. W.* 1606. (See N. & Q. 24 July 1909.)
- The Raven's Almanacke; foretelling of a Plague, Famine and Civill Warre, that shall happen this present year 1609*. 1609. (A parody, ascribed to Dekker.)
- Cobbes *Prophecies, his signes and tokens, his Madrigalls, Questions, and Answers, with his spirituall lesson*. 1614. Eptd 1890 (private).
- The Owles Almanacke; prognosticating many strange accidents that shall happen*. 1618 ... by Jocundary Merrie-braines. 1618.
- Wither, G. *Fragmenta Prophetica*. 1669. Eptd 1872, Spenser Soc.

WITCH-CONTROVERSY.

The public agitation over supernatural questions continued to form a background to popular thought, as is seen in the tracts of Nashe and Dekker, broadsides, news-sheets and in the dramatists. For origins of this phase of superstition in the social disorders of the late 15th and 16th cents., and for the beginning of daemonology in Jacob Sprenger's *Malleus Maleficarum*, see *ante*, vol. III, chap. v, pp. 111 ff. For bibl. see *ibid.* p. 495 and N. & Q. Ser. x, vol. xi, no. 286, pp. 491 ff., also Lecky, W. E. H., *Rationalism in Europe*, 4th ed. 1870, vol. 1, chap. 1. Subsequent to R. Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, the following works may be noted:

Gifford, G., *Discourse of the Subtill Practices of Devils*, 1587. Hol-land, H., *A Treatise against Witchcraft*, 1590. Nashe, T., *The Tetrads*

- of the Night, 1594. King James, *Dæmonologie*, 1597 (Edinburgh), 1603 (London). Chamber, J., *Treatise against Judicial Astrologie*, 1601. Heydon, Sir C., *A Defence of Judicial Astrologie in answer to Mr J. Chamber*, 1603. Gifford, G., *Dialogue of Witches and Witchcraft*, 1603 (rptd 1842, Wright, T., Percy Soc.). Perkins, P., *Discoverie of the Damned Art of Witchcraft*, 1610. Cotta, J., *The Triall of Witchcraft*, 1616. Roberts, Alexander, *Treatise of Witchcraft*, 1616. Cooper, Rev. Thomas, *The Mystery of Witchcraft*, 1617. Goodcole, H., *The wonderful Discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer . . . her conviction . . . together with the Devil's Access to her. . .* 1621. (Source of *The Witch of Edmonton*.) Vicars, T., *The Madnesse of Astrologers*, 1624. Bernard, R., *Guide to Jurymen*, 1627.

The whole dispute was enhanced by controversies over particular cases of witchcraft, such as the paper war waged between John Darrell and George More on the one side, and by Samuel Harsnet, John Deacon and John Walker on the other, over the possession and dispossession of William Somers, and over 'the strange and grevous vexation by the Devil' of seven persons in Lancashire. The whole country was thrown into excitement over the Lancashire trials of 1612 (the case is reported in a pamphlet by Thomas Potts, 1612) and great interest was aroused by cases of imposture, of which the most celebrated was that of the 'Boy of Bilson.' He feigned fits and 'cast out of his mouth rage, thred, straw, crooked pins' when in the presence of a certain woman, who was promptly arrested as a witch. These episodes led to the production of such works as: *Witches apprehended, examined and executed, for notable villanies. . . With a strange and true triall how to know whether a woman be a Witch or not*, 1613; *A Treatise of Witchcraft . . . with a true narration of the witchcrafts which Mary Smith . . . did practise . . . and lastly of her death and execution*, 1616; *The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower. . .* 1618.

For fuller examination of the subject and its continuation through the 17th cent. see later vols. of present work.

BROADSIDES, STREET BALLADS, NEWS-SHEETS AND POLITICAL PAMPHLETS.

News-agents and Political Journalists.

Elderton, W. *The true fourme and shape of a monstrous chyld. . .* 1565.

A new Yorkshyre song. 1584 etc.

Tarlton, Richard. *A very lamentable and wofull Discours of the fierce Fluds, whiche lately flowed in Bedford shire . . . and in many other places . . . the 5 of October 1570. A newe booke in English Verse, entitled, Tarltons Toyes.* 1576. *Tarltons devise uppon the unlooked for great snowe.* 1578. *Tarltons Farewell.* 1588. *A Sorrowful newe Sonnette Intituled Tarltons Recantation.* 1589. *Tarltons Repentance, or his Farewell to his Friendes in his Sicknes a little before his Deathe.* 1589. *A pleasant Dytyye, Dialogue wise betweene Tarltons Ghost and Robyn Good Fellowe.* 1590.

Rich, Barnabe. Besides novels and romances (see *ante*, vol. III, chap. XVI) and numerous tracts on Ireland, he produced: *A right exelent and pleasant Dialogue betwene Mercury and an English Souldier, contayning his supplication to Mars*, 1574 (1st part exposes the ill-treatment of English soldiers and enters a plea for archery); *Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell*, 1593, rptd 1624 as *A New Irish Prognostication* (purports to be printed from Greene's papers but is really a treatise on Ireland. It may have been Rich who also published a booklet of sonnets with title *Greenes Funeralls* by B. B. . . . *A Martiall Conference pleasantly discoursed between two Souldiers only practised in Finsbury Fields. . .* 1598).

Munday, A. [For fuller bibliography, see D. of N. B.]

— *A Watch-word to Englands, to beware of Traytors and tretchorous Practises, which have bene the Overthrowe of many famous Kingdomes and Commonweales. 1584. (Arising from the Campion affair but of a more general character.) View of Sundry Examples. n.d. Rptd, Collier, J. P., Shaksp. Soc., 1851. (Relates murders, strange incidents and prodigies occurring 1570-80.)*

• [See, also, Pollard, A. F., *Tudor Tracts, 1532-1588. 1903.*]

Collections of Songs and Broad-sides.

(See *ante*, vol. III, chap. v, bibl. p. 491, and chap. VIII, bibl. pp. 511-512. The greater number of extant broadsides are subsequent to the Civil War, but the following collections contain specimens of our period.)

Antidote Against Melancholy. 1661. Rptd 1876, Ebsworth, J. W.

Ashton, J. *A Century of Ballads. 1887. Humour, Wit and Satire of the Seventeenth Century. 1883.*

Bagford Ballads. 1876. Ebsworth, J. W. Ballad Soc.

Bullen, A. H. *Carols and Poems from the fifteenth century to the present time. 1886.*

Collier, J. P. *A Collection of Old Ballads anterior to the reign of Charles I. 1840. Percy Soc. A Book of Roxburghe Ballads. 1868. Broadside, black-letter Ballads printed in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. 1868. Twenty-five old Ballads and Songs. 1869. (Coll. of MSS, temp. Eliz. and Jac. Probably copies of broadsides.) Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature. 1863. (Contains songs, ballads and murder pamphlets, together with political tracts.)*

Deloney, T. *Strange Histories. n.d. Garland of Good Will. Earliest known ed., a fragment dated 1604.*

Deuteromelia, or the second Part of Musick's Melodie. 1609. (Sequel to Pammelia.)

Evans, Robson. *Old Ballads. 1810.*

Farmer, J. S. *Merry Songs and Ballads prior to the year 1800. 1897.*

Furnivall, F. J. *Love-poems and humorous Ones. 1874. Ballad Soc.*

Goldsmid, E. *Quaint Gleanings from Ancient Poetry. 1884.*

Huth, H. *Ancient Ballads and Broad-sides published in England in the Sixteenth Century. 1867. Philobiblon Soc.*

Johnson, Richard. Besides a number of romantic and narrative ballads of which *The Nine Worthies of London, 1592*, is best known, he produced: *The Crowne Garland of Golden Roses, 1612, etc., rptd 1845, Chappell, W., Percy Soc.; The Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures and Delicate Delights, 3rd ed., 1620.*

Lemon, B. *Catalogue of a Collection of Printed Broad-sides in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1866. (Title-pages, reproduction of wood-cut illustrations, descriptions of contents.)*

Munday, A. *Banquet of Dainty Conceits. 1581. (Songs and ditties for popular tunes.)*

Pammelia. *Musicks Miscellanie. 1606.*

Percy, Bp. *Reliques of Ancient Poetry. 1765. Ed. Wheatley, H. B., 1876. Percy Folio Manuscript, Hales, J. W. and Furnivall, F. J.; Ballads and Romances, 1867-8; Loose and humorous Songs, 1867, E.E.T.S.*

Roxburghe Ballads. Ed. Ebsworth, J. W. Ballad Soc. 1869.

Shirburn Ballads. Ed. Clarke, A. Oxford, 1907.

CHAPTER XVII

WRITERS ON COUNTRY PURSUITS AND PASTIMES

The following is a brief list of the more important books. Fuller lists, and details of the various editions, will be found in the bibliographical books noted below. See, also, D. of N. B.

- Amherst, A. A history of Gardening in England. 2nd ed. 1896.
 Brydges, E. *Censura Literaria*. Vol. v. 1815.
 Cockle, J. D. A bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and of contemporary foreign works. 1900.
 Donaldson, John. Agricultural biography. 1854.
 Gatfield, G. Guide to printed books and manuscripts relating to Heraldry and Genealogy. 1892.
 Harting, J. E. *Bibliotheca Accipitraria*. 1891.
 Haslitt, W. C. Gleanings in old garden literature. 1887.
 — Old cookery books and ancient cuisine. 1886.
 Huth, F. H. Works on Horses and Equitation. 1887.
 Jackson, B. D. Guide to the literature of Botany. Index Soc. 1881.
 McDonald, D. Agricultural writers, 1200-1800. 1908.
 Marston, R. B. Walton and some earlier writers on fish and fishing. 1894.
 Moule, T. *Bibliotheca Heraldica Magnae Britanniae*. 1822.
 Old English Cookery. Quarterly Review, Jan. 1894.
 The Master of Game, ed. by Baillie-Grohmann, W. A. and F. 1904. (Bibliographical notes on early hunting literature.)
 Westwood, T. and Satchell, T. *Bibliotheca Piscatoria*. 1883.

GERVASE MARKHAM.

Country Books.

- Cavalierice, or the English horseman.... 1607.
 Cheape and Good Husbandry for the well-ordering of all beasts, and fowles, and for the generall cure of their diseases.... Together, with the use and profit of bees; the making of fish-ponds, and the taking of all sorts of fish. 1614, etc.
 The Complete Farriar, or the kings high-way to horsemanship.... 1639.
 The Compleat Husbandman and gentleman's recreation: or the whole art of husbandry. 1707.
 Country Contentments; or the husbandmans recreations. 1611. (Contains the first book only.) Country Contentments, in two bookes: the first containing the whole art of riding great horses... Likewise... the arts of hunting, hawking, etc. The second intituled, The English Huswife; containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleate woman.... 1615, etc.
 The Country Housewives Garden... together with the husbandry of bees... with divers new knots for gardens. 1617, etc.
 The Country-mans Recreation, or the art of planting, grafting, and gardening, in three bookes. (i. The art of planting, grafting, and gardening. ii. A perfect platforme of a hoppe garden. iii. The expert gardener.) 1640, etc.
 A^ccare for all diseases in horses. 1610. (As Markhams Method, 1616 etc.)

- A discourse of Horsemanshippe.** Wherein the breeding and ryding of horses for service, in a brefe manner is more methodically sett downe then hath been heeretofore. . . . Also the manner to chuse, trayne, ryde and dyet, both hunting-horses, and running-horses. 1593, 1595 etc.
- The English Husbandman.** The first part: contayning the knowledge of the true nature of every soyle within this kingdome. . . . Together with the art of planting, grafting, and gardening after our latest and rarest fashion. . . .
- 1613. Second booke. . . . Contayning the ordering of the kitchin-garden, and the planting of strange flowers: the breeding of . . . cattell. . . . Whereunto is added a treatise, called Good mens recreation: contayning a discourse of the generall art of fishing. . . . Together with the . . . breeding and dyeting of the fighting cocke. 1614, etc.
- The Gentlemans Academie, or The Booke of St Albans,** compiled by Juliana Barnes . . . and now reduced into a better method by G. M. 1595.
- The Gentlemen's Accomplish'd Jockey:** with the compleat horseman and approved farrier. . . . 1722.
- The Horsemans Honour,** or the beautie of horsemanship as the choise, natures, breeding, breaking, riding, and dieting, whether outlandish or English horses. With the true, easie, cheape, and most approved manner, how to know and cure all diseases in any horse whatsoever. 1620. (Anon., but possibly by Markham.)
- How to trayne and teach horses to amble.** 1605.
- Hungers Prevention:** of the whole arte of fowling. . . . 1621, etc.
- The Husbandman's Jewel,** directing how to improve land . . . destroy vermin, etc. 1707.
- The Inrichment of the Weald of Kent.** 1625, etc.
- Maison Rustique, or, the country ferme.** Compyled in the French tongue by Charles Stevens, and John Liebault. . . . translated into English by Richard Surflet. . . . reviewed, corrected, and augmented. By Gervase Markham. 1616.
- Le Marecale, or the horse marshall,** containing those secrets which I practice, but never imparted to any man. (Manuscript: in possession of Sir Clements R. Markham.)
- Markhams Faithfull Farrier.** 1630, etc.
- Markhams Farwell to Husbandry:** or, the inriching of all sorts of barren and sterill grounds. . . . 1620, etc.
- Markhams Maister-peece,** or what doth a horse-man lacke, containing all possible knowledge whatsoever which doth belong to any smith, farrier or horse-leech, touching the curing of all maner of diseases or sorranes in horses, . . . with an addition of 130 most principal chapters, and 340 most excellent medicines receits and secrets worthy every mans knowledge. 1610, etc.
- The Perfect Horseman;** or, the experienc'd secrets of Mr Markham's fifty years practice . . . now published by Launcelot Thetford. 1655, etc.
- A Way to get Wealth:** containing the sixe principall vocations or callings in which everie good husband or house-wife may lawfully imploy themselves. . . . 1631, etc. (A collection containing: 1. Cheap and Good Husbandry; 2. Country Contentments; 3. The English House-wife; 4. The Inrichment of the Weald of Kent; 5. Markhams farwell to Husbandry; 6. Lawson's New Orchard and Garden, with The Country House-wifes Garden, Harward's Art of propagating Plants, and The Husbandmans Fruitefull Orchard.)
- The Whole Art of Husbandrie,** by C. Heresbach, translated by B. Googe, 1577, enlarged by Gervase Markham. 1631
- The Young Sportsman's Instructor.** In angling, fowling, hawking, hunting,

- ordering singing birds, hawks, poultry, coneyes, hares, and dogs, and how to cure them. By G. M. Sold at the Gold Ring, in Little Britain. Price 6d. Eptd 1820; also by Gamidge, S., Worcester (n.d.).

Poems and Plays.

- Devoreux.** Vertues teares for the losse of King Henry III of Fraunce, etc., paraphrastically translated into English by Jervis Markham. 1597.
- The Dumble Knight.** A pleasant comedy, acted sundry times by the children of his Majesties Revels. Written by Jarvis Markham [and L. Machin]. 1608, 1633. Eptd in Dodsley's Collection, vol. iv.
- The Famous Whore, or noble curtizan:** containing the lamentable complaint of Paulina, the famous Roman curtizan. 1609. Ed. by Ouvry, F., 1868.
- The most honorable tragedie of Sir Richard Grinville, Knight.** 1595. Eptd by Arber, E., 1871.
- The true tragedy of Herod and Antipater:** with the death of faire Marriam.... As it hath beene, of late, divers times publicquely acted (with great applause) at the Red Bull, by the Company of his Majesties Revels. Written by Gervase Markham and William Sampson. 1622.
- Marie Magdalens Lamentations** for the losse of her master Jesus. 1601, 1604. Ed. Grosart in Miscell. of the Fuller Worthies' Library, vol. ii, 1871.
- The Poem of Poems; or Sions muse;** containyng the divine song of king Salomon, devided into eight eclogues. 1595, 1596.
- Rodomonths Infernall, or the divell conquered.** Aniasios conclusions of the marriage of Rogero with Bradamanth, etc., paraphrastically translated by G. M. 1607. (Entered in Stationers' register, 15 Sept. 1598.)
- The Teares of the Beloved: or, the lamentations of Saint John.** 1600. Ed. Grosart in Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library, vol. ii, 1871.
- Thyrsis and Daphne.** By Gervis Mackwm. (Entered in Stationers' register, 23 April 1593.)

Miscellaneous.

- The Art of Archerie.** 1634. Dedication signed Gervase Markham. In the Huth Catalogue is described a similar copy dated 1633.
- Conceyted letters, newly layde open:** or a most excellent bundle of new wit, wherein is knit up together all the perfections or arte of episteling. 1618, etc. (Preface signed I. M.)
- Death triumphant.** (Entered in Stationers' register, 16 Nov. 1621.)
- The English Arcadia** alluding his beginning from Sir Philip Sydnes ending. 1607. Second part, 1613.
- Hobsons Horse-load of Letters; or a president for epistles.** By G. M. 1613. ('A presidente for epistles by Gervase Markham' was entered in the Stationers' register, 23 Sept. 1613.)
- Honour in his perfection.** 1624.
- A second parte to the Mothers blessing, or a cure against misfortunes.** (Entered in Stationers' register, 7 May 1622.)
- The Souldiers Accidence.** Or an introduction into military discipline, containing the first principles and necessary knowledge meete for captaines, muster-masters, and all young souldiers of the infantrie, or foote bandes. Also the cavallarie or formes of trayning of horse-troopes. 1625. Eptd in The Souldiers Exercise, 1643. See also Brit. Mus. Stowe MSS 438.
- The Souldiers Grammar....** By G. M. 1626, etc. Second part, 1627, etc.
- Venus pater, or health of body.** (Entered in Stationers' register, 4 May 1620.)
- Writes only wealth.** (Entered in Stationers' register, 4 May 1620.)

Doubtful Works.

- Ariostos satyres, by Gervase Markham. 1608. (Generally attributed to Robert Tofte.)
- A Health to the gentlemanly profession of serving-men. 1598. (Sometimes attributed to Markham, but probably not by him.)
- The Pastoralls of Julietta. (Entered in Stationers' register, 11 Nov. 1609, as 'translated out of Ffrench by Jarvis Markham,' but published in 1610 as the work of Robert Tofte.)
- A schoole for yonge schollers contayneing a briefe table to teach and learne to trayne and to be trayned, by Master Markeham. (Entered in Stationers' register, 26 Sept. 1615.)
- Vox militis, by G. M. 1625. (This re-issue of Barnabe Rich's *Allarme to England*, sometimes attributed to Markham, is believed to be by Marcelline, G.)

The best account of Markham is that given in the D. of N. B. The following books may also be consulted: Langbaine's *Dramatic Poets*, Bitson's *Bibliographica Poetica*, Brydges's *Restituta*, Grosart's uncritical memoir, prefixed to his reprint of *Tearles of the Beloved* (*Miscellanies of Fuller Worthies' Library*, vol. II), D. F. Markham's *History of the Markham Family*, 1854, and the bibliographical works mentioned above.

OTHER WRITERS.

Horses.

- Astley, J. *The art of riding, set foorth... out of Xenophon and Gryson.* 1584.
- Baret, M. *An hipponomie or vineyard of horsemanship, with the art of breeding and dieting horses.* 1618.
- Bedingfield, T. *The art of riding... written in the Italian tong by Maister Claudio Corte.* 1584.
- Blundeville, T. *A newe booke, containing the arte of ryding, and breakinge greate horses.* 1580 (?).
- *The lower chiefest offices belongyng to horsemanshippe... The office of the breeder, of the rider, of the keper, and of the ferrer.* 1565-6.
- Browne, T. *Fiftie years practice: or an exact discourse concerning snaffle-riding.* 1624.
- C., L. W. *A very perfect discourse and order, how to know the age of a horse, and the diseases that breed in him, with the remedies to cure the same.* 1610.
- Clifford, O. *The schoole of horsmanship.* 1585.
- Malbie, N. *A plaine and easie way to remedy a horse that is foundered in his feete.* 1576.
- *Remedies for diseases in horses.* 1576.
- Maroccus extaticus. *Or, Bankes bay horse in a trance. A discourse set downe in a merry dialogue, between Bankes and his beast.* 1595. (Rptd by Percy Soc. in *Early English Poetry*, vol. IX, 1844.)
- For an account of this horse and the references to him in contemporary literature see Halliwell-Phillipps's *Memoranda on Love's Labour's Lost.* 1879.

- Mascall, L. *The first booke of cattell, wherein is shewed the government of oxen, kine, calves, and how to use bulls and other cattell to the yoke and fell; the seconde booke intreating of the government of horses.* 1587.
- Morgan, N. *The perfection of horsemanship, drawn from nature, arte, and practise.* 1609.
- Propertees and medecynes for a horse.* -Wynkyn de Worde (about 1500).

Hunting, Hawking, Angling, etc.

- *Book of St Albans.* St Albans (about 1486.)
- This edition contained only the three treatises on hawking, hunting and coat-armour. The treatise on fishing with an angle was added to the second edition, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1496.
- Bert, E. An approved treatise of hawkes and hawking. 1619.
- Cains, J. Of English dogges, the diversities, the names, the natures, and the properties. Trans. Fleming, A. 1576.
- Cokayne, T. A short treatise of hunting, compyled for the delight of noble-men and gentlemen. 1591.
- Dennys, J. The secrets of angling. . . By I. D. Esquire. 1613.
- Gryndall, . Hawking, hunting, fowling and fishing, with the true measures of blowing. 1596.
- Latham, S. Falconry: or the faulcons lure and cure. 1615.
- New and second booke of faulconry. 1618.
- Manwood, J. A brefe collection of the lawes of the forest. 1592.
- Mascall, L. A booke of fishing with hooke and line. . . Another of sundrie engines and trappes to take polcats, buzards, rattes, mice and all other kindes of vermine. . . Made by L. M. 1590.
- S., T. A jewell for gentrie. Being an exact dictionary . . . all the art, secrets and worthy knowledges belonging to hawking, hunting, fowling and fishing. Together with all the true measures for winding of the horne. 1614.
- Taverner, J. Certaine experiments concerning fish and fruit. 1600.
- Turberville, G. The booke of faulconrie or hawking. 1575.
- The noble arte of venerie or hunting. 1575. [1576 ed. rptd Oxford, 1909.]
- Wilson, G. The commendation of cockes and cock-fighting. Wherein is shewed, that cocke-fighting was before the comming of Christ. 1607.
- York, Edward, second Duke of. The master of game. Written about 1406, and first printed in 1804; ed. by Baillie-Grohman, W. A. and F.

Husbandry.

- Bellet, J. The booke of thrift, containing a perfite order and right methode to profite lands and other things belonging to husbandry. 1589.
- C., R. An olde thrift newly revived . . . the manner of planting, preserving, and husbanding yong trees. 1612.
- Fitzherbert, J. A newe tracte or treatyse moost profytable for all husband-men. Pynson (not later than 1523). Ed. Skeat, W. W., English Dialect Soc., 1882. (See Eng. Hist. Review, xii, 225 (1897).)
- The boke of surveying. Pynson, 1523.
- Hesley, Walter of. Boke of Husbandry. Ed. by Lamond, E. and Cunningham, W. 1890.
- Mascall, L. The husbandlye ordning and governamente of poultrie. 1581.
- Plat, H. The jewell house of art and nature. Containing divers rare and profitable inventions, together with sundry new experimentes in the art of husbandry, distillation, and moulding. 1594.
- The new and admirable arte of setting corne. (About 1596.)
- Sundrie new and artificiall remedies against famine. 1596.
- Standish, A. The commons complaint. . . The generall destruction and waste of woods in this kingdome. . . 1611.
- New directions of experience to the commons complaint . . . for the planting of timber and fire-wood. 1613.
- Surflet, R. Maison rustique or the countrie-farme. 1600.
- Tager, T. (See bibl. to vol. III, chap. VIII.)

Gardening, Bees, etc.

- Butler, C. *The feminine monarchie, or a treatise concerning bees.* Oxford, 1609.
- F., N. *The fruiterers secreta.* 1604.
- Gardiner, R. *Profitable instructions for the manuring, sowing, and planting of kitchen gardens.* 1599.
- Harward, S. *The art of propagating plants, in Lawson's New Orchard.* 1628.
- Hill, T. (Didymus Mountain). *A most briefe and pleasaunt treatyse, teachynge how to dress, sowe, and set a garden.* 1563, 1568, etc.
- *A pleasaunt instruction of the perfitt ordering of bees.* 1668.
- *The gardeners labyrinth (completed by Henry Dethick).* 1577.
- Lawson, W. *A new orchard and garden.* 1618.
- Mascall, L. *A booke of the arte and maner, howe to plant and graffe all sortes of trees.* 1572.
- Orchard (The), and the garden: containing certaine necessarie, secret, and ordinarie knowledges in grafting and gardening. . . . 1602.
- Parkinson, J. *Paradisi in sole, paradisus terrestris, or a garden of all sorts of pleasant flowers . . . with a kitchen garden . . . and an orchard.* 1629.
- Passe, O. de. *A garden of flowers.* (Trans. by E. W.) Utrecht, 1615.
- Platt, H. *Floraes paradise, beautified and adorned with sundry sorts of delicate fruites and flowers.* 1608.
- Scot, R. *A perfite platforme of a hoppe-garden.* 1574.

Herbals.

- Andrew, L. *The vertuose boke of distyllacyon of the waters of all maner of herbes.* 1527.
- Ascham, A. *A little herball.* 1550.
- C., W. (W. Copland?). *A boke of the proprietie of herbes.* 1549 (?). A re-issue of *A newe mater*, 1525.
- Gerard, J. *The herball, or generall historie of plantes.* 1597. (Revised and enlarged by Thomas Johnson, 1633.)
- Grete herball (The). P. Treveris, Southwark, 1526.
- Hollybush, J. *A most excellent and perfecte homish apothecarye, or a homely physick booke.* Cologne, 1561.
- Langham, W. *The garden of health, conteyning the sundry rare and hidden vertues and properties of all kindes of simples and plants.* 1579.
- Lyte, H. *A newe herball or historie of plantes . . . set foorth in the Douteche or Almaigne tongue by . . . Rembert Dodoens. . . Nowe first translated out of French.* 1578.
- Macers herball practysid by Doctor Linaero. (About 1530.)
- *A new herball of Macer.* (About 1535.)
- Parkinson, J. *Theatrum botanicum. The theater of plants, or an universall and compleate herball.* 1640.
- Ram, W. *Rams little Dodeon. A briefe epitome of Lyte (see above).* 1606.
- Turner, W. *The names of herbes in Greke, Latin, English, Duch and Frenche, with the commune names that herbaries and apotecaries use.* (About 1548.)
- *A new herball.* 1551. Second part. Cologne, 1562.

Tobacco.

(See bibliography to chap. XVI.)

Natural History, etc.

- Bacon, F. *Sylva sylvarum: or a naturall historie.* 1627.
- Goffe, N. *The perfect use of silk-wormes.* 1607.

- Maplet, J. A Greene forest, or, naturall historie: wherein may bee scene
 . . . first the most sufferaigne vertues in all the whole kinde of stones and
 . . . mettals: next of plants . . . lastly of brute beastes, foules, etc. 1567.
 Moffet, T. *Insectorum sive minimorum animalium theatrum*. 1634.
 S., W. Instructions for the increasing of mulberie trees, and the breeding of
 silke-wormes for the making of silke in this kingdome. 1609.
 Topsell, E. The historie of foure-footed beastes . . . collected out of all the
 volumes of Conradus Gesner, etc. 1607.
 — The historie of serpents, or the second book of living creatures. 1608.

Housewifery.

- Boke of cookery. Pynson, 1500.
 Butts, H. Dyets dry dinner. 1599.
 Closet (A) for ladies and gentlewomen, or, the art of preserving, conserving,
 and candying. 1608.
 Dawson, T. The good huswifes jewell . . . most excellent and rare devises
 for conceites in cookery. 1596.
 Murrell, J. A delightfull daily exercise for ladies and gentlewomen. Where-
 by is set fourth the secrete misteries of the purest preservings in glasses
 and other confrictionaries. 1621.
 — A new booke of cookerie, with the newest art of carving and serving.
 (About 1630.)
 Plat, H. Delightes for ladies, to adorne their persons, tables, closets, and
 distillatories. With beauties, bouquets, perfumes and waters. 1602.
 Tasso, T. The householders philosophie. 1558.
 Xenophon's treatise of householdes. 1534. (Translated by Gentian Hervet.)

Heraldry.

- Bolton, E. The elements of armories. 1610.
 Book of honor and arms. 1590. (Sir Wm Segar ?.)
 Book of St Albans. St Albans (about 1486). (Part III treats of coat-armour.)
 Bossewell, J. Workes of armorie. 1572.
 Brooke, R. A catalogue and succession of the kings, princes, dukes,
 marquesses, earles, and viscounts of this realme . . . with their armes,
 wives, and children. 1619.
 Favine, A. The theater of honour and knight-hood. 1628.
 Ferne, J. The blazon of gentrie. 1586.
 Guillim, J. A display of heraldrie. 1611 (1610).
 Holland, H. *Basiliologia* . . . effigies of all our English kings . . . with their
 severall coats of arms, impresses, and devices. 1618.
 Legh, G. The accedens of armory. 1562.
 Miles, T. The catalogue of honor, or treasury of true nobility. 1610.
 Peacham, H. The compleat gentleman. 1622. (Contains chapters on
 heraldry.)
 Robinson, R. A rare, true, and proper blazon of coloures in armories and
 ensignes. 1583.
 Segar, W. Honor military and civill. 1602.
 Wyrley, W. The true use of armorie. 1592. (See, also, Camden, Selden, etc.)

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BOOK TRADE, 1557-1625

- Arber, E. A transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640. 5 vols. Privately printed, 1875-84.
- British Museum catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of books in English printed abroad to the year 1640. 3 vols. 1884.
- Dibdin, T. F. *Typographical antiquities*. Begun by Joseph Ames, augmented by William Herbert. 4 vols. 1810-19.
- Haslitt, W. O. *Hand-book to the popular, poetical, and dramatic literature of Great Britain*. 1867. *Bibliographical Collections and Notes*. 6 vols. 1876-1903. Index by Gray, G. J. 1893.
- Herbert, W. *Typographical antiquities: or an historical account of printing in Great Britain and Ireland*. Begun by Joseph Ames. 3 vols. 1788-90.
- Sayle, C. E. *Early English printed books in the University Library, Cambridge (1475-1640)*. 4 vols. Cambridge, 1900-7.
- Arber, E. A list of 837 London publishers between 1553 and 1640. Birmingham, 1890^t (An advance issue of part of vol. v of the *Transcript of the Stationers' register*.)
- Ballads. See bibliography to chap. xvi.
- Bibliographical Society. *Transactions and Monographs*. 1893 ff.
- Bigmore, E. C. and Wyman, C. W. H. *A bibliography of printing*. 3 vols. 1880-6.
- Chatto, W. A. and Jackson, J. *A treatise on wood engraving*. 1861.
- Colvin, S. *Early engraving and engravers in England (1545-1695)*. 1905.
- Contributions towards a dictionary of English book-collectors*. Parts I-XIII. Quaritch, B., 1892-9.
- Duff, E. G. *A century of the English book trade, 1457-1557*. Bibliographical Society. 1905.
- *Notes on stationers from the Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1523-4*. The Library, 1908, pp. 257-266.
- *The printers, stationers and bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535*. Cambridge, 1906.
- *The stationers at the sign of the Trinity*. Bibliographica, vol. I, 1895.
- Elton, C. I. and M. A. *The great book-collectors*. 1893.
- Fletcher, W. Y. *English book collectors*. 1902.
- Greg, W. W. *A list of English plays written before 1643 and printed before 1700*. Bibliographical Society. 1900.
- *A list of masques, pageants, etc.; supplementary to A list of English plays*. Bibliographical Society. 1902.
- *On certain false dates in Shakespearian quartos*. The Library, 1908, pp. 112-131, 381-409. See also *Athenæum*, 1908, vol. I, 544, 574, 669.
- Griffiths, L. M. *Evenings with Shakspeare*. 1887. (For printers and publishers of Shakespeare's works.)
- Hand-lists of English printers, 1501-1556*. 3 parts. Bibliographical Society. 1895-1905.
- Lee, S. *Life of William Shakespeare*. 1908.
- Nichols, J. G. *Notices of the Stationers' Company*. Lond. and Middlesex Archaeological Soc. Trans. II, 1864.

- Plomer, H. E. A short history of English printing. 1900.
- Abstracts from the wills of English printers and stationers, 1492-1630. Bibliographical Society. 1903.
- Bishop Bancroft and a catholic press. *The Library*, 1907, pp. 164-176.
- New documents on English printers and booksellers of the 16th century. *Bibliographical Soc. Trans.* iv, 1898.
- Notices of English stationers in the archives of the city of London. *Bibliographical Soc. Trans.* vi, 1901.
- Notices of printers and printing in the State Papers. *Bibliographica*, vol. II, 1896.
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CHAPTER XIX

THE FOUNDATION OF LIBRARIES

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TABLE OF PRINCIPAL DATES

- 877 Death of Johannes Scotus Eri-
gena.
- 1274 Death of Thomas Aquinas.
- 1294 Death of Roger Bacon.
- 1308 (?) Death of Johannes Scotus
Duns.
- 1340 (?) Death of William of Ockham.
- 1413-1422 King Henry V.
- 1418 Peterhouse library catalogued.
- 1422-1471 King Henry VI.
- 1461-1483 King Edward IV.
- c. 1470 Fortescue's *De Laudibus
Legum Angliæ*.
- 1478 (?) First book printed at Oxford.
- 1483 King Edward V.
- 1483-1485 King Richard III.
- 1485-1509 King Henry VII.
- 1486 Bartolommeo Dias circumnavi-
gates the Cape.
- c. 1486 *The Book of St Albans*.
- 1488 Library given by Humphrey,
duke of Gloucester to Oxford
opened.
- 1492 Columbus sets sail from Spain
and discovers the West Indies.
- 1494 Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*
printed at Basel.
- 1497 John Cabot discovers the main-
land of America.
- 1499 Pinzon and Amerigo Vespucci
rediscover America.
- 1504 The Lady Margaret's preacher-
ship founded at Cambridge.
- 1504 Colet appointed dean of St
Paul's.
- 1506 Death of Columbus.
- 1508 Chepman and Myllar print in
Edinburgh.
- 1509-1547 King Henry VIII.
- 1513 Machiavelli's *Prince* (pub-
lished, 1532).
- 1515 Earliest known ed. of *Eulen-
spiegel*.
- 1516 Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.
- 1519 Cortes reaches the capital of
Mexico.
- 1520 Straits of Magellan crossed.
- 1521-1522 John Siberch prints books
at Cambridge.
- 1525 Tindale's New Testament,
Worms.
- c. 1526 *A C. Mery Talys*.
- 1527 Death of Machiavelli.
- 1528 Simon Fish's *Supplication for
the Beggars*.
- 1528 Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*.
- c. 1529 Latimer's *Sermons on the
Card*.
- 1532-1564 Rabelais's *Pantagruel*.
- 1533 Death of Ariosto.
- 1534 Fitzherbert's *Husbandry*.
- 1535 Execution of Fisher.
- 1535 First complete English Bible
(Coverdale's 1st ed.) printed.
- 1537 First Bible (Coverdale's 2nd
ed.) printed in England.
- 1539 'The Great Bible.'
- 1546 Leland's *Laborious Journey
and Search*.
- 1547-1553 King Edward VI.
- 1549 Hales's *Commonweal* written
(published, 1581).
- 1549 Dedekind's *Grobianus*.
- 1549 The first prayer-book of Ed-
ward VI.
- 1550 Lever: Three Sermons.
- 1551 More's *Utopia*.
- 1551 *Book of Common Prayer*
printed in Dublin.
- 1551-1552 Turner's *New herball*.
- 1553 Sir Hugh Willoughby sails for
Cathay.
- 1553 Death of Rabelais.
- 1553-1558 Queen Mary I.
- 1554 New laws of York stationers,
confirmed by the corporation.
- 1555 Eden's trans. of Peter Martyr's
Decades of the Newe Worlde.

- 1555 Execution of Latimer.
 1557 Tusser's *Husbandrie*.
 1557 Stationers' company incorporated.
 1557 North's *The Diall of Princes* (trans. from Guevara).
 1557 Death of Pietro Aretino.
 1558 Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women*.
 1558-1603 Queen Elizabeth.
 1559 Jacques Amyot's *Plutarch*.
 1561 Audeley's *Fraternitye of Vacabones*.
 1561 Hoby's trans. of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*.
 1562 Jewel's *Apology for the Church of England*.
 1562-1568 Sir John Hawkins's voyages.
 1563 Severe visitation of the Plague in London.
 1563 (or later) Sir Humphrey Gilbert's *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*.
 1564 Birth of Galileo.
 1565 Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*.
 1565 Golding's *Ovid*.
 1565 Smith's *Commonwealth of England* written (printed, 1583).
 c.1565-1566. *The Geystes of Skogagan*.
 1566-1567 Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*.
 1567 Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses*.
 1567 Harman's *Caveat* (2nd ed.).
 1568 The Bishops' Bible.
 1570 Ascham's *Scholemaster*.
 1570 First complete ed. of Aquinas.
 1572 Parker founds Society of Antiquaries.
 1572 Massacre of St Bartholomew.
 1574 Scot's *Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe-Garden*.
 1576 Fall of Antwerp.
 1576 Wilson's treatise on Usury.
 1576 Rowland's trans. of *Lazarillo de Tormes*.
 1576 Sir Humphrey Gilbert's *Discourse... for a new passage to Cataia*.
 * 1576-1577 Martin Frobisher's voyages.
 1577 Drake's circumnavigation.
 1578 Harrison's *Description of England*.
 1578 Birth of William Harvey.
 1579 Buchanan's *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*.
 1579 Digby's *Theoria analytica, viam ad monarchiam scientiarum demonstrans*.
 1579 North's *Plutarch*.
 1579 First Bible printed in Scotland, by Bassandyne and Arbuthnet.
 1580 Montaigne's *Essays* (1st ed.).
 1582 Stanyhurst's *Vergil*.
 1582 Thomas Thomas university printer, Cambridge.
 1583 Stubbes's *Anatomy of Abuses*.
 1583 Gilbert's last expedition.
 1584 Association for the preservation of the queen.
 1584 Lodge's *An Alarum against Usurers*.
 1584 Temple's ed. of Ramus's *Dialectica*.
 1584 Raleigh's charter of colonisation.
 1584 Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*.
 1586 Warner's *Albion's England*.
 1587 Mascall's *The government of Cattell*.
 1587 'Silver-tongued' Smith begins to lecture at St Clement Danes.
 1587 Execution of Mary queen of Scots.
 1588 The Spanish Armada.
 1589 Nashe's *The Anatomie of Absurditie*.
 1589, 1598-1600 Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*.
 1590 Lodge's *Rosalynde*.
 1590 * *The Faerie Queene*, Books I-III.
 1590-1592 Sylvester's *Du Bartas*.
 1591 Harington's *Ariosto*.
 1591 Greene's *Notable Discovery of Coosnage*.
 1592 Samuel Daniel's *Delia* and *The Complaint of Rosamond*.
 1592 Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, and *Groatsworth of Wit* (licensed).
 1592 Nashe's *Pierce Pennilesse*.
 1592 Death of Montaigne.
 1592 Plague revives in London.
 1593 Sir Richard Hawkins voyages into the South Sea.

- 1593 *The Phoenix Nest.*
 1593 Drayton's *Idea*.
 1593 Nashe's *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem*.
 1594 Drayton's *Ideas Mirrour*.
 1594 Nashe's *Terrors of the Night*.
 1595 Daniel's *The Civil Wars*.
 1595 Execution of Robert Southwell.
 1595 Southwell's *St Peters Complaint*.
 1595 Lodge's *A Fig for Momus*.
 1595 Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Books*.
 1595 Davys's *World's Hydrographical Description*.
 1595 Raleigh's first expedition to Guiana.
 1595 (?) Drayton's *Endimion and Phoebe*.
 1595-1596 *The Faerie Queene*, Books IV-VI.
 1596 Danett's *Communes*.
 1596 Raleigh's *Fight about the Isles of the Açores*.
 1596 Drayton's *Mortimeriados*.
 1596 Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden*.
 1597 Bacon's *Essays* (1st ed.).
 1597 Drayton's *Heroicall Epistles*.
 1597 Hall's *Virgidemiarum*.
 1597 *Discoverie of the Knights of the Poste*.
 1597 Gerard's *Herball*.
 1597 National scheme for relief of the poor formulated.
 1598 Meres's *Palladis Tamia*.
 1598 Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes*.
 1598 Chapman's *Iliad*.
 1598 Death of Burghley.
 1598 Bedingfield's trans. of Machiavelli's *Florentine Historie*.
 1598 Restoration of the University library, Oxford, by Sir Thomas Bodley.
 1599 Nashe's *Lenten Stuffle*.
 1599 Daniel's *Musophilus*.
 1599 *The Passionate Pilgrim*.
 1599 Death of Spenser.
 1599 Sir John Davies's *Nosce Teip*.
 1599 Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*.
 1600 Gilbert's *De Magnete*.
 1600 *England's Helicon*.
 1600 Execution of Giordano Bruno.
 1600 Rowlands's *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head Vaine*.
 1600 Foundation of the East India Company.
 1600-1601 Cornwallis's *Essays*.
 1601 Campion's *Booke of Ayres* (also 1612 and 1617).
 1602 Davison's *Poetical Rapsody*.
 1602 Bodleian library opened.
 1602 Rowlands's *Tis Merrie when Gossips meete*.
 1602 Campion's *Observations in the Art of English Poesie*.
 1602 (?) Daniel's *Defence of Ryme*.
 1603 Florio's *Montaigne*.
 1603 Dekker's *The Wonderfull Yeare*.
 1603 Holland's trans. of Plutarch's *Morals*.
 1603 Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes*.
 1603 Barclay's *Euphormionis Satyricon*, 1st part.
 1603 King James's *The true Law of Free Monarchies*.
 1603 Plague in London.
 1603-1625 King James I of England.
 1605 Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*.
 1605 Gunpowder Plot.
 1605-1615. *Don Quixote*.
 1606 Drayton's *Odes*.
 1606 Owen's 1st vol. of *Epigrammata*.
 1606 Dekker's *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*.
 1606 Dekker's *Newses from Hell*.
 1607 Gervase Markham's *Cavalarchie, or the English Horseman*.
 1607 Topsell's *Fourfooted Beastes*.
 1607 First permanent English colony in Virginia.
 1608 Hall's *Characters*.
 1608 Dekker's *The Belman of London*.
 1609 Dekker's *The Guls Hornebooke*.
 1609 *Pimlyco, or Runne Red Cap*.
 1610 John Davies of Hereford's *The Scourge of Folly*.
 1610 Donne's *Pseudo-Martyr*.
 1610 Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victories*.
 1610 Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island*.

- 1610 Markham's *Maister-peece*.
 1610-1613 Chrysostom printed at Sir Henry Savile's press, Eton.
 1611 *Coryats Crudities*.
 1611 Raleigh's *History of the World* entered on Stationers' register; published 1614 or 1615.
 1611 *The Authorised Version*.
 1611-1612 Donne's *The Anatomy of the World*.
 1612 Death of prince Henry.
 1612 Campion's *Two Bookes of Ayres*.
 1612 Shelton's *Don Quixote*, I.
 1612 Marriage of princess Elizabeth.
 1613 Drummond of Hawthornden's *Tears on the Death of Moeliades*.
 1613 Wither's *Abuses stript and whipt*.
 1613-1616 Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*.
 1613-1622 Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*.
 1614 Thomas Lodge's *Seneca*.
 1614 Barclay's *Icon Animorum*.
 1614 The Overbury Characters published.
 1615 Wither's *The Shepherd's Hunting*.
 1615 Stephens's *Satyricall Essayes*.
 1615 Sandys's *Relation of a Journey*.
 1616 Death of Shakespeare.
 1616 Death of Cervantes.
 1618 Raleigh executed.
 1618 Beginning of the Thirty Years' War.
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